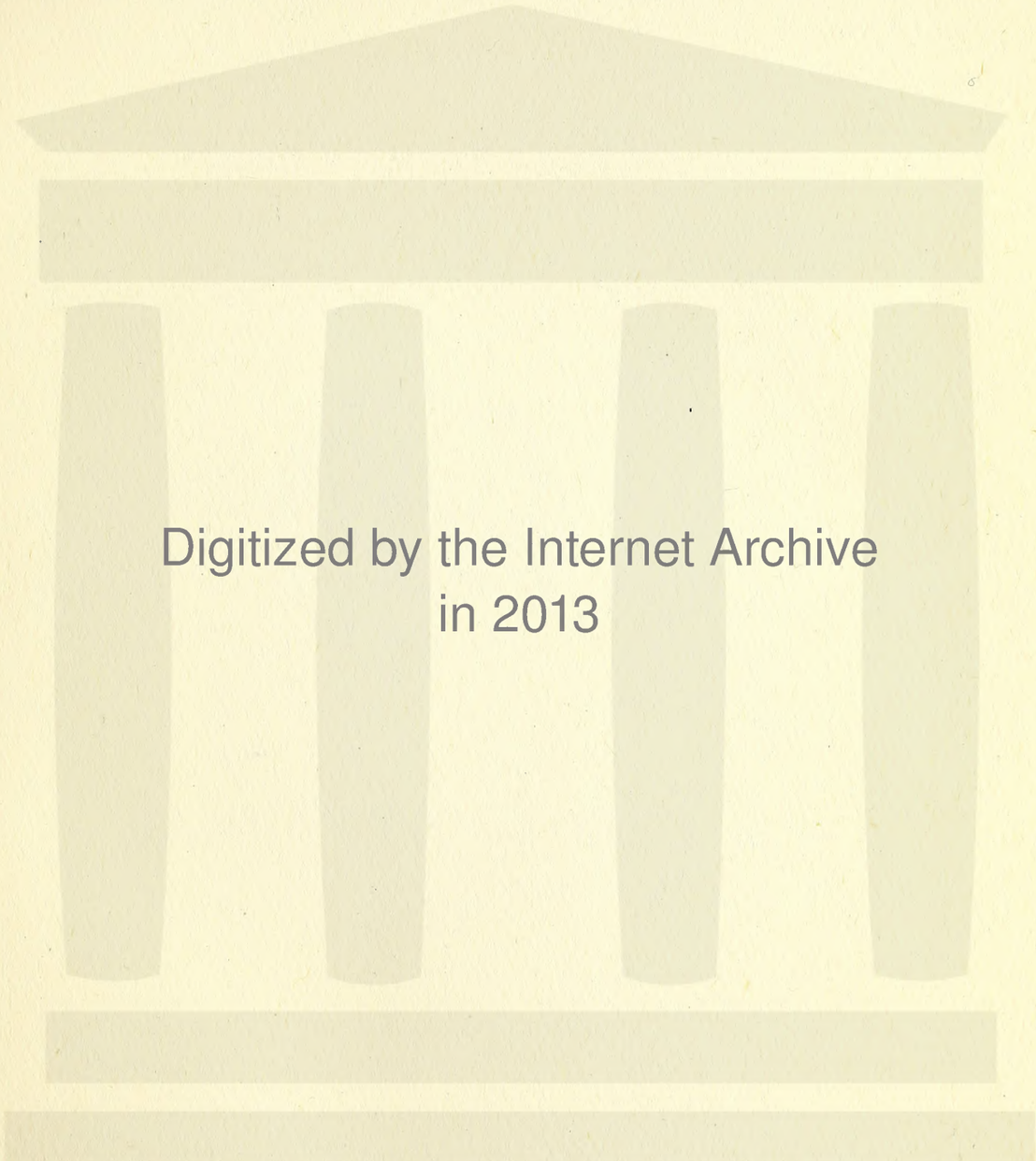
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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

ISSUED QUARTERLY

Volume XXVIII Numbers 1-4

JANUARY-OCTOBER

1951

PUBLISHED BY

STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Corner of Edenton and Salisbury streets

RALEIGH, N. C.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

Published by the State Department of Archives and History
Raleigh, N. C.

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This review was established in January, 1924, as a medium of publication and discussion of history in North Carolina. It is issued to other institutions by exchange, but to the general public by subscription only. The regular price is $2.00 per year. To members of the State Literary and Historical Association there is a special price of $1.00 per year. Back numbers may be procured at the regular price of $2.00 per volume, or $.50 per number.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVIII JANUARY, 1951 NUMBER 1

THE GENESIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA[1]

BY R. D. W. CONNOR

Our society has been fortunate this year in the subject, "The Academy Movement in North Carolina," chosen by our program committee for study, and equally fortunate in the manner in which the participants in the program have thus far discussed their topics. They have shown that this movement was the post-Revolution counterpart in the social history of the state of the post-Revolution political movement that it accompanied. Both were the products of the liberalizing trends of the social and political ideals expressed in the American Revolution. As Dr. Knight, in his *Public Education in North Carolina,* has pointed out: "With the American Revolution and the beginning of the national period, a new type of institution began to develop in the United States and to provide more or less extensive educational facilities. This new school was the academy, the forerunner of the modern public high school.

In the course of time, the academy displaced the colonial classical school which was largely reproduced from the English type, with its narrow curriculum and appeal to exclusive social classes. The academy, designed to meet the more comprehensive needs of its time, was largely a non-profit private institution, chartered by the state for public purposes and as such was usually granted certain special privileges and immunities to enable it the better to attain its objectives. Between 1776 and 1825, the two strategic dates in the educational history of North Carolina, charters were granted to no less than 170 such acad-

[1] Presidential address delivered to the Historical Society of North Carolina at its meeting in Chapel Hill, November 4, 1949. Dr. Connor had planned to document the article before its publication but his death prevented his doing so. In view of this situation it is being published without the usual footnotes. The Editors.

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emies, while numerous others sprang up and operated for a time without the benefit of incorporation. The clientele of these academies was limited but the territorial area which they served was state-wide and therefore, although they catered chiefly to the more fortunate social and economic classes, their influence in the educational thinking of all classes was potent and lasting. They flourished until about 1850, after which they began to decline, gradually and reluctantly yielding the field to the public high school, which of course expressed more accurately modern ideals of education. Thus the academy was the bridge between the old conservative English classical school of colonial times and the more liberal American public high school of our own times.

The academy, however, was something more in our educational structure than a bridge over which successive generations were to pass from one educational era to another. For nearly a century it was the vital spark that kept alive whatever aspirations the people of North Carolina cherished for adequate educational facilities and was especially a potent factor in the origin and development of institutions of higher learning. We have long been accustomed in North Carolina to trace the origin of our modern educational establishment, from the University at its apex to the primary school at its base, to the forty-first article of the constitution of 1776. But to suppose that to have been the case is to suppose that the constitution was born in a vacuum, whereas as a matter of fact the principles and ideals expressed in that document, especially in the forty-first article, had been germinating in the colony for almost a hundred years. The forty-first article, which required the legislature to establish a system of public schools, was racy of the soil of North Carolina and the end product of an ideal first expressed in statutory form more than a third of a century earlier.

The first recorded effort by legislative action to establish a college in North Carolina at public expense was made in 1754. In that year, as you will recall, the Seven Years War between England and France broke out and immediately sucked their colonies in North America into the maelstrom. After the French had seized certain strategic points along the western frontier of Virginia, the crown ordered the other southern colonies to go

to Virginia's aid. Accordingly the General Assembly of North Carolina promptly passed an act, which was approved by the acting governor, Matthew Rowan, providing for the issuance of bills of credit in the sum of £40,000 for the purpose of equipping and dispatching a regiment of North Carolina troops to the aid of its sister colony, and "for other purposes therein mentioned." These other purposes were declared to be "to promote good order, Literature, and true Religion, in all the parts of this Province." To implement this program, the legislature earmarked £6,000 of this sum to be used for "founding and endowing a Public School" in the colony, the term "Public School" obviously being used in the sense that it was applied to such institutions as Eton, Rugby, and Harrow in the mother country. But the war began badly for the English and in 1755, according to Governor Arthur Dobbs, the royal governor of North Carolina, "upon an extraordinary exigency during the War," the £6,000 earmarked for education, had been "borrowed and employed for his Majesty's Service for military purposes."

The General Assembly, strongly supported by Governor Dobbs, repeatedly sought to recover this sum for its original purpose but although "a Tax was laid for replacing it," the royal assent to the petition was withheld. In 1757 the British parliament appropriated £50,000 to reimburse the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina for their extraordinary expenditures in support of the war, over and above their quotas. The next year the General Assembly of North Carolina petitioned the king for authority to use this colony's portion of the fund "for purchasing glebes" and "erecting and establishing a Free School in each County." Governor Dobbs recommended that the petition be granted but the Board of Trade, to which it was referred for consideration, reported that upon an examination of the act of 1754 it found the Assembly's request "to be liable to great objection" and instructed the Governor "to recommend to the Assembly to amend it in those points in which it was objected to." This the legislators refused to do and when they renewed their request in 1763, after the close of the war, the Board replied that "it was not fit to grant what the Assembly now desired until they thought proper to comply . . . with what had been

recommended to them." Since the legislature still refused to "comply," the plan of 1754 was abandoned and for this failure the General Assembly must bear equal responsibility with the Board of Trade.

Just what the General Assembly and the Governor had in mind in recommending the establishment of a "Free School in each County" is not clear. It was certainly a different conception from that expressed in the act of 1754 which specifically provided only for the establishment and endowment of "a Public School" in the colony. Perhaps some light is thrown on this point by a letter from Governor Dobbs to the Board of Trade, dated January 22, 1759, in which, urging that the assembly's petition be granted, he expressed the opinion that the free county schools should be "only for English scholars to learn to read, write, and account with some other branches of the Mathematicks," whereas the "one Public Provincial school for the languages, etc., would be enough to be endowed."

Following this failure, the next effort to establish a college in North Carolina was made by the Presbyterians of Mecklenburg County who in 1770 persuaded Governor William Tryon, who had succeeded Dobbs in 1765, to recommend to the General Assembly that it establish "a public seminary in some part of the back Country of this Colony for the education of youth." The legislature promptly complied by passing an act, which the governor approved on January 15, 1771, entitled "An Act for establishing and endowing of Queen's College in the Town of Charlotte in Mecklenburg County." So far as extant records reveal, this was the first time the word "college" appears in any legislation enacted in North Carolina before the winning of independence. The act emphasizes the urgent need for "a Seminary of Learning" in the colony at which students, "after having acquired at a Grammar School a competent knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew and Latin Languages" could "imbibe the principles of Science and Virtue" and "obtain under learned, pious and exemplary teachers in a collegiate or academic mode of instruction a regular and finished education in order to qualify them for the service of their friends and Country."

To place the proposed college "on a lasting and permanent basis," the act created "a Body Politic or Corporate, by the name

of the Fellows and Trustees of the incorporated Society, for founding, establishing and endowing Queen's College in Charlotte Town," and vested in them the powers customarily granted to such corporations. Among them were the powers to elect a president, a treasurer, and "three or less number of Tutors"; to adopt "rules and ordinances" for the government of the college which should correspond and be as near as may be agreeable to the Laws and Customs of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge or those of the Colleges in America"; and to grant "the degree of Batchelor and Master of Arts."

This charter was granted by the General Assembly and approved by the governor in direct violation of a standing royal instruction that no schoolmaster from Great Britain should be permitted "to keep school" in the province "without the license of the Lord Bishop of London" and that no person resident in the colony, "or that shall come from other parts shall be permitted to keep school in North Carolina" without the governor's license first obtained. In an attempt to make the establishment of a college under Presbyterian auspices palatable to the political and ecclesiastical powers in England, Governor Tryon had required the assembly to insert in the charter a provision "that no person shall be admitted to be President of the said College but who is of the Established Church and who upon being nominated and appointed by the Fellows and Trustees . . . shall be duly licensed by the Governor or Commander in Chief for the time being." The governor, however, did not insist that similar restrictions be placed upon the selection of trustees or professors because he knew that those who were sponsoring the college would never agree to such restrictions and he especially desired not to offend so influential a class as that which was composed of the Presbyterian clergy and laity.

Queen's College was to be supported in part by endowments from private sources and in part by revenues derived from public taxation. Authority was given to the corporation to acquire land and to accept donations of any kind from private persons. To supplement such donations, a duty of six pence per gallon was laid on all rum and other spirituous liquors "brought into and disposed of in Mecklenburg County" for a period of ten years.

These taxes were to be "collected, accounted for and paid to the Treasurer of the said College in the same manner and under the same Penalties and Restrictions as other duties on Spirituous liquors are now paid and collected by Law."

In due time Governor Tryon dispatched the act to London with a strong plea for the royal assent. He knew that he stood a first class chance of receiving a stern reprimand for approving the act in violation of his instructions and plunged at once into a defence of his action. He pointed out in the first place that the act required the president of the college "to be of the Established Church and licensed by the Governor," and secondly that he had approved the act because he desired to show his appreciation for the timely aid which he had received from the Presbyterian clergy and laity in his recent campaign against the Regulators.

But this plea was acceptable neither at Whitehall nor at St. James's. The Board of Trade expressed its sympathy with the governor's tolerant spirit but thought the king should not "add Incouragement to toleration" by assenting to an establishment in North Carolina which would give "great and permanent Advantages to a sect of Dissenters from the Established Church who have extended themselves over that Province in very considerable numbers." Other provisions of the act were perhaps even more objectionable to the members of the Board of Trade, whose apprehensions were excited by the clause levying a duty on liquors "brought into and disposed of in Mecklenburg County" which, they complained, was so loosely drawn as to leave it doubtful "how far it may be strained to exempt Spirits manufactured within that County." At any rate the provision was clearly contrary to the principles of English mercantilism, and was therefore anathema to men whose religion began and ended in commerce. Moreover, the Board also declared, quite properly, that "a Foundation professedly for general uses" should not be supported "by a Tax partially imposed upon any one County in particular." And finally they reminded the governor that the charter was one of those acts of "such an unusual and extraordinary nature and importance" that, in compliance with a long-standing royal instruction, designed to assure royal control over

colonial legislation, he should not have approved it in the absence of a clause suspending its operation until the royal assent had been obtained.

The Board of Trade accordingly turned thumbs down on the act and on April 22, 1772, the crown disallowed it. A year passed, however, before this action was certified to Governor Josiah Martin, who had succeeded Tryon in 1771, and it was not until June 28, 1773, that Martin by proclamation announced the crown's decision and warned all persons "to take notice and govern themselves accordingly." The Fellows and Trustees of Queen's College, however, had already opened their college and with a change of name to Queen's Museum continued to operate it without benefit of charter or of liquor tax until 1777 when it was rechartered under the name of Liberty Hall Academy.

The friends of Queen's College had lost their charter but not their determination to have a college to their own liking. Their chance came in 1776 when acts of the representatives of the people of North Carolina no longer required the approval of a king to make them valid. On October 15, 1776, the people of the recently declared independent state held an election to elect delegates to a provincial congress which had been called "for the express Purpose of framing a Constitution under the Authority of the People." The delegates elected from Mecklenburg County were Waightstill Avery, Hezekiah Alexander, John Phifer, Robert Irwin, and Zachius Wilson. On November 1 "a general conference of the inhabitants of Mecklenburg" was held in the courthouse in Charlotte "for the express purpose of drawing up instructions" for the guidance of the county's delegates to the congress who were summoned to attend. The chairman of the meeting was John McKnitt Alexander who, together with delegates Avery and Hezekiah Alexander, had been a trustee of Queen's College. This conference adopted forty-two instructions for the guidance of the Mecklenburg delegates, one of which was as follows:

"You shall endeavour to obtain a law to establish a college in this county and to procure a handsome endowment for the same."

The congress met at Halifax, November 12, and the next day appointed a committee to draft a form of a constitution for the

now independent state. No records seem to be extant that throw any light on the contributions of individual members in the drafting and adoption of the constitution, but surely it does not put an unduly heavy strain on one's imagination to assume that the Mecklenburg delegates did not forget their instructions to return to Charlotte with a college in their pockets to be supported "by a handsome endowment." But the Congress, fortunately, took a broader view of the state's educational problem, to which it gave expression in Article 41 of the new constitution, ratified on December 18, 1776. That article required

> That a school or schools be established by the Legislature, for the convenient Instruction of Youth, with such Salaries to the Masters, paid by the Public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices; and all useful Learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities."

Dr. Knight considers this article "the first signal victory for education in North Carolina," and one is not disposed to controvert this opinion. Certainly the article did visualize the entire state rather a single county as the logical unit for an adequate system of schools; it left the state free in its own good time to throw off the shackles which medieval ecclesiasticism, social privilege, economic greed, and political power had imposed upon the education of youth.

Thus the forty-first article heralded a significant social revolution in North Carolina. But revolutions do not happen overnight, nor do they run their course in a single day. The forces that produce them must be sought in the remote past, their results in the distant future. Thus a declaration of revolutionary principles and purposes is always an act of courage and a challenge of faith. Such was the nature of Article 41, but how great the courage, how profound the faith, appears only when we realize the social, economic, and political conditions that overshadowed its birth.

In 1776 North Carolina, making common cause with her sister states, had just entered upon what was evidently to be a long and devastating war—a war not only with the greatest military, naval, and economic power of the world, but also a civil war in which neighbor would fight against neighbor, brother against

brother, in bitter internecine strife—a war certain to leave in its wake legacies of economic destruction, social disintegration, and political animosities.

In American history the two great years are 1776 and 1789—the year of independence and the year of federal union. One tested the courage, the other challenged the faith of the American people. North Carolina shared both with the other states, but few if any of the others labored under equally discouraging conditions. At the latter date North Carolina's 390,000 people were thinly distributed over an area of more than 90,000 square miles. They were without racial, social, economic, or political unity. Social and political ostracism had driven thousands of her most substantial people into exile. A worthless currency had produced an uncontrollable inflation and a harvest of bankruptcy. Economic and social institutions had sickened and died. Agriculture had languished, industry had crumbled into ruin, and the stream of commerce had dried up. Not a newspaper had come off the state press in five years. The postal service had petered out. Churches and schools had ceased to function. Political conditions were chaotic. The western half of the state had seceded, set up housekeeping for itself as the State of Franklin, and was in armed rebellion against the mother state. Feebleness and inefficiency characterized the administration of the state's government. It could not meet the just demands of its veterans who were clamoring for their promised bounties, it could not collect its revenues, it could not pay its bills nor redeem its credit.

Hope of relief through the instrumentality of the federal government had proved a delusion. The Confederation itself had fallen into contempt. Its Congress had become a mere paper government. Its treasury was bare, its credit sunk, its authority scorned, its army mutinous. The states snarled at each other across disputed boundary lines, knifed each other's industry, stifled each other's commerce, and there was no restraining hand to prevent their coming to blows. It is true that a new federal constitution had just come out of Philadelphia, but it was still an untried experiment and two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, had refused to ratify it. Anarchy was just around the corner and the Old World sneered and jeered at American democracy.

Such were the conditions during the thirteen years from 1776 to 1789. Nothing could be done under such circumstances to implement the mandate in the forty-first article of the constitution by appropriate legislation. An effort was made in 1784 when William Sharpe of Rowan County introduced in the house of commons a bill, citing in the preamble Article 41 in its support, "for establishing a University in this State to be distinguished by the title of the President and Trustees of the North Carolina University." But neither the time nor the popular will were propitious and Sharpe's bill was smothered under an avalanche of legislative indifference.

In the meantime the academy movement which had begun in 1760, little understood and less noticed, had developed rapidly into a powerful and widespread force. By 1789 there were twenty-five of these institutions in the state, found in one-third of its counties from Currituck County in the east to Davidson County in what is now the State of Tennessee in the west. Their boards of trustees were composed of hundreds of the most influential men in the state, their principals and teachers were eminent in the church, and their graduates were leaders in the affairs of both church and state. It required but little experience to convince these men that their academies could not long survive in a vacuum and would surely perish unless the existing vacuum at the top were soon filled by "one or more universities" in which the graduates of the academies could expect to find that their aspirations for "useful Learning," beyond the grammar school level, were "duly encouraged and promoted."

This idea was clearly expressed by Dr. Samuel E. McCorkle, one of the most eminent of the leaders of the academy movement, in an announcement in 1793 of his purpose to open an academy at Thyatira, in Rowan County, near Salisbury. He stated that his school was "intended as a nursery for the University," that it would "teach young men the first rudiments of language and science, and so prepare them for a more complete education at the University, which it is hoped will ere long be prepared to receive them." The school, he explained, would be under the patronage of the "Trustees of the late Salisbury Academy." Thus the leaders of the academy movement, throughout the long years of social, economic, and political confusion, kept their ideas,

their hopes, alive and in the public consciousness. They did not forget the constitutional mandate to the General Assembly to establish a university, and they did not intend to let their representatives in the legislature forget it.

It is a significant fact, and worthy of particular notice, that the interest of the leaders in the academy movement was in a university—not in a sublimated academy masquerading as a university. Between 1776 and 1789 the legislature granted charters to eighteen academies. The first of these "seminaries of learning," chartered soon after the adoption of the constitution of 1776, was none other than the former Queen's College, rebaptized in 1777 as "Liberty Hall in the County of Mecklenburg." One-third of its trustees had been trustees of Queen's. To forestall the possible cultivation of any ambition that Liberty Hall might cherish to become one of the state's universities, the General Assembly inserted in its charter the following warning:

> That this Act, or any Thing therein contained, shall not extend, or be understood to make this Academy one of those Seminaries mentioned in the Constitution, to oblige this State to Support any President, Professor or Tutor, of said Academy, or other Charge or Expence thereof whatsoever; this Act of Incorporation having been obtained at the earnest Prayer and Intreaty of the said Trustees and others who were desirous to contribute towards the Support thereof.

A similar provision, quite as specific if not always so elaborate, was inserted in each of the charters granted to eleven other academies during the years 1777-1789.

These academies served to keep people and legislatures alike mindful of Article 41, and from them radiated the influences that finally brought about the establishment of the University of North Carolina. The legislature of 1789 met in Fayetteville, November 2, 1789. The next day the house of commons appointed a committee "to report what bills of a public Nature are necessary to be passed into Laws at the present Session, and to prepare the same." Among its members were Matthew Locke of Rowan County and William R. Davie of Halifax. On November 9 Locke, chairman of the committee, reported that the committee recommended that a bill should be passed to establish a university and three days later Davie introduced his "Bill to establish an Uni-

versity in this State." Locke was a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy established at Salisbury in 1784, and Davie, a former student at Liberty Hall Academy at Charlotte, was in 1789 a trustee of the Warrenton Academy. Another index to the influence of the academies in the establishment of the University is the fact that of the forty men who composed the original board of trustees twenty-two were or had been trustees of twenty-seven academies.

The University of North Carolina is the child of the American Revolution. The social and political philosophy that inspired that epochal event in world history was derived not from the static ideals of the Old World but from the liberal ideals of the New World. The men of '76 knew well enough that philosophical concepts are but barren dreams unless they find concrete expression in living institutions; they knew that their ideals of popular government would certainly fail unless they replaced their Old World institutions with New World institutions.

This idea was the inspiration that gave birth to the state university, whether in Pennsylvania, Georgia, or North Carolina. The mere fact of the establishment of a new university would not have been of any special significance. At the opening of the War of Independence there were nine colleges in the colonies. All but one of them were founded by religious sects and operated under sectarian authority, and all of them had been founded on the principle that higher education is a matter of private, not of public concern. Had the men who founded the University of North Carolina taken them for its model it would have been just another college of the Old World type. But they did not take them for its model. The University of North Carolina was founded as a public institution. It was endowed from public resources. It was governed by public officials. It was administered in the public interest and admitted of no sectarian control. Thus it has been from the beginning, and thus is broke sharply with traditional concepts and blazed a new trail for higher education in America. "Originality in education," wrote the late William K. Boyd in 1919, was found "in the University of North Carolina."

Educators and divines, trained in the old school, threw up their hands in amazement, if not in horror, at the new university's ideals and practices. In 1796 Joseph Caldwell, a recent graduate of Princeton, came to Chapel Hill as a professor. One of his close

friends at Princeton was John H. Hobart, afterwards Episcopal bishop of New York, who in a letter replying to one he had received from Caldwell describing his journey from Princeton to Chapel Hill, wrote that he understood the planters of Virginia were "men of hospitality and of open and polished manners," to which he added:

"This I suppose is not the character of the planters of Chapel Hill. It is to be hoped, however, that the rays of light from your University, the sun of science will illumine the darkness of society, and chase away ignorance and vice. From what you say however, this hope will not be immediately realized. With all due respect to the faculty of the University of North Carolina, I must be permitted to observe that they constitute as motly a group as I have lately heard of—Presbyterians and Arians—Infidels and Roman Catholics. Bless me what a collection. The *age of reason* has surely come. Superstition and bigotry are buried in one grave. Philosophy and charity begin to bless the earth. Transporting thought. What a glory to the University of North Carolina that in her sacred seats they have first appeared."

The University filled the vacuum, to which reference has already been made, that had retarded the development of academies in the state. As an immediate result, the academy took on a new significance, the field of its work was greatly extended, and it moved forward to occupy them. Between the founding of the University in 1789 and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860, 308 new academies were chartered and their curriculums expanded to meet the entrance requirements of the University. Some of them went so far as to arrange their vacations and terms so as to coincide with those of the University. But perhaps the highest card that an academy could play was to be able to announce that some former professor of the University had joined its faculty. A notable example was the announcement in 1805 by the trustees of Pittsborough Academy that William Bingham, "one of the Professors in the University, has been engaged with them as President of the Academy." The salary problem at the University was as acute in 1805 as it has been ever since!

It is not my purpose to enter into a history of the University; my subject is "The Genesis of Higher Education in North Caro-

lina." We may almost say that the "genesis" came to a close with the establishment of the University in 1789, the laying of the foundation of its physical plant in 1793, and the opening of its doors to students in 1795. But we cannot abruptly dismiss the subject at this point. Education on a collegiate and university level in North Carolina was a logical outcome of the academy movement, and as the academies inspired the establishment of the University, so the University in turn gave a fresh stimulus to the academies that vastly increased their number and their usefulness.

Moreover, the University is not the only institution of higher education which owes its establishment chiefly to the academy movement. Davidson College, Wake Forest, and Duke University all trace their genesis to it. Davidson and Wake Forest began as manual labor schools, a peculiar development of the academy that laid stress on manual labor rather than on the so-called cultural studies. Neither succeeded on that plan; the scheme of manual labor seems to have been popular with everybody except the students, whose opposition to it soon forced both institutions to abandon their original plans and to reorganize under charters that differed but little from those of the stereotyped academies. Under a new charter granted in 1838 the Baptist Literary Institute became Wake Forest College, and in 1841 Davidson Manual Labor School was chartered as Davidson College. Duke University traces its ancestral line back through Trinity College, Normal School, and Union Institute, to Brantley York's log schoolhouse in Randolph County, founded in 1838, and first incorporated in 1841, as an academy in all but name. Ten years later, aspiring to become a teacher-training institute, it procured a charter from the legislature under the name of Normal College. Failing in this plan, the trustees in 1859 induced the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church to take it over as a church school which was re-chartered in 1859, and Trinity College, like Davidson and Wake Forest, became a typical liberal arts college.

Thus the academy had fulfilled its mission and with the overthrow of the aristocratic ideal of education that followed the Civil War, making a more democratic system of education imperative, it was forced to yield its place in the educational scheme of things to the modern public high school.

CHARLES PETTIGREW, FIRST BISHOP-ELECT OF THE NORTH CAROLINA EPISCOPAL CHURCH[1]

By Bennett H. Wall

Charles Pettigrew, more familiarly known to his contemporaries as "Old Parson" Pettigrew, was born March 20, 1744, near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. His father, James Pettigrew, a Scotch-Irish immigrant, moved from Pennsylvania to Lunenburg County, Virginia, about 1757. While in Virginia Charles attended the famous classical school of Reverend Moses Waddel. The diligence with which the young student applied himself led the blind schoolmaster to reward his pupil with a present of several Greek books.[2] His schooling with Waddel was interrupted by the move of his family to Granville County, North Carolina, where James Pettigrew purchased 300 acres of land. Henry Pattillo, a Presbyterian minister, noted teacher, and head of an academy, was pastor of a church in that county and the Pettigrews attended his church. It was Pattillo who shaped the education and possibly the career of Charles, the only member of the Pettigrew family to attend Pattillo's school.[3] The Pattillo-Pettigrew correspondence, after Charles moved to Edenton, reveals that the master had been an inquisitive as well as stimulating teacher and that he had pushed his students as fast as they could assimilate the work offered.[4] In 1768 James Pettigrew and all of the members of his family, except Charles, moved to the Abbeville District in South Carolina where the family put down more permanent roots.

The reason Charles Pettigrew remained in North Carolina in 1768 was that he had found profitable employment as a school teacher in Bute County.[5] In 1776 twenty-two year old Charles Pettigrew was employed by Philemon Hawkins and Mrs. Priscilla Macon to teach all students who applied but principally their

[1] A portion of this research was made possible through a grant from the University of Kentucky Research Fund Committee.

[2] James Waddel to Charles Pettigrew, February 10, 1804, Pettigrew Family Manuscripts, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Hereinafter cited as Pettigrew MSS.

[3] James Johnston Pettigrew copy of the deposition of William Pettigrew, Pettigrew MSS.

[4] Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, December 13, 1788, April 6, 1792; Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, May 12, 1792, Pettigrew MSS.

[5] Now Franklin and Warren counties.

sons, Joseph and Benjamin Hawkins and John and Nathaniel Macon. Pettigrew instructed these students for only a few years but kept in touch with them for many years.[6] Three of these men later entered Princeton and two of them became famous in the early national period of the United States.[7]

In 1766 Charles Pettigrew began to contact friends in Edenton, a leading seaport on the Albemarle Sound. From the William Parkes Company he purchased many items including classics, books of sermons, and commentaries.[8] His friends in the port of Edenton supplied him with the information that in 1770 a "Publick" school had been established in that town and that the master of the school was required to be a churchman, recommended by a majority of the board of trustees and licensed by the governor.[9] Pettigrew made application for a teaching position there, and in 1773 he received his appointment as master of the "Publick School in Edenton" during the pleasure of Josiah Martin, the royal governor of North Carolina.[10]

As soon as he received the news of his appointment, Pettigrew resigned his position in Bute County and moved to Edenton. He became a member of the Church of England about this time and obtained a position as lay reader of St. Paul's Church in Edenton. Since several members of the vestry of St. Paul's Parish were trustees of the academy, it is reasonable to assume that he had contacted these men and made known to them his desire to become a minister of the Church of England. Whether or not that view is correct, it is known that while occupying the positions of schoolmaster and lay reader he engaged in the studies expected of candidates for ordination in that church. In the spring of 1775 he sailed for London where he was duly ordained deacon and priest by the bishops of London and Rochester.

Pettigrew did not tarry in London, being anxious to return to the colony[11] and begin his ministerial tasks. He was assigned to

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[6] William Edward Dodd, *Life of Nathaniel Macon* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1903), 3.

[7] Nathaniel Macon served as a member of Congress, Speaker of the House, and United States Senator. Benjamin Hawkins served as United States Senator and Indian Agent.

[8] Account of Charles Pettigrew with William Parkes Company, September 1, 1771, Pettigrew MSS.

[9] William Lloyd De Rosset, Jr. (publisher and editor), *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina, Addresses and Papers by Clergymen and Laymen of the Diocese of North and East Carolina* (Wilmington, 1902), p. 17. Hereinafter cited as De Rosset, *Church History.*

[10] License as Teacher of the Edenton Publick School, June 23, 1773, Pettigrew MSS.

[11] Griffith J. McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* (2 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858), I, 241-242, Arthur Iredell to James Iredell, April 25, 1777, Hereinafter cited as McRee, *Iredell.*

the Edenton parish by the Bishop of London, who was the "Diocesan of the Plantations."[12] Reverend Charles Pettigrew was to receive an annual salary of twenty pounds sterling as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was the last missionary assigned to the colony of North Carolina.

Charles Pettigrew arrived at Edenton late in the spring of 1773.[13] The state of the Anglican Church in the colony at this time was most unsatisfactory from the standpoint of the devout. Numerous sects, especially the Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers, were making inroads on the Anglican parishes in the tidewater region. This condition was occasioned by two factors: first, the dissoluteness of many of the clergymen assigned to the colony and second, the rising tide of hostility to all things English. Many of the clergy drank and gambled, and in general neglected their parishes. Even Reverend Daniel Earl, Pettigrew's advisor and colleague, was popularly supposed to be more interested in his herring fishery than in the spiritual welfare of his congregation. On one occasion a wag placed this brief poem on the door of St. Paul's Church:

A very fine church
And a very fine steeple
A Herring-catching parson
And a wicked set of people

Several years earlier Reverend C. E. Taylor, an Anglican minister sent to North Carolina by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, denounced Earl in a letter to the Secretary of the Society. Earl had refused to let him preach in St. Paul's Church, although many members requested that he do so. Taylor charged that Earl collected excessive fees from the poor for such rites as baptism and administering sacraments to the dying. He urged the establishment of an American Episcopate ". . . if it tends to no other purpose than to take cognizance of the Clergy, some of whom (I am sorry to say) are the greatest scandal to religion we have . . . ." He concluded his diatribe by stating with regard to

[12] Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and The American Colonies* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1902), 4-36.
[13] Thomas Jones to Joseph Hewes, June 28, 1775, Hayes Collection (at Hayes near Edenton). Abstracted copy in Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Earl ". . . the people themselves have a greater regard for Religion than he. . . ."[14] According to other accounts, Reverend Earl also neglected the physical condition of his church. Despite this bleak outlook, Charles Pettigrew was anxious to begin preaching. Perhaps he believed that he could remedy or improve the state of religion in his parish.

At the time of Pettigrew's arrival the Edenton parish to which he was assigned was so extensive that the regular pastor, Daniel Earl, preached at St. Paul's only one Sunday out of three and at other chapels the remaining Sundays. Pettigrew was prevailed upon to follow the same plan. "Notwithstanding which . . ." he took the "Barkley Parish in Perquimans, the adjoining county," for the year 1775 and agreed to ". . . make up the vacant Sundays by preaching on week days."[15] This parish contained five chapels[16] and kept the young minister busy. He visited Barkley Parish by travelling by boat on the Albemarle Sound and on occasion he went by land, on the north shore of the sound.[17] The principal portion of his salary was subscribed by his parishioners. No record is available of the subscriptions of his Barkley parishioners but in 1775 those in Edenton supplemented his annual salary from the Society by more than seventy pounds.[18]

On June 19, 1776, the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish met and drew up a document known as the "Declaration of Independence of St. Paul's Parish." This document denied the right of Parliament to impose "Taxes upon these colonies" or

to regulate the internal policy thereof and that all attempts by Fraud or Force to establish and exercise such claims and powers are violations of the Peace and Security of the People and ought to be resisted to the utmost and that the people of this Province singly and Collectively are bound by the Acts and Resolutions of the Continental and the Provincial Congress.

The subscribers elected six delegates to the provincial congress and promised to support the acts and resolutions of this and subsequent congresses. Their defiant spirit was marked by the mild

[14] William Laurence Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, IX, 21. Hereinafter cited as *Colonial Records*.
[15] *Colonial Records*, X, 496.
[16] *Colonial Records*, X, 496.
[17] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, March 15, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.
[18] Salary Subscription List, 1775, Pettigrew MSS. It is interesting to note that one of his parishioners, James Iredell, a prominent political figure in North Carolina and later a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, cautiously suffixed his subscription of four pounds with the statement "if he is living and can conveniently pay it."

and conciliatory tone of the introductory sentence: "We the Subscribers professing our allegiance to the King and acknowledging the Constitutional executive power of government. . . ."[19] The document can only by the most liberal interpretation be called a "Declaration of Independence." It was merely an indication that the vestry shared and endorsed the actions of the provincial government.

With the outbreak of hostilities the Anglican clergy in North Carolina and the remainder of the colonies were placed at a tremendous disadvantage in matters spiritual. In addition to the absentee control over spiritual matters exercised by the Bishop of London and the fact that most of the clergy were employed and partially paid by the Society, they labored under the theoretical disadvantage of supporting a legal establishment. Many of the clergy, feeling that the oath of allegiance to the king bound them, either left the colony or became outright Tories and the church organization virtually dissolved.[20] Finally, the very term "England" was detrimental to the church during the heat of the Revolution.

Pettigrew's role during the Revolution is difficult to evaluate. During the first years of the war he continued to preach and pursue his ministerial duties with vigor. He was suspected of being a Tory by many of the radical Whigs but this would appear to be without foundation. Since he was affiliated with the Church of England, he felt bound by his oath to maintain his connection with that church. Furthermore, he needed his salary from the Society. This fact is substantiated by his effort to get the Society to honor a bill of exchange for his services as late as 1783.[21] In 1776 Pettigrew reported to the Secretary of the Society that he ". . . already baptized an hundred and twenty children, six grown persons and administered the Sacrement of the Lord's Supper to Eighteen Communicants . . ." and he took pride in this achievement. He concluded his letter with the remark that he could "mention nothing with regard to public affairs for such letters"

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[19] "Records of the Proceedings of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Edenton, North Carolina, 1701-1841," 263. (Typewritten copy in the possession of Dr. and Mrs. Frank Porter Graham.) Herinafter cited as "Vestry Records."

[20] Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 333. Hereinafter cited as Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina.*

[21] Reuben Harvey to Charles Pettigrew, April 14, 1784; correspondence, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.

were "not allowed to pass."[22] The Society was proud of his accomplishments, stating officially: "Throughout the most trying period [the Revolution], however, the Reverend C. Pettigrew was enabled to continue his missionary journeys and to baptize 3,000 infants within eight years."[23]

Despite this closeness of his religious ties with England some evidence indicates that he was sympathetic to the cause of his fellow citizens. On November 28, 1777, upon request he held divine services before the state assembly.[24] A resolution granting him fifty pounds for performing this service passed the senate[25] but the house refused to concur.[26] Just what occasioned this disagreement is not stated but conceivably Pettigrew's loyalty may have been questioned.

In 1778 Reverend Daniel Earl resigned as rector of St. Paul's because of poor health. Charles Pettigrew was elected to succeed him and his parishioners subscribed 100 pounds to support their new rector, who was to preach on alternate Sundays.[27] Another major event of 1778 for Pettigrew was his marriage to Mary Blount, daughter of Colonel John Blount, and a close connection of several prominent North Carolina families. Blount, an enthusiastic Whig, belonged to the group skeptical of Pettigrew's loyalty to the cause of independence. Eventually he sought to force his son-in-law to take a stand. The occasion was the continuing success of the English effort to gain control of the southern ports of Savannah and Charleston and to use them as bases to strike inland. This caused many persons to be drafted who had not been too involved in the actual war before 1780. Colonel John Blount was very desirous that his son-in-law serve and one source indicates that he promoted Pettigrew's call to the colors out of malice. Richard Templeman wrote Charles Pettigrew:

I did not imagine Colonel Blount would carry his vindictive disposition so far—but be it with him. I hope, as you are determined to march with the militia, youl meet every indulgence thats in the power of Genl Gregory or the commanding officer to afford you, and that youl act the philosopher in parting with your fam-

[22] *Colonial Records*, X, 496.
[23] *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of The Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892* (London: 1893), 25.
[24] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina*, XII, 149. Hereinafter cited as *State Records*.
[25] *State Records*, XII, 155.
[26] *State Records*, XII, 321-322.
[27] Salary Subscription Lists, 1778, Pettigrew MSS.

ily and going thro the fatigues of a Summers Campaign in a Southern climate.[28]

Pettigrew was not anxious to serve and as soon as he was drafted he secured a substitute and was discharged. On the back of the discharge he noted, "a $7,500 [*sic*] touch—the price of a clergyman's exemption from military service in North Carolina."[29] It is possible that he was not in good health at this time, for several accounts indicate that his church was in a dilapidated state, which condition Charles Pettigrew would never permit when he was in good health. But 1781 brought the Revolution to a close and in 1783 the Treaty of Paris was signed officially ending the war.

It is interesting to note that during the Revolution and while Pettigrew was rector of St. Paul's he kept an account of the "Ballances due . . . by subscription" and that in some cases he scaled down individual subscriptions. Several of his parishioners paid their subscriptions in produce, and in one case the rector accepted barrelled herring in lieu of currency. When the subscribers failed to pay their pledges steps were taken to collect them. Each subscription list contains entries such as "declines to pay," "Judgment," and "appealed."[30] Since the parish taxes levied by the church vestry carried the sanction of law, there is little doubt that these subscriptions were collectible and that the only legal means of non-payment was to plead insolvency.[31]

Pettigrew lived in or near Edenton during the course of the Revolution. On the two Sundays that he did not serve his Edenton parish, he preached in the country chapels nearby.[32] In 1778, for conducting services at St. Paul's Church on every other Sunday, he was to receive a sum ". . . agreed on by the Parties that the several Subscriptions shall increase or diminish at the commencement of every year according to the Rise or fall of the money, so as to keep it equal to one hundred pounds in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four."[33] This provided him with a reasonable income and was supplemented by the congregations where he preached the remainder of his time. But in

[28] Richard Templeman to Charles Pettigrew, January 10, 1780, Pettigrew Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Hereinafter cited as Pettigrew Papers.
[29] Charles Pettigrew's Discharge from Military Service, June 27, 1780. Pettigrew MSS.
[30] Subscription Lists, 1775, 1778, 1781, Pettigrew MSS.
[31] "Vestry Records," 1-271. See also *The Religious and Historic Commemoration of Two Hundred Years of St. Paul's Parish, Edenton, N. C.* (Goldsboro, North Carolina, 1901), 5.
[32] Salary Subscription Lists, 1778, 1783, Pettigrew MSS.
[33] Salary Subscription Lists, 1778, Pettigrew MSS.

1783 the new subscription list for his parish in Edenton amounted to only forty-eight pounds and ten shillings.[34] This amount was insufficient for a family of four and it is not improbable that this reduction precipitated a desire to leave Edenton.

Another factor in his growing desire to change parishes was the fact that the task of supplying so extensive a parish as St. Paul's placed a strain on his health. An attack of spleen and a raging temperature prevented his attending a conference conducted by Francis Asbury early in 1784. He apologized for his nonattendance: "I had a great desire of being at your conference, and to have taken a small circuit some farther to the northward in quest of a more healthy situation as I am determined to leave this place."[35] This is the first indication that Pettigrew had made a decision to leave Edenton. Possibly the scarcity of competent clergymen was another factor rendering him dissatisfied, for he and his fellow clergymen were much in demand and opportunities to move to other parishes were numerous.

This state of indecision and the general religious listlessness of his parishioners hampered Pettigrew's religious activities. While he was away at St. Eustatia in 1785, his parish was visited by Dr. Thomas Coke, a renowned Methodist leader. Coke reported:

> I went to Edenton, a most wicked place. Here Mr. Pettigrew preaches. The people in general seemed to prefer the courthouse, which is an elegant place, so I went there accordingly, and preached to a large congregation . . . there seemed nothing but wickedness and dissipation in the tavern at which I put up . . . . I suppose Mr. Pettigrew does as much good in Edenton as a little chicken.[36]

Bishop Coke did not know that Pettigrew had made plans to move to Virginia because of the virtual collapse of his church organization in the Edenton area.

About a year prior to Coke's visit the vestry of Lynnhaven Parish, Kempsville, Princess Anne County, Virginia, approached Pettigrew on the subject of moving to that parish. Peter Singleton wrote that they would get more subscriptions as soon as the parishioners learned that Pettigrew was taking the parish. Singleton pointed out that a dwelling house had been located and

[34] Salary Subscription Lists, 1783, Pettigrew MSS.
[35] Charles Pettigrew to Francis Asbury, May 1, 1784, Pettigrew MSS.
[36] W. L. Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina* (Nashville, 1905), 163.

that the plantation Pettigrew had considered purchasing was still for sale. He concluded his letter by commenting "N.B. Most of the people of the county (Baptists excepted) earnestly wish to get you settled in this county."[37]

Pettigrew expected to move to Lynnhaven Parish early in 1785. Throughout the fall he corresponded with Singleton, William White, Phillip Bruce, and others, and in all of his letters he expressed confidence and satisfaction with his decision to leave Edenton. Before moving he hoped to stimulate his health by a short sea voyage. He wrote to Francis Asbury:

> I have it in contemplation to go on a voyage to sea before I move to which my Yoke fellow has been much averse till Lately, & now the great obstacle will be that of geting my own consent, which I find will be very Difficult—parting with my family is a most Disagreeable thought.[38]

To Edward Drumgoole he gave his reasons for taking a voyage:

> I have agreed to move to Princess Anne, Virginia and, as it would not be safe to move into a more cold and bleak air, in so relax'd a Habbit to say nothing about the honesty of taking the charge of a parish, while unable to do the Duties incumbent, & which would be their undoubted Claim; I have come to a resolution of making a voyage to the West Indies . . .[39]

Apparently Pettigrew thought that the final decision regarding the date of moving was a personal matter, for he had made no definite plans to move as late as December. He ignored a warning note in a letter from Peter Singleton that there were other applicants for the job[40] and continued to plan his voyage.

In January he sailed by way of Ocracoke for St. Eustatia. To his wife he wrote, "I know the Occocockers will be glad to see me as they will be ready freighted with Children to baptize & I hope I shall be able to give them a lecture, and to gratify them in that particular."[41] While at St. Eustatia he preached in town at the request of the governor and the principal gentlemen.[42] Pettigrew had taken two of his slaves from his plantation to St.

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[37] Peter Singleton to Charles Pettigrew, August 16, 1784, Pettigrew Papers.
[38] Charles Pettigrew to Francis Asbury, May 1, 1784, Pettigrew MSS.
[39] Charles Pettigrew to Edward Drumgoole, September 22, 1784, Drumgoole MSS., Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Hereinafter cited as Drumgoole MSS.
[40] Peter Singleton to Charles Pettigrew, December 30, 1784, Pettigrew Papers.
[41] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, January 24, 1785, Pettigrew MSS.
[42] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, March 11, 1785, Pettigrew MSS.

Eustatia to sell. His failure to make a speedy sale delayed his return for over a month.[43]

When he returned home in May he found several letters from members of the Lynnhaven Parish indicating that other clergymen had applied for the position. Peter Singleton had reported late in March, 1785, that the vestry was still for him although a Reverend James Simpson was "politicing" to get the job. Singleton explained:

> The vestry has no further meaning, that I know of, by inclosing you a Copy of an Act of Assembly incorporating the church & c, than of fixing the time you shall be here to the 1st of May, than to expedite your removal. . . .[44]

But Pettigrew did not receive this letter of March 21, telling him to come before the first of May, until he returned. In his absence, his plans for moving to the new parish were carried out. As an advance guard he had sent two of his slaves to begin planting a corn crop.[45] Hence he was highly indignant to learn that his failure to assume his post as rector of Lynnhaven Parish before the first of May had caused the vestry to come "to a Determination to vote for a Minister, & have this Day [May 6] elected the Rev'd Simpson to fill the sacred office."[46] He found little comfort in Peter Singleton's letter terming the treatment of the vestry "dishonorable" and pointing out that Simpson had been elected "by some secret and undue means."[47] Writing while still angry, Pettigrew charged the vestry with breach of faith:

> Your letter of ye 6th inst. tells me the disagreeable consequence of my not being able to comply with your limitations respecting the Time of my removal to your parish. It found me destitute of either House or home, or ground in the County for a crop the cur't year, and using all the industry I could to get away, agreeable to engagement with you, which engagement was mutual, & without Limitation as to Time, & made with this reserve on my part, 'That I should not remove to ye charge till I had returned from a voyage to sea for the Benefit of my health–. And I beg leave to observe, that I am not conscious of *such guilt*, incured by my unavoidable *non-complyance*, as deserved *final Rejection*,

[43] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, March 11, 1785, Pettigrew MSS.
[44] Peter Singleton to Charles Pettigrew, March 21, 1785, Pettigrew Papers.
[45] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, March 11, 1785, Pettigrew MSS.
[46] Charles Williamson and John Cornick, Church Wardens, to Charles Pettigrew, May 6, 1785, Pettigrew Papers.
[47] Peter Singleton to Charles Pettigrew, May 7, 1785, Pettigrew Papers. William White expressed the same view, May 7, 1785, Pettigrew Papers.

after two orders of Vestry in my favor, & without anything having been alledged whereon you could rationally found a Doubt of my integrity,–& more especially, as your Determination must necessarily subject me to many inconveniences at this season of the year'. . . if your zeal for the Devotional part of Religion was so ardent, as not to suffer you to wait a few Days, may he be so fortunate as to keep it always alive . . .[48]

It was small comfort some time later to learn that the choice of Simpson was not wise.[49]

The parson nursed his injured pride and late as it was did not fail to plant a crop on his farm near Edenton. In 1786 he moved to Harvey's Neck, Perquimans County, where he remained for two years. In 1788 he moved to Belgrade Plantation, where he was to spend most of the remaining years of his life. This plantation was somewhat remote from his former homes, being accessible to Edenton only by the Albemarle Sound. During this interval his religious activities were limited by his interest in agriculture, the death of his wife, and poor health. While many of his friends expressed dissatisfaction that so much talent should be confined to so limited a field, Pettigrew wrote with some pleasure concerning his services:

I preach chiefly at home to a few attentive hearers, with almost no exertion. When I used to preach to great crowds I generally incurred a fever. If I do little good, I am content to receive nothing for it. However I sometimes find myself very happy in a kind of unstudied paternal address, & seeing the appearance of correspondent sensations excited in my hearers. They are generally good morallists & good neighbours.[50]

The fact that the ablest minister in the state could retire from active service with such indifference is indicative of the low estate of the church in North Carolina. Additional evidence of the decline of the church is found in the correspondence of other ministers with Pettigrew. Henry Pattillo wrote to Pettigrew recommending an autumnal preaching trip among his "old connections" in Granville.[51] Dr. Leonidas Cutting, rector of Christ's Church, in New Bern, wrote:

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[48] Charles Pettigrew to Charles Williamson and John Cornick, May 9, 1785, Pettigrew Papers.
[49] Peter Singleton to Charles Pettigrew, April 26, 1787, Pettigrew Papers.
[50] Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, January 9, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.
[51] Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, December 13, 1788, Pettigrew MSS.

How it may be in other Parishes or congregations in this state I know not; but here by the Expiration of an Old Law a few years ago, we have no Church Wardens, Vestry-men, nor any Officer to take any Charge or care of the Church. Whatever meetings therefore we may hold of the Church will be Spontaneous, unbacked by proper authority; This is a defect much lamented but which cannot be remedied without an application to assembly.[52]

The church in the southern United States at the close of the Revolution was indeed in a deplorable condition. "The then hated name of 'England' was a great drawback in itself. Furthermore, the church had no organization. Its membership was demoralized, and for the most part indifferent. Worst of all it had no Episcopate."[53] Among the other reasons for the decline of the church was the withdrawal of funds from the American Mission by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This was occasioned by a clause in the Society's charter which permitted it to work only with the "Foreign plantations" within the British Empire.[54] The legal disestablishment of the church was a direct result of the Revolution. This deprived the clergy of their maintenance and curtailed many of their activities. These factors coupled with the bitter opposition of the Presbyterians and Baptists in the back country rendered the situation critical.

Immediately after the close of the Revolution, a general reorganization of the Episcopal Church in the United States was undertaken which resulted "eventually in the formation of the general constitution which has formed the basis of the Church's national life ever since. . . . Its most important leader, the coordinator of its various elements was William White."[55] The need for resident bishops was more pronounced at this time (1783) than it had been at any previous period. Several state and sectional conventions had been held, principally in the northern and middle states. At a meeting in New York, in October, 1784, "The Convention recommended certain principles of union to the states . . . and that the first meeting of the proposed General Convention should be held in Philadelphia during September, 1785."[56] This

[52] Dr. Leonidas Cutting to Charles Pettigrew, December 13, 1788, Pettigrew Papers.
[53] Marshall DeLancey Haywood, "Charles Pettigrew," in Samuel A'Court Ashe, Stephen Beauregard Weeks, Charles L. Van Noppen, editors, *Biographical History of North Carolina* (8 vols. Greensboro, 1905-1917), VI, 400. Hereinafter cited as Haywood, "Pettigrew."
[54] William Wilson Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Columbia University Studies, 1938), 182-183. Hereinafter cited as Manross, *Episcopal Church.*
[55] Manross, *Episcopal Church,* 187.
[56] Manross, *Episcopal Church,* 195.

convention contained representatives from the middle states and from Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland. White was elected president and a committee was appointed:

> to draft a constitution, revise the liturgy, and formulate a plan for obtaining the episcopate. . . . The general convention was to address the English Bishops and request them to confer Episcopal orders on such men as might be chosen by the state conventions. The state conventions were advised to take special pains to make it clear that the candidates were elected with the concurrence of the laity.[57]

Another convention met in 1786 and certified three men for consecration: William White, Samuel Provoost, and David Griffith. White and Provoost were consecrated in England in February, 1787; Griffith remained at home because of personal difficulties within his diocese. The next convention met in July, 1789, and effected a more solid national organization. A committee of correspondence to establish connections with those states not represented had been appointed in 1785. This committee was continued by the convention of 1789.[58]

Whether or not the clergy of North Carolina was aware of this activity is not known. The attempt to revive the Episcopal Church in that state came as a direct result of a letter which Dr. White, as head of the correspondence committee, addressed to Governor Samuel Johnston of North Carolina. White expressed a wish that the clergy of the Episcopal Church there "would meet at some convenient place and consult among themselves as to what steps should be adopted to revive the church."[59] Governor Johnston turned this letter over to his former rector, Charles Pettigrew, who was the most accessible member of the clergy. Stimulated by the call, Pettigrew came from retirement and immediately took action. He described the results of his activity to Dr. William White:

> As a convention could not be called by the Governor, consistently with the principles of our free republican government, which his Excellency was pleased to communicate to me, I entered into a literary correspondence with my clerical *Brethren* in which I

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[57] Manross, *Episcopal Church*, 187.
[58] Manross, *Episcopal Church*, 199; see also William Stevens Perry (ed.), *Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in The United States, 1785-1835* (2 vols. Claremont, New Hampshire, 1884), I, 85-144. Hereinafter cited as Perry, *Journals*.
[59] De Rosset, *Church History*, 182.

proposed a meeting at *this Village* [Tarborough]. . . . My proposition met their general approbation, so that I expected our *small-Body* to have been present, which would have consisted of only six individuals; but to my great mortification; I have been met by only one of them. Yet as my situation was the most remote (I believe) of any, and the pressing necessity of our Church urged us to do something, we proceeded to *business*, by way of beginning, with the joint aid of two gentlemen, of distinguished merit and reputation; & hope our proceedings will meet with at least the indulgence of your committee.[60]

Pettigrew explained the non-attendance of his brother members of the clergy at this June convention of 1790 thus: "The clergy . . . . find it necessary to engage in the business of farming, for the support of their families, as contribution has ever been found so precarious a dependence; and this is perhaps the most busy season of the year, which I did not attend to when I made the appointment."[61] The meeting at Tarboro was attended by Charles Pettigrew and James L. Wilson of the clergy and John Leigh, M.D., and Samuel Clements of the laity. They resolved that their body did "accede and approve" of the constitution formulated at Philadelphia in 1785. They replied to the circular letter of the committee of correspondence and called a new convention to meet at Tarboro on November 12, 1790. It was agreed that the future state conventions should be constituted of all ordained clergymen and of one member from each of the six borough towns as well as one member chosen by the laity of each county where there was no regularly ordained clergyman.[62] A committee composed of Pettigrew, Wilson, and Dr. Leigh (three-fourths of the number present) tersely summed up the condition of the Episcopal Church:

The state of our church is this commonwealth is truly deplorable from the paucity of its clergy & the multiplicity of opposing Sectaries, who are using every possible exertion to seduce its members to their different communities. This grievance however, we hope will be reduced in time, by the energy of the faithful labourers. and we esteem it a most fortunate circumstance that providence has advanced a gentleman of as well known integrity & zeal for the interest of the church and of religion in general,

[60] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, June 6, 1790, Pettigrew MSS. See also Charles Pettigrew to Reverend McDougall, November 9, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.
[61] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, June 6, 1790, Pettigrew MSS.
[62] "Proceedings of the First Convention of the Clergy held at Tarborough" (copy), Pettigrew MSS. Printed also in De Rosset, *Church History*, 417-418.

as the *Right Rev. Doctor White* of Philadelphia to preside in the Episcopal chair. . . .[63]

The call for the second convention was printed in the newspapers of the state.[64] This probably effected the increase in the membership of the convention which met at Tarborough on November 12 and 13, 1790. There were present at this meeting fifteen delegates: six from the clergy and nine from the laity. Delegates were appointed to the General Episcopal Convention to be held in New York in September, 1792. It was agreed to hold an annual convention to be styled "State Convention of the Episcopal Clergy and Laity."[65] Apparently this second convention was not graced by Pettigrew's presence, for in December, 1790, Wilson wrote him that the convention "had small attendence; and . . . proposed more business than could be accomplished, much of which 'was' Deferred to the convention," which was to meet in Tarborough in October, 1791.[66] The members attending from the western part of the state attempted to have the next convention called at Hillsboro in order to effect the election of a bishop. With regard to the election of a bishop, Dr. John Leigh wrote Pettigrew:

I think it is a business which may be deferred for some time yet; but shou'd it become necessary, I see no reason why we cannot appoint, or recommend, one of those now in the state. If the appointment of a Bishop will tend in any degree to raise once more the fallen state of our Church, I'm clearly convinced that it should be done.
This is the object to which the attention of the Clergy as well as Laity, shou'd be drawn. . . . The different persuasions of Religion, which have much for their object the destruction of the Church, are growing into greatness daily; & altho' their Doctrines are absurd, altho' the Supporters are among the most illiterate . . . Religion of whatever kind, can only be sustained by the zealous Exertions of its Supporters. . . . I fear the mode adopted by our last convention will be productive of no good. No subscriptions or Donations have yet reached me, nor have I heard of any one promised; although I had reason to expect some aid from the members appointed.[67]

[63] Committee of North Carolina convention to committee of General Convention, June 5, 1790, Pettigrew MSS.
[64] De Rosset, *Church History*, 417-418.
[65] "Minutes of the North Carolina Episcopal Convention of 1790," De Rosset, *Church History*, 421.
[66] "Minutes of the North Carolina Episcopal Convention of 1790," De Rosset, *Church History*, 421.
[67] Dr. John Leigh to Charles Pettigrew, March 29, 1791, Pettigrew Papers.

He was probably willing to accept Pettigrew's view that the "clergy are . . . hard and mercenary."[68]

The third convention, called to meet in October, 1791, was not attended by sufficient members to organize and transact the necessary business. Pettigrew was unable to attend because of his "being seized with a tertian ague, two or three day's" before he planned his departure.[69] James L. Wilson, appointed delegate to the General Episcopal Convention, was detained by "contrary winds" and did not arrive in Philadelphia until September 28, 1792, some few days after the convention had adjourned.[70] Wilson was the only North Carolina delegate to go to Philadelphia to a general convention during the lifetime of Charles Pettigrew.

In 1792 Pettigrew was informed of his election to the board of trustees of the newly established University of North Carolina.[71] This appointment served to complicate what must have been a rather full life. He wrote Dr. White that he had a great desire to attend the meeting of the General Convention, but:

> I am also importuned to be at Hillsborough at y t very juncture, at a meeting of a Board of Trustees for a University of this state. The Business that claims my presence there is particularly fixing on the place where s'd university shall be situated and unless the eastern members generally attend, it will probably be carried too far westward. This is an object in wch I feel myself also a good deal interested.[72]

No doubt he followed his lifelong tendency to place spiritual things first and attended to his churches; at least he did not attend the meeting of the trustees.[73]

Little is known of the North Carolina Episcopal convention of 1793. There was no record kept of the proceedings and few sources shed any light whatever on the meeting. Furthermore the evidence about the convention is contradictory. Pettigrew wrote, "I am this far on my way back from Tarborough. . . . *There was no Convention.*"[74] But a letter from Dr. Solomon

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[68] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. John Leigh, June 15, 1790, Pettigrew MSS.
[69] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, March 12, 1792 (copy), Pettigrew MSS. De Rosset, *Church History*, 188-189.
[70] Perry, *Journals*, I, 173.
[71] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina" (unpublished MSS., University of North Carolina Library), I, 36.
[72] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, March 12, 1792, Pettigrew MSS.
[73] "Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina," I, 41-51.
[74] Charles Pettigrew to Miss Mary Lockhart, October 3, 1793, Pettigrew MSS. [italics mine.]

Halling written to Pettigrew on December 16, 1793, specifically states that there was a convention.

> It was to me one of the greatest disappointments that you could not meet with us in Convention, and I am sincerely sorry for the cause of your non-attendance. It will exceed the bounds of a letter to acquaint you with all the business we went through but . . . the following short abstract . . . will afford you some idea of our transactions.[75]

Robert Johnston Miller, in a letter written years later to Dr. Francis Lister Hawks, stated that a convention met and appointed a standing committee and published a circular "To those of the same persuasion in each county of the state," that called attention "to the decay of the church and requested that the laity gather and in the absence of any Pastor have a member of the Vestry read the service of the day."[76] Since there is no account of any other convention meeting at Tarborough in 1793, Pettigrew apparently confused the time of the meeting.

One of the matters discussed at this meeting was the selection of a bishop for North Carolina. This was to be done in accordance with the plan of the General Convention of 1785 that encouraged the election of bishops by the state conventions.[77] The North Carolina group, however, failed to elect a bishop. Halling explained the inaction as follows:

> You may reasonably suppose, that it would have been inadvisable in us to appoint a Bishop-elect.
>
> The smallness of our number would have subjected Him to reproach, and our Church also,—if anything possibly can, after it has evidenced such a want of zeal; for the professors of our religion, have not on this occasion *even* shewed themselves to be *lukewarm*.[78]

With regard to the person for the office, Halling said "I believe it will be the general wish that you should be elected to the Episcopacy of North Carolina. My exertions shall not be spared on this occasion; and you must not refuse. consider it a call from Heaven and reflect on your former vows."[79] The convention

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[75] Solomon Halling to Charles Pettigrew, December 10, 1793, Pettigrew Papers.
[76] De Rosset, *Church History*, 189-191, 423-425.
[77] Perry, *Journals*, I, 23-25.
[78] Solomon Halling to Charles Pettigrew, December 16, 1793, Pettigrew Papers.
[79] Solomon Halling to Charles Pettigrew, December 16, 1793, Pettigrew Papers.

of 1793 called a meeting for the last Wednesday in May, 1794, to form a constitution and elect a bishop.

One of the tangible results of the convention of 1790 was the ordination of Solomon Halling,[80] who followed Dr. Leonidas Cutting as rector of Christ's Church in New Bern. It was Halling who persuaded the standing committee to call a convention to meet in May, 1794.[81] He was supported by Pettigrew who, however, held out little hope of success.

> I most ardently wish, that your indeavours may succeed to your most sanguine expectations, But such is the coldness, & such the inattention of those in general, who profess themselves members of our Church, with respect to Things of a religious nature, that I am affraid, your so laudable exertions to draw together a full convention, will not be crowned with suitable success.[82]

To Pettigrew, Dr. Halling's remarks concerning the possibility of his being elected bishop were "far from flattering" and were truly "mortifying" to him. He feared that he would prove inadequate for those duties.[83]

In May, 1794, the convention met at Tarborough, with attendance higher than at any previous time. Pettigrew opened the session with a sermon. The convention selected delegates to the General Convention; elected Charles Pettigrew bishop of North Carolina Diocese; and drew up a constitution for the government of the body. Resolutions endorsing the bishop-elect were signed by five members of the clergy and eight members of the laity.[84] The bishop-elect reported to Doctor William White:

> It was thought advisable at our Episcopal Convention in this State for last year, to frame a constitution for the particular government of the church in this state, which was accordingly done.[85]

The General Convention required that the members of the convention recommending a person for consecration certify that they had known him personally for three years.[86] Because of the

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[80] De Rosset, *Church History*, 422.
[81] De Rosset, *Church History*, 422.
[82] Charles Pettigrew to Solomon Halling, February 2, 1794, Pettigrew Papers.
[83] Charles Pettigrew to Solomon Halling, February 2, 1794, Pettigrew Papers.
[84] De Rosset, *Church History*, 426-433.
[85] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, June 9, 1795, Pettigrew Papers.
[86] Perry, *Church History*, I, 55.

difficulties of communication, the members of the North Carolina convention were unable to comply with this canon. A committee was appointed to draw up a form which the members could conscientiously sign and at the same time endorse the candidate. Pettigrew was afraid that the deviation from the prescribed form would not be allowed. When he submitted the testimonial to Dr. White he said: "I could add a testimonial or Certificate from the good people of the District of Edenton, where I have lived and preached now about twenty years, should you think it necessary."[87] In reply White assured Pettigrew that the depositions of the committee substantially conformed to the second canon of 1789, which had not been seen by the North Carolina clergy.[88]

Late in the summer of 1795, Bishop-elect Pettigrew started to Philadelphia to be consecrated. He stopped in Edenton and wrote a hasty note to his wife relating that he "got over" the river "without rain but that it pursued" him "to the wharf." He mentioned the fact that he had forgotten his umbrella but had been lent one. Fear of yellow fever forced him to discontinue his trip.[89] To his sons at the University of North Carolina he explained:

I set out a fortnight ago to meet the General Convention at Philadelphia agreeably to my appointment. But when I had got well on my journey towards Norfolk, where I intended to go on board the Packet, the reports of the yellow fever, and the mortality which attended it were such, that I concluded it the most prudent to return, so that I have declined going at this time, if ever.[90]

Pettigrew wrote to Bishop White explaining why he did not attend the convention. He said:

Had I proceeded, it is probable I should have found the Packet stopt, if otherwise, it would have been very dangerous to have gone aboard with passengers flying from the Disorder, after taking the infection perhaps, and could I have got on board of a Vessel bound for either Philadelphia or New York, the danger would have been equal, besides being obliged to perform Quarrentine after our arrival, which would have defeated my intention of being at the Convention. The journey by land would not be much short of five hundred miles—besides it is the most

[87] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, June 9, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.
[88] Dr. William White to Charles Pettigrew, July 6, 1795, Pettigrew Papers.
[89] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, August 29, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.
[90] Charles Pettigrew to John and Ebenezer Pettigrew, September 19, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.

sickly season of the year, so that it is probable I might not arrive before the rising of the Convention. From all these considerations I have concluded to postpone it, for a more favourable time.[91]

The fact that the General Convention had been postponed because of the epidemic of yellow fever in Philadalphia was unknown to the worried bishop-elect for some time.[92]

Pettigrew planned to attend the next General Convention scheduled for September, 1798. The convention never assembled, however, because of

the appearance of yellow fever . . . & the alarming probability of its spreading through this city [Philadelphia]. . . . The Chairman and some members of the Standing Committee of the church, have had a conference with Bishop White on the subject, and have considered it their duty to circulate this notice [postponing the meeting], to their brethren in each state, to prevent the trouble and expense of an unavailing attendence. Measures will be taken, either by adjournment, agreeably to the constitution, or by a recommendation of the standing committee to the Bishops as provided for . . . [illegible] the journals of 1795, to have a special convention called about the beginning of June next. . . .[93]

The special convention met but Pettigrew did not attend. One reason for non-attendance was his illness, but there might have been other important considerations. "Your reasons for not applying for Consecration certainly were weighty; and I make no doubt but you were right in declining. You certainly were the best judge in the matter,"[94] wrote Nathaniel Blount to Charles Pettigrew early in 1799. The bishop-elect also failed to attend the General Conventions of 1801 and 1804.[95] The only plausible reason he advanced was the state of his health. On one occasion he wrote to Dr. Halling in New Bern, "I had thought of publishing three sermons, on the subject of Baptism: but my health has been so poor, that I could not transcribe them, and fit them for the public eye."[96] In all his correspondence during these years his ill health was constantly emphasized.[97]

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[91] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, September 5, 1795, Pettigrew Papers.
[92] De Rosset, *Church History*, 196.
[93] Dr. William White and William Smith to Charles Pettigrew, August 8, 1798, Pettigrew Papers.
[94] Transcripts, Pettigrew Papers; Nathaniel Blount to Charles Pettigrew, January 17, 1799, Pettigrew Papers.
[95] Perry, *Church History*, I, 259-291.
[96] Charles Pettigrew to Solomon Halling, February 2, 1794, Pettigrew MSS.
[97] Correspondence, 1798-1807, Pettigrew MSS.

The efforts of Charles Pettigrew and his fellow workers to organize the Diocese of North Carolina and to secure the ordination of a bishop failed utterly. The conventions of 1790, 1791, 1793, and 1794 were unsuccessful for they did not in any way revive the church in North Carolina. One of the ministers who actively participated in the movement to revive the Episcopal Church wailed:

> Nothing that we did then has, that I know of, been of consequence at all. How little regard has been paid to the intended Constitution—nor have we ever been yet (that I know of) represented in any of the General Conventions. Oh! the deplorable situation of the Episcopal church in this State.[98]

Solomon Halling was the only member of the clergy in North Carolina who ever waxed enthusiastic over chances for the successful revival of the church. In fact, the men who should have been active in leadership were pessimistic about the attempted revival. Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire has pointed out the fact that the "deceptive legal status, and the legislative provision for the church [before the Revolution] obscured her essentially spiritual character, and prevented her people from crystalizing in strong and self-reliant congregations capable of sustaining themselves. . . ."[99] This lack of self-reliant congregations was another reason for the failure of the North Carolina conventions. Only in the Tarborough region, at Edenton, and at New Bern were the congregations integrated to any degree.

Another important factor in the failure of the conventions in North Carolina was the lack of doctrinal unity. Pettigrew, Halling, Cutting, and Wilson in general agreed theologically, but others differed with them. For example, Pattillo wrote Pettigrew in 1788 that George Micklejohn (a Tory during the Revolution) and James Craig were respectively "a Deist" and a "Son of Thunder."[100] Many of the prominent laymen were deists and uninterested in reviving the church.[101] Furthermore, there were not sufficient ministers to fill the various churches. And when there were ministers, as R. J. Miller pointed out, there was not

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[98] Nathaniel Blount to Charles Pettigrew, September 15, 1798, Pettigrew Papers.
[99] De Rosset, *Church History*, 245.
[100] Henry Pattillo to Charles Pettigrew, December 13, 1788, Pettigrew MSS. George Micklejohn was an Episcopal minister of Granville County. James Craig was rector of Cumberland Parish in Virginia and North Carolina.
[101] Henry Pattillo to Dr. Andrew Knox, undated, Pettigrew MSS.

a sufficient supply of prayer books or other needed materials. As a result the people listened to the Baptists and Presbyterians, who filled their heads with predestination.[102]

The institution of slavery was also a complicating factor. Devereux Jarrett, whose parish extended from Virginia into eastern North Carolina, wrote Edward Drumgoole that in his parish the slavery issue had been injected as a religious issue and that

> even allowing that those who retain Bondsmen are wrong in so doing, yet I should think they ought not to be put on a level (as they are now) with *horsethieves & Hogstealers, Knaves &* c. . . . I say I think this ought not to be done; especially as they suppose they are warranted in their Practice by the example of Abraham, Isaac, and the writings [of the Apostles].[103]

Just how widespread these schisms were in the North Carolina Diocese is unknown, but the fact that they existed in an adjoining area indicates that the church was subject to a variety of handicaps.

The selection of Pettigrew for bishop was another factor contributing to the failure of the conventions. Undoubtedly the presence of a bishop in the state would have done much to facilitate reorganization, and Pettigrew's failure to qualify hampered the cause. He was forced to secure his income from planting and to divide his attention at a time when his unyielding spirit might well have provided the spark for reintegration of his church. As Pettigrew himself wrote:

> . . . it appears to me in the clearest light of Demonstration, that our Church requires a *head.*
> Misunderstand me not I believe Christ to be the great Head of his church universal; but for the sake of *regularity, good order, and respectability,* there certainly ought to be one vested with *authority* to preside, as *Primus inter pares.* However, I would not wish the power to *ordain,* to sensure, to *suspend,* or *degrade,* to be vested in him alone, but only to be *exercised by him,* with the concurrence of his brethren, the clergy, met in convocation.[104]

It is possible that a financially secure leader would have been able to weld the diffuse fragments of the church into a whole.

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[102] Reuben Ellis to Edward Drumgoole, August 30, 1786, Drumgoole MSS.
[103] Devereux Jarrett to Edward Drumgoole, March 22, 1788, Pettigrew MSS.
[104] Charles Pettigrew to Solomon Halling, February 2, 1794, Pettigrew Papers.

Certainly an active leader would have facilitated such reorganization.

A final factor contributing to the failure of the conventions was the difficulty of transportation and communication. This factor hampered the association of the clergy and tended to prevent their formation into a closely knit organization. It sometimes took a month for communications to go from Edenton to New Bern, a distance of about forty miles.[105] Personal travel was equally difficult. On one occasion Pettigrew planned to attend a conference of the Methodists and "sent out for my Horse with a desire, if possible, to give my attendance—But he, with another, had broke, or been rid out of the pasture, so that they were not found for several days, & then seven or eight miles off."[106]

Because of the difficulties of communication and transportation, Charles Pettigrew was not even acquainted with all the members of the clergy in his church. He wrote to Dr. Cutting in 1791, giving a list of the clergy and concluded "These are all the clergy of the Episcopal order that I have heard of in the state. Should you know, or hear, of any to the Southward of New Bern, I must request of you to acquaint them with this matter."[107] In the light of the difficulties of travel, the small number of persons attending the conventions is easy to understand. Pastors forced to oversee plantations could rarely afford to lose two or more weeks during the growing season. This condition contributed to the failure of the North Carolina conventions.

As bishop-elect, Charles Pettigrew desired to give impetus to the movement for reorganization:

> I must make use of the small influence I have, under my present appointment of Bishop-elect, to have Vestries chosen in the different counties where they have not been chosen, & to have new elections where that regulation has taken place & their year is expired.
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> This is agreeable to an article of our constitution. There are some however, who do not profess themselves members of our church, that can either elect or be elected to serve as vestrymen.

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[105] The Reverend Wilson Blount received the letter written on the day of the death of his twin sister, who was the Reverend Charles Pettigrew's first wife, on April 25, 1786. She died March 16, 1786.

[106] Charles Pettigrew to Edward Drumgoole, September 22, 1784, Pettigrew MSS.

[107] Charles Pettigrew to Leonidas Cutting, 1791 (copy), Pettigrew MSS.

I most sincerely wish that some Episcopal clergyman of eminence, would come into our state. I would very cheerfully resign my appointment in his favor. We are but few, & the vacancies very numerous.[108]

Pettigrew undoubtedly wrote many letters in this connection to prominent laymen and to the ministers of his church, but the only correspondence extant is that with Charles Moore of Mt. Tirzah, Person County. The bishop-elect wrote to Moore giving an account of the state convention. In closing he said:

Permit me now Sir, to request you in behalf of our declining church, to have a vestry chosen in your country, of such as profess themselves churchmen . . . . you will also I hope recommend it to those of the next counties, as opportunity may serve. By this means you will fall into an organized state; also place lay-readers in your chapels, whereby you will be known from those of different persuasions by Solemnly joining together on Sundays, in the worship of Almighty God, than which nothing can render Society more truly respectful.[109]

Some months later Moore replied that an organization of the vestry had been effected. Discussing the possibilities of the success of the organization, Moore said:

As I was from my childhood, brought up in the Church of England . . . the flourishing of the . . . Episcopal Church is a circumstance very near my heart, but I have to lament that the few of us that are in this & the neighboring counties are almost as sheep without a shepard, and many who formerly were of that Church from a motive of piety been drawn aside to other Denominations, not having an Opportunity of worshipping God in the way that they had been brought up. Should we be so happy as to have a worthy, Pious Pastor of the Church fixed among us, I make no doubt but many would return, to the Bosom of our mother, and the rising generation would be nourished under her Wings.[110]

In 1795 the bishop-elect and Robert Johnston Miller, an Episcopal minister, ordained in the Lutheran Church,[111] toyed with the idea of a coalition of the Lutheran and Episcopal churches in North Carolina.[112] Pettigrew mentioned this possibility to

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[108] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, September 5, 1795, Drumgoole MSS.
[109] Charles Pettigrew to Charles Moore, November 2, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.
[110] Charles Moore to Charles Pettigrew, April 21, 1796, Pettigrew Papers.
[111] De Rosset, *Church History*, 381-385.
[112] Charles Pettigrew to Dr. William White, May 6, 1795; Robert J. Miller to Charles Pettigrew, May 6, 1795 (copy), Pettigrew MSS.

Bishop White, but receiving no advice he failed to push the matter. Thus "Mr. Miller was left powerless to do anything for the effectual upbuilding of the church."[113]

In the towns many obstacles confronted Pettigrew. Regarding these barriers to re-vitalizing the New Bern parish, Dr. Halling wrote:

> Upon the receipt of your letter, I called the vestry together, and consulted them upon the propriety of acting as you had directed, and urged the extreme necessity of adopting the measures you had proposed for the advancement of our church. They objected to the time, and could not be induced to proceed to the election of a Vestry in the manner you had recommended. Their reasons against the former were the impropriety of choosing persons for a religious purpose, at the time of electing members of the General Assembly, as many are either too much interested in this issue, or intoxicated with liquor, and the opposition that might follow, in consequence of other Sects being there Present.[114]

Because of these obstacles few benefits can be traced to Charles Pettigrew's efforts to rehabilitate the church. "The names of a few of the lay-readers," appointed as a result of the bishop-elect's efforts to perfect the Episcopal church organization in North Carolina, "have lingered" with the church antiquarians, but little other evidence of his work is extant.

The efforts of the bishop-elect to revive his church failed for the same reasons that the conventions failed. "The Church was powerless because Clergy and laity thought they were powerless."[115] Pettigrew himself had little confidence in the outcome of the efforts for a revival of the church.[116] Perhaps it was this feeling of futility that enabled the bishop-elect to retire from active service with so little regret. His application for consecration by the General Convention was not renewed after 1795, but he remained the recognized head of the church until 1799. It was generally understood that he desired to resign. "Perhaps it would have been better if you had endeavoured to get a convention, and had made a formal resignation: but I don't know whether it would have been best or not; or whether a convention

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[113] De Rosset, *Church History*, 387.
[114] Solomon Halling to Charles Pettigrew, April 19, 1796 (Ann B. Shepard Pettigrew copy, 1864), Pettigrew MSS.
[115] De Rosset, *Church History*, 208.
[116] Charles Pettigrew to Solomon Halling, February 2, 1794 (copy), Pettigrew MSS.

could have been gotten,"[117] wrote one of his fellow ministers in 1799. Pettigrew ceased to consider himself head of the church after that date and, while he still retained his widespread connections, he yielded more and more to his local interests.

In 1797 Charles Pettigrew moved to his Belgrade plantation in Tyrrell County. He remained there until his death. It was for his services in that region that the name "Old Parson" was given him. He was in constant demand to officiate at christenings, weddings, and funerals. Occasionally he received money for his services but more frequently he did not.[118] He preached on Sundays in a schoolhouse on the farm of Josiah Phelps.[119] Writing his sister in 1800 with reference to his local religious activities, he said: "I have preached this 6 years past[120] without gratuity or reward, nor shall I ever ask anything. I wish I could do some good; but I feel mankind have greatly degenerated in the last twenty years."[121] The schoolhouse used as a meeting place proved unsatisfactory because of its smallness and its distance from the homes of the members of the congregation.[122] In 1803 the "Old Parson" donated land for a chapel on his plantation and furnished most of the necessary materials. He wrote Reverend Nathaniel Blount as follows:

I am building a Chapel on my own land close by me, and am in expectation of having it so forward in about 6 months that we can convene in it with conveniency to ourselves.

We have gote one nearly finished about 12 miles above, where I attend two Sundays in the month, unless prevented by sickness or bad weather.[123]

The congregation contributed some work[124] and in a few months the chapel was completed. The following year he wrote Blount:

Since I have got our new Chapels in such a State as to meet comfortably in them, I feel myself quite happy in the exercise of my

[117] Transcripts, Reverend Nathaniel Blount to Charles Pettigrew, January 17, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.
[118] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Verner, May 26, 1800, Pettigrew MSS. "Transcripts," *passim;* Charles Pettigrew to Nathaniel Blount, August 23, 1793; February 22, 1804, Pettigrew MSS.
[119] De Rosset, *Church History,* 216.
[120] While minister at Edenton it was his custom to preach occasionally in different parts of Tyrrell County.
[121] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Verner, May 26, 1800, Pettigrew MSS.
[122] De Rosset, *Church History,* 216.
[123] Transcripts, Charles Pettigrew to Nathaniel Blount, February 22, (1804?), Pettigrew MSS.
[124] De Rosset, *Church History,* 216.

ministerial functions, from a variety of favorable circumstances, One of which is the people attend much better. Indeed my own chapel is generally crowded; while they hear with great seriousness & attention—and now I begin to hope, that through the concurrent blessing of God, my feeble Labours may be useful among the people. I am in hopes they now begin to think me in earnest, after having preached to them about seven years, & built them a Decent & commodious Chapel at my own expense, except a few days work, besides attending at their funerals to the neglect of my own business, & taking nothing from them for any service I render them, in the united character of their clergyman & physicial. . . am happy in the thought, that they cannot attribute my faithfulness . . . to an expectation of being paid for it . . . . I thank God, I can live without it & the people are poor . . . . Before the dissolution of the establishment, I absolutely forbid anything to be collected from the Quakers for me, as I would not receive it. Neither have I taken anything for either visiting the sick, or baptising during the course of my ministry.[125]

Pettigrew continued to serve as spiritual guardian of his neighbors until his death. The ravages of a chest condition, possibly tuberculosis, limited his activities and he seldom left Belgrade Plantation.[126]

Like other ministers of his generation Charles Pettigrew was greatly under the influence of Calvinistic theological doctrines.[127] Several of his sermons cover the wickedness and depravity of mankind, the ugliness of worldly life, and the payment to be made for earthly sins at the hands of a pitiless diety.[128] Throughout his career, Pettigrew was a stickler for infant baptism, yet he strenuously objected to the doctrine of infant damnation.[129] Some of his sermons were probably well received since he noted that they were repeatedly used and occasionally at the same church.[130] For example, "A Sermon on the Love of God" was preached at "the Court House," May 6, 1798; at Phelps Chapel, August 15, 1802; at Skinners Chapel, July 1, 1804; and at White Chapel, July 22, 1804.[131] This sermon is comparatively short and well written, being documented both with quotations from the Scriptures and from current religious authorities. One sermon with the title missing was preached first at Edenton, July 19, 1778,

[125] Charles Pettigrew to Nathaniel Blount, February 22, 1804, Pettigrew Papers.
[126] Nathaniel Blount to Charles Pettigrew, May 4, 1802, Pettigrew MSS.
[127] Sermons, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.
[128] Sermons, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.
[129] Correspondence and Sermons, 1775-1807, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.
[130] Sermons, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.
[131] "Sermon on the Love of God," Pettigrew MSS.

and last at Phelps Chapel, July 15, 1798. During this span of twenty years Pettigrew noted that he used it at eleven different chapels.[132] Possibly these notations of the places where the sermons were used served to prevent a common ministerial failing—that of using the same sermon on the same congregation too often.

These sermons, and others, reveal that Charles Pettigrew was well acquainted with theological authorities as well as the Greek and Latin testaments. One writer, after studying the sermons, arrived at the conclusion that he was a good Latin scholar and that his favorite author was Virgil.[133] They are cited as "a sermon on—with a Hymn on the Subject by the author."[134] The sermons were constantly revised, some passages were struck out, and insertions were made. Pettigrew wrote some of his sermons and then did not deliver them. An interesting feature of all the sermons is the use of hymns, placed before and after the sermon. In most cases there can be no doubt that he wrote these hymns since his correspondence reveals that he dabbled with poetry, but it is probable that they were modeled on then current hymns. These hymns were usually "lined out" to congregations, which procedure served to supply the deficiency of hymn books.[135] On November 4, 1804, Pettigrew preached "a Sermon on the Declaration of Christ in Favor of Little Children with a Hymn on the subject by the Author." The hymn, typical of many he wrote, is as follows:

When Infants die, ye Parents why
Should Tears of Sorrow flow.
Seeing they rise to endless joys
From troubles here below.

* * * * *

Teach us O God! to kiss the Rod
And own thy hand divine.
In every blow though full of wo
Nor let us once repine.[136]

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[132] Sermon (no title), Pettigrew MSS.
[133] "MSS., of James Johnston Pettigrew," Pettigrew MSS., also printed in De Rosset, *Church History*, 218-223.
[134] Sermons, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.
[135] Charles Moore to Charles Pettigrew, April 21, 1796, Pettigrew MSS.; Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 436-438.
[136] "Sermon on the Declaration of Christ in Favor of Little Children," 1804, Pettigrew MSS.

This hymn had the virtue of covering a subject close to the audience.[137] The chief virtues of his sermons and hymns was their simplicity, conciseness, and personal appeal.

Tradition relates that Charles Pettigrew was "a fluent and eloquent speaker," with a voice "soft and pleasant to the ear."[138] He addressed himself directly to his audience and preferred to speak simply "in a kind of unsteadied address" in preference to an oratorical appeal to the emotions.[139] He frequently condemned the practice, followed by ministers of all persuasions and especially the Baptists and Methodists, of appealing to the emotions.[140] He said:

> This they did by what I call the *grievance of preaching* mere bodily exercise which profiteth little. They worked the people up in such a flame, that when they got time to cool down, they have grown imperturably hard & obdurate and many of them seem to indicate strongly that their last State is worse than the first . . . in the consequence, they are more deceitful, more lying, & hypocritical than ever. They were warned but not instructed. Their religion was placed in their passions, & these are now cooled & their religion is fled. The hobby horse has been riden to death and alas! what is worse their minds have been industriously prejudiced against rational & instructive preaching.[141]

Writing to his brother Ebenezer in the district of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, he said: "I am affraid too many of them place Religion in a certain movement of the passions, & some religious affectations for a time . . . when indeed true religion consists in an humble walk with God, & constant endeavor after higher degrees of personal holiness."[142] In the latter statement the ministerial philosophy of Charles Pettigrew is expressed. Yet in one of his more reflective moments he was forced to admit, "Perhaps if I had more life in religion it would diffuse itself, But alas! I find myself too cold, to be an instrument of diffusing much vital warmth to others."[143]

The direct address method used by Charles Pettigrew commanded the respect of the intelligent people of his acquaintance. Consequently he was called upon to deliver eulogies on important

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[137] Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina*, 739, *passim*.
[138] De Rosset, *Church History*, 237.
[139] Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, January 9, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.
[140] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Verner, May 26, 1800, Pettigrew MSS.
[141] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Verner, May 26, 1799, Pettigrew MSS.
[142] Charles Pettigrew to Ebenezer Pettigrew, May 25, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.
[143] Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, January 9, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.

people, among them George Washington.[144] His eulogy on Washington was delivered in the grandlioquent style which the occasion demanded.[145] One of his most famous eulogies was that delivered at the funeral of United States Supreme Court Justice James Iredell, in October, 1799.[146] In delivering Iredell's funeral oration, Pettigrew lost the coldness which accompanied his more staid religious utterances and showered the deceased with all the flowery adjectives at his command.[147] The eulogies of Washington and Iredell are the only ones extant of the many which his correspondence indicates he delivered.

The only recorded occasion where the funeral oration failed to please the audience was that delivered at the burial of Benjamin Smith. "One of the People," a friend of Smith, wrote an address in which he criticized the manner in which the funeral was conducted.[148] This aroused the ire of the usually calm minister who noted on the address, "A Stupid Blockhead but as he says 'One of the People!' " Again, "Done I suspect by Zaphaniah Davies for Charles Spruill. Of this there is no doubt for it is evident by his scholarship."[149]

The principal religious influence of Pettigrew was local. While he was well known to the leading members of his church, both clergy and laity, throughout the state his efforts outside his Tyrrell and St. Paul's parishes consistently failed. It was around the Edenton region principally that the strenuous efforts he put forth brought a measure of success. While his brother ministers struggled to prevent the inroads of other sects upon their congregations, Pettigrew said, "I can only say, I am not troubled with sectaries. The Anabaptists have dwindled to nothing, & I don't know that there has ever been a Methodist Resident in Chowan or Perquimans."[150] That this was more than a figurative remark is doubtful, but there can be no doubt that the effort of Charles Pettigrew to maintain his church in the Edenton region was eminently successful.

The approach of what he was positive—and correctly so—was his death found the "Old Parson," as he was called, still in

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[144] Eulogy on the Death of General Washington, no date, Pettigrew MSS.
[145] Eulogy on the Death of General Washington, no date, Pettigrew MSS.
[146] McRee, *Iredell*, II, 585.
[147] McRee, *Iredell*, II, 585-588.
[148] "An address on the Occasion of the Burial of Benjamin Smith," Pettigrew MSS.
[149] "An address on the Occasion of the Burial of Benjamin Smith," Pettigrew MSS.
[150] Charles Pettigrew to Henry Pattillo, January 9, 1789, Pettigrew MSS.

harness warring against the Baptists and their cohorts. In 1803 two Baptist ministers, Lemuel Burkitt and Jessie Read, published *A Concise History of The Kehukee Baptist Association.*[151] Pettigrew was outraged by many of their claims and religious doctrines. He addressed a series of letters to the editor of the *Edenton Gazette* stating as a basis for his remarks that since newspapers should be used for other purposes than political information and amusement, he proposed to address a series of letters "in the religious style to our Brethren of the Baptist Persuasion,"[152] to be signed "Philanthropus." In these letters he denounced the strict Calvinism of the Baptists as well as their Arminianism, and their views on a variety of subjects from immersion as the *Sine Qua non* of membership to infant baptism and irreligion. James Wells of Edenton printed twelve of these in book form in 1807.[153] Pettigrew noted in the preface to the published volume that these letters had been written while he was confined to his room in his "last illness" and that he only desired that the people should hear all sides of the question and know the truth. Whether or not these letters served any purpose must remain a question unanswered. The fact that Pettigrew was still challenging other sects indicates, however, that he retained his religious views and mental drive unchanged until his death.

The familiar sobriquet, "Old Parson," is indicative of a great many unrecorded deeds. In a day when "the clergy were rarely popular and always subjected to harsh criticism . . . the manner which he discharged the very onerous duties of his calling, in a sickly country, was exemplary."[154] He was constantly called on to perform his duties as a minister and he usually responded. Typical of such demands is the following: "It is with extreme regret that I communicate to you the death of Mr. Jacob Blount . . . it is proposed to bury him tomorrow, when it is earnestly

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[151] Lemuel Burkitt and Jessie Read, *A Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* (Halifax, N. C.: A. Hodge, 1803).

[152] Letters, Pettigrew Papers.

[153] "Philanthropus" (Charles Pettigrew), *A Series of Letters in Which An Attentive persual of Mr. Edward's Candid reasons for renouncing the Principles of Antepaedo. baptism is seriously recommended and the right of infants to membership in the Church of God is also pleaded. The Letters Being first published by the author in the Edenton Gazette.* The first five were addressed to Mess. *Burkitt, Read* and other *ministers* of the Baptist *Kehukee Association.* The subsequent five were addressed *To The People* as being the most worthy. A reply to the *first letter* by Mr. Burkitt and to the *third* by a Mr. Poindexter, are annexed, as they have been answered (Edenton: James Willis, 1807).

[154] McRee, *Iredell,* II, 193.

requested . . . that you would attend, if with convenience to yourself you can possible—a Canoe and hands wait on you at mr. Chessons."[155] Other ministers complained that "Preaching houses are but tolerable"[156] but Charles Pettigrew was interested in the spiritual welfare of his people and made few complaints.

Charles Pettigrew, a frail man of average height,[157] riding over the muddy trails and crossing the sound in a skiff in all kinds of weather to visit the sick[158] or attend to the religious needs of some group, was a familiar picture to the people of the Edenton region.[159] Illustrations of his generosity are legion.[160] He was loved and respected by most of the people who knew him and he had few enemies.[161] He died April 8, 1807, at the age of sixty-three at Belgrade Plantation in Tyrrell County leaving a rich spiritual legacy to those whom he had served well.

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[155] Alex W. Miller to Charles Pettigrew, January 22, 1801, Pettigrew MSS.
[156] (W. C. Blades ?) to Edward Drumgoole, September 26, 1788, Drumgoole MSS.
[157] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Verner, May 26, 1800, Pettigrew MSS.
[158] Charles Pettigrew to Mrs. Mary Pettigrew, March 15, 1795, Pettigrew MSS.
[159] Correspondence, *passim*, 1777-1807, Pettigrew MSS.
[160] De Rosset, *Church History*, 217.
[161] Correspondence, *passim*, Pettigrew MSS.

BAPTIST ACADEMIES IN NORTH CAROLINA

By George Washington Paschal

Those who have written on North Carolina academies have said very little about Baptist academies. With the exception of Wake Forest—Institute and College—no Baptist school of any kind is mentioned in Coon's great work, *North Carolina Academies, 1790-1840*. Of all the hundreds and thousands of teachers in the schools of the state he names only one who, as we know from other sources, was a Baptist. And Coon had the best of reasons for saying nothing of Baptist academies. Until after 1840 there was not a Baptist academy in the state. For Baptist academies Baptist teachers are necessary, and of these there were very few until Wake Forest College began to supply them in its first graduating class in 1839.

In the next two decades, however, the Baptists in their churches, associations, and the Baptist State Convention manifested much interest and activity in providing schools. It is of these Baptist academies established in the years 1840-1860 that I am undertaking to give some account in the first section of my paper, while in the second section I tell something of the further development of the denomination's interest in secondary education which resulted in a state-wide system of Baptist academies in the early years of this century.

Beginning in January, 1845, with the opening of Milton Female Institute,[1] in the next fourteen years the Baptists founded and were maintaining a dozen or more academies, one or more in every section of North Carolina. Some of these academies were of much excellence, equal to any to be found in the state. Although with one exception all have been superseded by other schools, their stimulating educational and cultural influence has continued to this day. In my view this was the most important development in the field of secondary education in our state during the nineteenth century.

Probably this statement will seem surprising, if not incredible, to many well versed in our educational history. The able authors

[1] Minutes of Beulah Baptist Association, 1845.

who have written at length on the academies of this period do not give the name of a single North Carolina Baptist academy established before the Civil War, and seem to have been unaware of the existence of any. One looks in vain for the least reference to them in Dr. Charles Lee Raper's *The Church and Private Schools of North Carolina,* published in 1898. While Dr. Raper traces in much detail the development of interest in academies among other religious groups of the state, by his silence he leaves his readers to infer that the Baptists had no such educational interest at all. The researcher finds an equal lack of reference to a Baptist academy in Dr. Kemp P. Battle's "Sketches of Some Old and Extinct Schools of the Counties of North Carolina," a work of 150 pages prepared on the request of Charles H. Mebane, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and published in his *Biennial Report* for 1896-98. Nor is there any reference to Baptist academies in Dr. Charles Lee Smith's *History of Education in North Carolina,* published in 1888.

Abundant information about these Baptist schools is readily accessible, however, in the *Biblical Recorder* of those years, in the minutes of Baptist churches and associations, and in the *Annuals* of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina. Using these materials, all in the library of Wake Forest College, I wrote as well as I was able the chapter on "Associational Academies," an essential chapter, for my *History of Wake Forest College.* Having been honored with a request to write on **Baptist** academies as part of a program of papers on the history of all the academies of the state, I find myself under the necessity of repeating, though with considerable abridgment, much that I have already written and published. But I shall treat the subject under certain new aspects which I hope will make for a better understanding of it.

It was in connection with Wake Forest College that the Baptists of North Carolina first became conscious of their sore need of academies of their own. In the early 1840's they realized that the College needed more students and better prepared students. They were not the first to feel this need. It had long been felt at the University of North Carolina. As early as 1832 Professor William Hooper of the University faculty was bitterly complain-

ing of lack of preparation of its matriculates.[2] Such was the extent of this deficiency that until the eve of the Civil War the University as well as the colleges of the state found it necessary to provide instruction for students not prepared for admission to their freshman classes.[3]

Wake Forest College not only suffered in early years from this common evil of lack of preparation of its students, but for lack of Baptist academies it almost lacked students entirely, the number having fallen from 141 in 1836 to less than 100 in every succeeding year until 1846-1847.[4] Most of the masters of the North Carolina schools of this period, being graduates of the University and of other denominations, naturally directed their students, even sons of Baptists, to other institutions than Wake Forest College. The one hope of correcting this condition, so runious to the College, was in Baptist academies.

Realizing this, Rev. Elias Dodson said in the *Biblical Recorder* of July 19, 1845: "To nourish Wake Forest College there should be three or four academies in different parts of the State, one in Bertie, one in Burke, and a third in Caswell."

It was of much importance for the College and the Baptists of the state that Dodson at this time started this movement. Dodson, let me say, was a member of a well-to-do and influential Virginia family and a graduate of Richmond College. In 1844 he had come to North Carolina as missionary of the Beulah Association, located in one of the wealthiest and most progressive sections of the state, beginning with the county of Caswell and extending west to Mount Airy. In it lived families of prominence and culture, not a few of them Baptists, of such names as Yancey, Graves, Kerr, Palmer, Lea, Settle, Henderson, Russell, and Poteat.

It was these forward-looking people who were the first to respond to Dodson's proposal to establish Baptist academies, and

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[2] "Imperfections of our Primary Schools, and the Best Method of Correcting them: Delivered before the North Carolina Institute of Education at Chapel Hill, June 20, 1832, by William Hooper, Professor of Ancient Languages in the University," in C. L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 729 ff. Reprinted from the *Raleigh Register*, May 28 and June 4, 1833.

[3] The annual catalogues of Wake Forest College show that first in July, 1860, all preparatory work was discontinued, and that it was resumed again on the re-opening of the College in January, 1866. The statements in the catalogues of the University of North Carolina are not so definite, but it is clear from Dr. K. P. Battle's *History of the University of North Carolina* that as late as 1856 there was much complaint that many of the students came with insufficient preparation, and that members of the faculty gave much of their time to instructing them in arithmetic and other grammar school subjects. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 665.

[4] Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College*, I, 180 ff.

this fact doubtless had much influence in determining the character of the schools which the Baptists of the state established in the next fifteen years.

They were not ignorant, and Dodson was not ignorant, of the fact that the woods and villages and towns of North Carolina were already full of academies of a certain kind and that new ones were springing up every year. The General Assembly incorporated, or reincorporated, four in 1840-1841, ten in 1842-1843, eleven in 1844-1845, and sixteen in 1846-1847.[5] For the schools that were content to operate without charters no figures are available, but the indications are that they were far more numerous than the chartered academies. Some of these schools, both chartered and unchartered, were excellent and rendered a notable service to the cause of education in this state. But many of them were clearly inadequate as educational institutions, even when judged by the standards then prevailing. They had no organized support to provide a proper school plant and give promise of permanency. Usually they were under the charge of a single master, possibly an aged pedagogue worn out by years of teaching and weakened in a few instances by overindulgence in strong drink. On the other hand the master may have been a young man who had had a year or two in college and was trying to eke out a living as a schoolteacher until something better should be offered.

Evidently it was not schools of this ephemeral character that Dodson was advising the Baptists of the state to establish. As events proved, he had in mind academies owned and controlled by Baptist churches or associations and operated by a board of responsible trustees in accord with the terms of their charters. The appointed trustees were to be instructed to locate their school in a moral and cultured community, provide for it a school plant with spacious grounds and buildings, constructed of good materials and after the most approved academic architecture of the time. All necessary furnishings were to be procured and the surroundings were to be maintained in a way to give the school an "academic look." If both sexes were to be provided for, the building for the females (to use the convenient terminology of the day) was to be built at a *safe* distance from that for the

[5] Laws of North Carolina for years indicated.

males. Near the academy and usually as a part of the grounds were lots to be sold to those who might desire to have homes near the school while their children were attending the academy. It was the further duty of the trustees to see that proper board and lodging were available for the students, sometimes in dormitories and sometimes in private families. It was the part further of the trustees to select the officers and teachers, to fix the charges for tuition, and to approve the list of studies, which, it was always emphasized, were to include nothing of a sectarian religious nature. The terms on which teachers were employed and the amount of general running expenses of the school varied, but usually the associations and the trustees thought they had done all required of them when they had provided the physical plant, although they regarded it as their obligation to maintain their patronage by advertisements in the *Biblical Recorder* and other papers, by announcements at meetings of associations, and by extended notices in the published minutes of these associations and in the annuals of the Baptist State Convention.

In the movement for the establishment of Baptist academies, which had already begun as early as 1844, the Baptists of the Beulah Association took the lead.[6] In four or five years in this one association the following schools had begun operations:

1. The Milton Baptist Female Institute, under the joint control of four Baptist Associations, the Beulah and the Flat River in North Carolina, and the Roanoke and the Dan River in Virginia, chartered December 24, 1844, opened January, 1845; charter amended January 29, 1849, to permit the same trustees to operate the Beulah Male Academy.

2. The Academy of the Trinity Baptist Church, eleven miles west of Yanceyville, on the Greensboro road, November, 1845, to which was added a female academy a year later.

3. The Male and Female Institute at Rockford, on the Yadkin River. Opened in October, 1849.

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[6] Minutes of the Beulah Baptist Association, year by year, 1845-1860. A somewhat detailed account of Baptist academies established in the Beulah and the other Baptist associations of North Carolina in the years before the Civil War is given in the chapter on "Associational Academies" in the *History of Wake Forest College*, I, 312-341. This account is amply, though not exhaustively, documented, the sources of information being (1) The published minutes of the Baptist associations of North Carolina; (2) Annuals of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina; (3) Annuals of the Western Baptist Convention of North Carolina; (4) G. W. Purefoy, *History of the Sandy Creek Baptist Association;* (5) J. A. Delke, *History of the Chowan Baptist Association of North Carolina;* (6) *The Biblical Recorder*, 1835-1949, including reports of meetings of associations and conventions, news notes, and advertisements of schools.

In other sections of the state Baptist interest in establishing academies was somewhat later in maturing, but in the early 1850's movements for establishing academies had started in a dozen Baptist associations of the state with the result that the following-named were opened for students at the dates given.

1. The Raleigh Association Academy, at Holly Springs, Wake County, 1853.
2. Chowan Association, Reynoldson Academy, Gates County, 1855.
3. The United Baptist Institute, Taylorsville, January 8, 1856.
4. Sandy Creek Association, Mount Vernon Male and Female Seminary, Mount Vernon Springs, Chatham County, January, 1856.
5. Union (now Eastern) Association, Warsaw Academy, Warsaw, Duplin County, September 20, 1856.
6. French Broad Academy—later Mars Hill College—Mars Hill, Madison County, 1856-57.
7. Flat River Association, Bethel Hill Academy, Bethel Hill, Person County, 1857.
8. The Beulah Baptist Male Institute. Formed by moving the Milton Baptist Male Academy to the more central town of Madison, and merging with it a Baptist school there, July, 1857.
9. The Catawba River Baptist Academy, near Morganton, 1859.

For an indication of the physical equipment of one of the better of these academies, we have the following for the Chowan Reynoldson Seminary, written by its first president, Rev. James A. Delke, a graduate of the University of North Carolina:

> A large, commodious, and handsome building was erected, nicely finished, and furnished with more than the usual academic outfit. A small but choice selection of Chemical and Philosophical Apparatus was secured at a cost of $600. A large, convenient, and comfortable hotel was built and suitably furnished for the accommodation of teachers and pupils.
>
> A store was also opened, and a postoffice established in the interest of the school. Mr. J. D. Goodman, near by, also made extensive arrangements for the accommodation of boarders. A spring of good mineral water was discovered but a short distance from the premises, and properly fitted for use, soon becoming a popular resort for the surrounding people.

The location, in many respects, was a fortunate one combining healthfulness, good water, a community of citizens of moral and industrious habits, hospitable and generous; a Baptist church of which most of the adjacent residents were members; a skilled and successful physician within a mile; and the absence of temptations to idleness and vice incident to schools in towns and cities.[7]

These academies did not have identical equipment and buildings. Some excelled in one way, others in other ways. The building of the United Baptist Institute at Taylorsville was one of the most imposing of all, for it was a commodious brick structure with chapel and recitation rooms with a fair mountain prospect. A further distinction was that in the town there were three churches, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist. The school at Mars Hill excelled with a boarding house which cost $3,600.

Probably the best equipped of all these schools was the Mount Vernon Springs Academy in Chatham County. And here, let me confess, I am speaking under all the hazards that assail one when he tells of his first high school nearly seventy years afterwards. The village in which it was located had long been known as a watering place and it had a spacious hotel, which during the school year might provide board and lodgings for teachers and students. Nearby were several nice residences, one of them the "Washington Place," known also as Mt. Vernon. This house was built by a kinsman of the first President, who had been attracted from his Virginia home by the reputed medicinal qualities of the waters of the spring, and it was in his honor that the Springs were named. His tomb is in the Napton graveyard two miles to the west.[8]

Having fixed on this place as the location of their school, the trustees, all substantial men, raised $5,000 and bought the Spring and its property. They then formed a fifteen thousand-dollar stock company, and bought several hundred acres of land adjecent to that already purchased. At the top of a beautiful slope, 200 yards north of the Spring, they built the male academy, a stately structure, large enough to accommodate 100 students.

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[7] James A. Delke, *History of the Chowan Baptist Association of North Carolina*, 60 ff.

[8] The account of the Mount Vernon Springs Academy is drawn not only from documentary sources but also from the personal knowledge of the author. His father was one of the first trustees of the school, and he himself was born and reared in the neighborhood; his older brothers and a sister were at different periods students at the school; and he knew the traditions and history of the village.

On another slope 300 yards to the east of the Spring and separated from the male academy not only by distance but also by a stream and a thickly wooded ravine which obscured all vision, they erected the buildings of the Female Academy, and equipped the rooms with pianos, and palettes and paints and brushes, with which the students produced wonderful water-color pictures, many of which used to hang in the parlors of well-to-do planters of the section. And that proper provision was made for the literary instruction of the females is shown by the fact that on the mantles of the parlors mentioned were to be found the commencement essays of the young ladies, written on fine paper, in a cramped feminine hand, in faultless English, and inculcating moral virtues, and on such subjects as "Be Kind."

Each of the male academies had a faculty well equipped to prepare students for the classes of the colleges and the University of North Carolina. The principal was a Baptist and in most instances a Baptist minister; his one or two assistants were usually, but not invariably, Baptists. Normally the teachers were graduates of Baptist colleges but at least three, Delke, Faison, and Hooper, all principals, were alumni of the University of North Carolina. Delke with his faculty of three at the Chowan Reynoldson Seminary aspired to make the institution a college, but was disappointed by unsympathetic trustees and was forced to turn it over to those who were content that it should remain an academy.

When the Warsaw Academy began operations on September 20, 1856, its principal was Solomon J. Faison, a graduate of the University of North Carolina in the class of 1846. His assistant was Robert H. Drysdale, described as "Fellow of the Glasgow Chemical Society, and late Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Andersonian University." He was secured at considerable expense to teach agricultural chemistry, of the need and value of which it was said the trustees were well aware. In a short time it was announced that the laboratory was "replete with all necessary apparatus." Those competent to judge praised highly the work of Drysdale. No other institution in North Carolina except possibly the University, they said, was offering a course in agricultural chemistry that in any way was equal to the course

Drysdale offered. For some unascertained reason Drysdale remained only one year.

In only one of these associational academies did the separate school for women have any important development. This was the Mount Vernon Springs Academy. It was opened at the same time as the male academy in January, 1856. It was in charge of Miss Virginia Royster of a family of prominence, a woman of superior ability, later to become the wife of Rev. J. K. Howell and the mother of Professor Vernon Howell, who established the school of pharmacy of the University of North Carolina. The assistant in music was Mrs. R. P. Jones, wife of the principal of the male academy, who was said to have no equal as a teacher of music in North Carolina. During the Civil War the operation of both the male and the female academies was suspended, but on September 28, 1863, the female academy was opened under charge of Dr. William Hooper, grandson of the signer of the Declaration of Independence and stepson of Reverend Joseph Caldwell, first president of the University of North Carolina, and himself with a distinguished academic career, having been in succession a member of the faculty of the University of North Carolina, acting president of the University of South Carolina, president of Wake Forest College, and president of Chowan Female Institute. Associated with him in the conduct of the school was his son, Professor T. C. Hooper. The instruction was not confined to girls, however, for Dr. Hooper taught classes of boys in Latin, mathematics, and other high school subjects.

A great contribution which these Baptist academies made to the general educational life of the state was the regulation, common to them all, that nothing of a sectarian religious nature should be taught in their classes.

Declarations to this effect are to be found in great number in the minutes of the North Carolina Baptist associations. Probably the most comprehensive of these statements is that written by Dr. Samuel Wait, and found in the minutes of the Beulah Association for 1847, of which the following is an extract: "The Baptists, while they urge the vital importance of instruction in the schools on the fundamental principles of the Christian system, do not accord to teachers in schools the right to form, shape and control the minds of their pupils in relation to those points

which constitute the badge of distinction among the respective Christian denominations of our country."[9] On account of this religious freedom other denominations freely sent their sons and daughters to these schools. Several Presbyterian families moved to the vicinity of the Mount Vernon Springs school and later built a church near the female academy, and the Methodists rented the Washington House for their parsonage.

Another feature of these associational academies must be mentioned. Though many of their students came from the towns and cities, they were rural schools, designed to serve rural people, and at a minimum of expense. The churches of one or more Baptist associations, often representing no great wealth, by uniting were able to provide handsomely in the way of school plant, equipment, and instruction, at a cost within the reach of families of moderate means, and to do it to an extent never before dreamed of in North Carolina. And in regard to patronage, these Baptist academies in general had a larger number of students than other academies of the state. Though the enrollment fluctuated with the better schools in some years, there were capacity numbers of students, seventy-five, one hundred, or even one hundred and fifty.

After these schools had been in operation only a few years there came the disastrous Civil War, which before it ended brought the suspension of all or nearly all schools in North Carolina. Though some of the Baptist academies survived for several years, before the end of the war one after another had closed, usually for lack of students.

However, not all was lost in the war. The widespread educational interest which accompanied the establishment and development of the associational academies remained. In most instances their buildings and grounds and general equipment had suffered no great damage, and were still the property of the associations. One of these, Mars Hill College, has been under the control of a Baptist board of trustees through all its years, and with short periods of suspension has been in continuous operation since 1856. Until it became a junior college in 1924 it had for years been the largest and best high school in the state, and its well pre-

[9] Other comprehensive statements on this subject are those of J. J. James, Minutes of the Beulah Association for 1850, and of E. W. West, Minutes of the Beulah Association for 1853.

pared graduates were coveted by all our colleges and universities. Today it is the largest and best junior college of the Baptists in the United States. Two of them, those at Warsaw and at Taylorsville, after only a short suspension, were re-opened and continued as associational academies until well in the present century. In the case of the others, the associations permitted the use of the property without charge to approved masters, who often found their schools attended by many young men eager to avail themselves of educational advantages which had not existed before for years.

Here ends my consideration of the Baptist academies which were in operation before 1860. It would seem that any history of the high schools of the state before the rise of the public high schools must be regarded as incomplete if it fails to take account of them.

In the forty years following the Civil War there was among the Baptists of North Carolina a second development of interest in academies and high schools, which in extent and promise was as important as the first.

In the dark days of Reconstruction, when the New South was a-borning, the Baptists of North Carolina, in the ways already mentioned and other ways to be told of, had a part in fanning the spark of educational interest and keeping it alive. Before the end of the century, by the co-operation of many of the Baptist associations of the state and the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, they had established a Baptist system of high schools.

Of this development I have already made and published a brief account. On this occasion I have space for only the barest outline.[10]

Let us recall the fact that until 1905 there were no public high schools in North Carolina except the few operated as a part of the graded school systems of certain of our cities and larger towns. As late as 1896 these numbered not more than eight or ten. For high school instruction the only provisions were the few denominational academies that had survived the wreck of years, and private schools. Of the latter the number had greatly increased in the years from 1885 to 1895. This was due chiefly to the fact that in many of the numerous new railroad towns some of the enterprising citizens realized the need of schools for their

[10] *History of Wake Forest College*, III, 293-300.

children and thought to provide them by the erection of school buildings. In most instances these schools proved failures. The local patronage was small and often there were few boarding students. Obviously the revenues were too meagre to attract a competent teacher, who, while usually given the use of the building rent free, was expected to pay all the other school expenses and also to provide for his own board and lodging. Very rarely was such a school operated at a profit, even when kept by the ablest of teachers and well managed and loyally supported. High schools within the reach of North Carolina parents of modest means were rapidly passing out of existence.

Under such conditions the question of providing high school instruction for their children was very serious for the country people of North Carolina, and in particular for the Baptists, most of whom were small farmers, independent, but with no large incomes. Quite naturally they began again to think of associational academies which had proved so successful before the Civil War. Two or three of these, Warsaw Academy, United Baptist Institute at Taylorsville, and Bethel Hill Academy, had survived through all the years or were again in operation. New associational academies, such as Haywood Institute, opened in 1884, were organized. Before the end of the century there were about a dozen such schools. "That which gives the greatest hope for the education of the vast Baptist host of North Carolina," it is stated in a report to the Baptist State Convention of 1898, "is the establishment of secondary schools. A large number of the associations have erected academies to prepare for college boys and girls purposing to obtain a thorough education, and to subserve the educational interest of the far larger number who cannot go to college. We recommend the establishment of such a school in every association in the state."

Stimulated by this and other like resolutions of the Baptist State Convention, associations continued to establish and operate academies. It was generally recognized, however, that while the Baptists in the western section of the state were numerous, with the census of 1890 showing that of 125,000 professing Christians in twenty western counties, 75,000 were members of Baptist churches, nearly all the mountain associations were too weak financially to maintain good high schools. To help them in this

work the aid of the Southern Baptist Convention was sought and obtained in the year 1899. Afterwards for more than thirty years that Convention made the Baptist schools of this section, ten or twelve in number, members of its system of "Mountain Schools," making annual appropriations for their support and providing a superintendent who regularly visited them and co-operated with their faculties and friends in matters pertaining to the conduct of the schools and plans for their financial strengthening and improvement. In this way these schools were enabled to become among the best and most largely attended academies in North Carolina. Among them were such noted academies as Fruitland Institute, Hendersonville; Haywood Institute, Clyde; Sylva Collegiate Institute, Sylva; Yancey Collegiate Institute, Burnsville; Mars Hill College; and Bowman Academy, Bakersville. Others were located in the recesses of the North Carolina mountains. One of these was Bellevue Academy, ten miles south of Murphy. All gave excellent academic instruction, and through their wise and inspirational principals and other teachers exercised a powerful and stimulating moral and religious influence on their students, who still speak of them with reverence and love.[11]

The establishment of associational high schools was greatly accelerated by the plan for a system of schools, with an academy in every association, or central in the territory of a group of associations, all co-operating with the Baptist colleges and providing them with an unfailing supply of students. The suggestion for this system of schools was first presented to the Baptist State Convention in 1900, and thereafter gained much favor both in the Convention and out of it. "The complete organization of our school work in the state will affect every fibre of our denominational life," it was said in a report in 1901. "There must be one other highly helpful step," said J. W. Bailey, writing editorially in the *Biblical Recorder*, "the formation of a system of Christian schools. The denominational colleges must get in touch earlier with a supply of students. . . . this must be done by means of the secondary, or high school. Nothing can shake a Christian system of higher and secondary schools standing for general religious

[11] Annuals of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, 1900-1930; Annuals of the Southern Baptist Convention, Home Mission Board reports, under head of "Mountain Schools," 1900-1930; Annuals of Western Baptist Convention of North Carolina, 1900-1901.

education. Imagine Wake Forest College and the Baptist University for Women (later Meredith College) reinforced in the field by twenty academies, each in vital alliance with these institutions and each other."[12]

During all these years the Baptists of the state were expressing their satisfaction at the increasing interest in public education and the impulse given it by the "Educational Governor," Charles B. Aycock. "There has never been a time," reads a report to the Caldwell Association of 1903, "when the Baptists of the state were so alive to education as now." Like reports are to be found in the published minutes of nearly all the forty-five Baptist associations of these years. But while urging that it was the part of the state to provide for common schools, the Baptists of North Carolina were coming to the conviction that it was their responsibility to have a large part in providing academies and high schools to fill the gap between the elementary schools and the colleges. They saw that the efforts to accomplish this by the creation of "Special Tax" schools had not been generally successful.

It was in this situation that the Baptist plan for a state-wide system of Baptist schools was presented to the State Convention and received its approval, and was received with much favor by the churches and associations. Here was a plan by which parents who lived in the country and did not have the advantage of the tax-supported schools of the towns and cities could educate their sons and daughters at a minimum of expense and under Christian influences. Little by little every school could be improved until it should have adequate equipment of buildings, libraries, and laboratories, and a faculty sufficient in number and training to provide the very best in high school education and to fit its students for life or for college. The hope was that each would become a center of educational, cultural, and religious influence for the district it served.

After several years' work a committee of which J. W. Bailey was chairman made its final report to the Baptist State Convention of 1905. It showed that in addition to four colleges, there were twenty-five academies in North Carolina under Baptist control. Of these sixteen were associational academies. These

[12] *Biblical Recorder*, July 22, 1903.

latter had 180 teachers, 3,802 students, and property valued at $168,000. On the recommendation of the report the Convention began and until 1930 continued to publish in its annuals statistical tables of these schools, giving information as to the number of teachers and students, property and income.

The plan and purpose of this system of schools were such as that indicated above, and before 1905 a good start had been made towards their realization. The schools were being improved and the Baptists were rallying to their support. They already had by far the largest system of high schools, either state or denominational, that had ever existed in the state, and in the Convention of December, 1905, they were planning with joy and confidence for further development.[13]

In the early months of 1905, however, the North Carolina General Assembly had approved a new departure in the educational program of the state, which in the next quarter of a century proved the utter undoing of every private and denominational high school in the state that did not gain a measure of safety by becoming a junior college. This new movement was that for a state-wide system of public high schools, rural as well as urban. It owed its origin and much of its development to the vision and wisdom of Dr. J. Y. Joyner, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Under his direction, slowly at first, one tax-supported high school to a county, these schools began to occupy the field. Soon, responsive to an ever increasing demand, more and more public high schools were established and thronged with students. The Baptists realized the danger to their own schools and made a valiant fight to keep them. But the struggle

[13] *History of Wake Forest College*, III, 296, ff. "The schools named in Bailey's report of 1905, with dates of founding, were: Associational Academies—Atlantic Institute, Morehead City, 1900; South Fork Institute, 1902; Winterville High School, 1900; Yancey Collegiate Institute, 1901; Round Hill Academy, 1899; Sylva Collegiate Institute, 1899; Lenoir Academy, 1898; Haywood Institute, 1883; Macon High School, 1903; Pee Dee Baptist Institute, 1898; Fruitland Institute, 1899; Sandy Creek Association School, Mount Vernon Springs Academy, 1897; Murphy Baptist School, 1901; Bowman Academy, Mitchell Collegiate Institute, 1899; Wingate School, 1896; Sandy Run, merged in the Boiling Springs Academy, 1905-1906; Belleview High School (in Swain County), 1905. The above schools were classed as associational academies, but several of them were already being supported by the Home Mission Board. Other schools listed in Bailey's report were Bethel Hill (owned by Baptists), 1856; Robeson Institute, administered by the trustees of Lumberton Baptist Church, 1893; Mars Hill College, chartered Baptist school, 1857; Orange Grove Academy, Cane Creek Church, 1866; Yadkin Mineral Springs Academy, 1899; Buie's Creek Academy, private, 1887; Dell School, with Baptist trustees, 1902; and Leaksville-Spray Institute, chartered by Baptists, 1901. To these were added in a few years: Boiling Springs Academy, 1906; Liberty-Piedmont School, 1904; Mountain Park High School, 1913; Mountain View, 1913; Orphanage, Mills Home, first report, 1906; Salemburg, afterwards Pineland Schools for Girls, 1899; South Mountain, Bostic, Miss Ora Hull, 1921; Stinceon Institute, 1921. There were many other schools under Baptist supervision and with Baptist principals, many of which were approved by Baptist associations."

nought availed. One by one, yielding to the inevitable, they went out of existence. The "Mountain Schools," having the support of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, survived longer than the others. It was with much sorrow and many heart-burnings that the mountain people gave them up. They remembered that it was the Baptist academies that had first rescued them from the curse of ignorance and had wrought a great transformation among them, and they regarded them with affection. When the change had to be made, the public school officials were kind and sympathetic, and made it in a way that proved of advantage to all. In many instances the school properties were purchased and their officers and teachers retained. But great was their sorrow when after resorting to all possible means to save them the friends of the schools finally had to consent to give up institutions for which they had made great sacrifices, and which were associated with the happiest and most ennobling experiences of their lives. A typical expression is this from the minutes of the Haywood Association of 1927: "The greatest loss the Haywood Association has ever known was when Haywood Institute closed its doors."

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

From R. J. Powell[37]

Washington D.C.
21st Oct. 1865.

To the President:

I would respectfully state in reference to the Internal Revenue officers appointed in N. Carolina, that *not, a single one* was appointed upon the recommendation of Gov. Holden–

A few weeks ago, I had a *distinct and positive understanding* with Commissioner Orton, to the effect that all action in reference to the Districting the State, and appointing Collectors and Assessors, should be suspended till the State should be districted for Congress, whom those districts Seven in number should be adopted as the Internal Revenue districts, and that no appointments should be made save on the recommendation of Gov. Holden–

I say such was our *positive* agreement, and of which I immediately informed the Governor–

Yet within three days thereafter an appointment was made–

Two days ago I received a telegram from the Governor, saying the State had been districted and asking that my understanding would be rigidly observed– I called on Mr. Orton, and learn from him and his chief Clerk that a commission for a Mr. Thompson as collector of the old 2nd. district had been prepared– notwithstanding another had been recommended for that position by Gov. Holden– I then called on Mr. Chandler, who ordered a suspension of action for a few days– I again called on Mr. Whitman Chief Clerk of the Internal Revenue Bureau yesterday – and learned that he regarded Hedrick as the representative of *our party* in N.C. and said it was but fair that the offices should be divided between the *two parties* there– I informed him that there ought not to be but one party there– I objected to the production of parties then by favoring opposition to Gov. Holden–

I will here remark that in all of the Departments, as a general thing, I find the *National men* friendly disposed, and desirous of sustaining Gov. Holden, whilst the *radicals,* are disposed to a contrary course.

With high respect

Very truly Yours

State Agent for N Carolina

[37] The last letter previously published in this series was dated November 4, 1865, but this and other letters written in October, 1865, have been found.

Richard H. Battle,Senior[38]

Raleigh N.C.
Oct . 21st 1865

Hon. Thomas Corwin
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir: I have the honor to enclose to you a petition in behalf of the Hon. Z.B. Vance of this state & to ask that you will do him the favor of handing it to the President–[39] I have understood that you are a friend of Gov. Vance's, & it has therefore occurred to me to ask the kindness at your hands– If the papers were not sent direct to the Presdt. it would possibly fail to attract his attention–

The petition was drawn & presented *privately* to the members of the Convention who signed it without Gov. Vance's knowledge & consent, but several of us his friends hope that if the privilege asked is granted it may result in good to him– We have thought no better disposition could be made of it than to entrust it to you.

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[38] Richard H. Battle, the son of William Horn Battle and Lucy Martin Plummer Battle, was born on December 3, 1835. He attended Mrs. James F. Taylor's school in Raleigh and graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1854; was an instructor in Greek and mathematics at his alma mater; was licensed to practice law in 1858; served in the Confederate Army as a lieutenant from 1862 to September, 1863, when he became private secretary to Governor Vance; resigned in August, 1864, to become auditor of the state; served as judge of the Superior Court in 1884 and 1885; was made judge of the fourth circuit court of the United States; was president of the board of directors of Rex Hospital; served as a director of the Citizens National Bank of Raleigh, the Raleigh Cotton Mills, and the Neuse River Cotton Mills; and was active in civic and religious affairs. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina,* VI, 39-43.

[39] This petition appears in the papers of President Johnson:

Raleigh N C. Oct. 14th 1865

To His Excellency *Andrew Johnson*
President of Our United States
The undersigned members of the convention of North Carolina now in Session respectfully ask that the parole to Z. B. Vance be so extended as to allow him to visit Washington City by any route through North Carolina

J M McCorkle	Wm. A. Wright	E. G. Reade, Prest.	R. Swann
R. M. Henry	Lewis Thompson	P. H. Winston, Jr	A M Ives
Allmand A McKay	S. L. Jones	S. F. Phillips	T. N. Alexander
James R. Love	John Berry	L L Polk	Wm Sloan
Jno. Norfleet	R. H. Winborne	Chas C. Clark	Natt McLean
F. G. Simmons	D. H. Starbuck	Rob. B. Gilliam	Thomas I Faison
T. Wilson	Tod R. Caldwell	John Pool	R H Ward
John T Kennedy	B. F. Moore	G. W. Logan	T H Joyner
Danl L Russell	C Perkins	D. Beam	R. S. Donnell
Isaac N Sanders	W. S. Hanrahan	Jno. B. Odom	M. E. Manly
J R Stubbs	S. S. Jackson	James Rumley	D. B. Nicholson
Wm. Barrow	Zebedee Rush	Bedford Brown	D. G. McRae
H. Willey	D. M. Furches	Edw.d Conigland	N M Kay
Thos J Jarvis	W. T. Faircloth	W. W. Brickell	E. M. Stevenson
Wm A. Allen	A H. Joyce	J. S. Spencer	Saml Forkum
Eugene Grissom	Th Bagden	W. L. Smith	G. W. Bradley
E. B. Lyon	J W. McLaughlin	J R Ellis	R. J. Williams
M McGehee	Giles McCane	D D Ferebee	Duncan Kelly
Alney Burgin	J. C. Johnston	Wm Eaton Jr	S. P. Smith
S. H. Walkup	A. B. Baines	R P Buxton	Simon Godwin
S. S. Bingham	A. J. Jones	H. A. McLean	

In accordance with Battle's request Corwin enclosed the above with this comment:

W City 25th Oct. 65

To the President

I am requested by the gentlemen whose letter I enclose herewith to hand to yr. Excellency the petition of the members of the N Carolina convention, praying the enlargement of the parole of the late confederate Gov Vance.

It seems his Parole confines him to his own home in N Carolina, I wrote him sometime since, advising him to come to Washington, & seek a personal interview with the President as the best method of obtaining his pardon. I suppose he wishes to visit W City for that purpose. The letter I inclose relates in part, to the petition of a Mr. Ashe, of whom I know nothing

Very respectfully Yr Obt Servt.
Thomas Corwin"

If as a an entire stranger, I am not presuming too much upon your kindness, I would ask that when you call upon the President with the petition, you will request him to consider the application for pardon filed by the Hon. Thos. S. Ashe of N.C. about the middle of June last–[40] He was Senator elect to the Confederate Congress, though he had up to April 1861 been an earnest supporter of the Union; & his application was favorably endorse by our Provisional Governor. He is my father-in-law, but I make this request without his knowledge– If to comply with it would cost you any time or trouble, you will please take no notice of it–

Very respectfully
Your obt. Servant

The fact that I was once private secretary to Gov. Vance will seem as a sufficient reason for *my* troubling you in his behalf–

From Romulus M. Saunders[41]

Raleigh Oct 25 – '65

Dr.Powel
Dear Sir–

As I suppose you to be the son of Mr. Powel of Richmond County formerly a member of the State council a warm political friend of mine I have taken this liberty of enclosing to you a note addressed to the President by Mr. Reade the President of our State Convention recommending in the warmest term Gen.[1] B.T. Bragg for a pardon[42]– and as I have some fear that my letter may have miscarried not having heard from you – I again take

[40] Thomas S. Ashe (July 21, 1812-Feb. 4, 1887) was born at Hawsfields, Alamance County, and was educated at Bingham's Academy and the University of North Carolina. After graduation from the University in 1832, he read law in Judge Thomas Ruffin's office; was admitted to the bar in 1834, and began to practice in Wadesboro, North Carolina; was a member of the house of commons in 1842; was solicitor of the fifth judicial district of the state, 1847-1851; was elected to the North Carolina senate in 1854; served in the Confederate House of Representatives, 1861-1864; was elected to the Confederate Senate but never served; was a member of the House in Congress from March 4, 1873, to March 3, 1877; was elected associate judge of the North Carolina supreme court in 1876 and reelected in 1886 and served until his death. Richard H. Battle married his daughter, Annie Ruffin Ashe. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 561; Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 39-43; John H. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians*, 6-8.

[41] Romulus Mitchell Saunders (March 3, 1791-April 21, 1867) was born near Milton, North Carolina; attended the public schools and the University of North Carolina; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1812; was a member of the house of commons in 1815, 1817, 1850, and 1852 and served two years as speaker of the house of commons; served in the House in Congress from March 4, 1821, to March 3, 1827; was attorney general of North Carolina from 1828 to 1831; served as judge of the superior court, 1835-1840 and 1852-1856; and was United States minister to Spain, 1846-1849. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1495.

[42] Braxton Bragg (1817-1876), the son of Thomas Bragg and Margaret Crossland Bragg, graduated from West Point and participated in the Seminole War, the War with Mexico, and the Civil War. He was with the Confederate Army at the battles of Shiloh, Chattanooga, and elsewhere. In 1864 he went to Richmond and acted as a military adviser to Jefferson Davis and accompanied him in his flight to Georgia. After the Civil War he became a civil engineer. *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 585-586.

the liberty of invoking you to do me the great favor of looking after the papers heretofore sent to Washington for the pardon of Gen[l] Johnson[43] The first were presented by Col. Markly of Frederick consisting of Gen[l] Johnson's Petition a letter from myself with Gov. Holden endorsement calling my letter to the notice of the President I after this again wrote the Gov claiming his interference as General Johnson was to be now considered a citizen of this State as he had finally left Maryland – having lost his home He had married my daughter my House had been the home of his wife for the past four years– He had been licensed as a lawyer by our Supreme Court – had been appointed under a decree of equity in a will filed by my wife & children against the Executors of her Father as a trustee to recover such property as had been divised by her Father and which had been taken possession of on the evacuation of Charleston which Gen J. is now asking to recover but is unable to do so far the want of the President's pardon I must beg of you to bring the facts to the notice of the President and to ask his favorable consideration & as I am now 75 years old in bad health – You will learn what has been done from Mr. Reaves the Presidents private secretary –

I must again intreat your friendly interference as a North Carolinian and shall we feel under the lasting gratitude

Your

From Joseph L. Cannon[44]

State of North Carolina,
Executive Department.
Raleigh, N.C., Nov. 13th ,1865

His Excellency

The President [of the] United States

Sir.

Governor Holden is confined to his bed from illness and directs me to write you a few lines.

Only twenty three counties have been heard from, the returns of which leave the election of Governor uncertain. Governor Holden does not despair of his election.

Hon. William A. Graham has been elected to the State Senate from Orange County. Josiah Turner is elected to Congress from

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[43] Bradley Tyler Johnson (1829-1903), son of Charles Washington Johnson and Eleanor Murdock (Tyler) Johnson, was born in Frederick, Maryland. On June 25, 1851, he married Jane Claudia Saunders. He helped to organize the first Maryland regiment for the Confederate Army, and served in the campaign of the Valley of Virginia. He also commanded the Maryland cavalry under Wade Hampton. In November, 1864, he was sent to Salisbury, North Carolina, where he restored order in the prison. After the Civil War he practiced law in Richmond and in Baltimore. He was active in politics. *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 90-91.

[44] Joseph L. Cannon was private secretary to Governor Holden, Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 447*n*.

his district, and Rufus Y. Mc Aden to the House of Commons from Alamance County.[45]

They are unpardoned and have been recommended for Suspension by the Governor. It is believed they will soon apply in person to your Excellency for Pardon.

Governor Graham is the originator and leader of all the disaffection in North Carolina. His great desire is to unite enough of the old whigs to the Secessionists the advocates of the payment of the Rebel Debt and disaffected men to break down the National Union Party. His opposition to you is as strong as it is to Governor Holden. Jonathan Worth, Josiah Turner and Rufus Y. McAden were put forward at his instance against the repeated remonstrances of all the leading union men in the State.

Josiah Turner canvassed the district greatly exciting and increasing disaffection. The body of his speeches consisted of ridicule and slander of the democratic party. He declared "he would not vote for you to save your life." Mc Aden has done all he could for the same purposes.

The Union men of the State believe that if your Excellency will refuse to Pardon these man, disaffection will be struck a death blow in North Carolina, and will not again be able to rise, The Governor greatly desires that these man may not be Pardoned, but may receive a merited rebuke at the hands of your Excellency.

I am Most Respectfully
Your obdt Servt.
Aid de Camp

From John M. Davis

The following Telegram received at Washington 3 40 P M. Nov. 14, 1865.

From Newberne N C. " 14 1865.
His Ex Andrew Johnson
Prest US

Accept the thanks of the Loyal Citizens of Newberne that the state of North Carolina retains the services of her loyal Provisional Governor, in accordance with the wishes of her loyal citizens.

Acting Mayor
Town Newberne

[45] Rufus Y. McAden was a member of the North Carolina legislature in 1862, and served several successive terms. In 1866 he was speaker of the house. He was also prominent in manufacturing circles. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 793*n*, 1074-1075.

From R. J. Powell

United States Military Telegraph,
War Department
Raleigh N.C.
10 A M Novr 26. 1865

His Excy
A Johnson
President of U.S.

Dear Sir!

Since my arrival here, I find the rebelious element aided by the aristocracy much stronger and more bitter than I had supposed before I left Washington and they seem to have full power in their hands– Govr Holden is improving but is still confined to his bed, all profess a desire to carry out your wishes, yet Graham, Vance and other leaders are industriously deceiving the masses as to your views.

Our leading friends are of opinion that is of the greatest importance that your wishes be made known in such manner that they can't be misunderstood by any one. I think that if you can send or telegraph something as follows it will do great good–

"The results of the recent election in N. Carolina have greatly damaged the prospects of the state in the restoration of its Governmental relations. Should the action and the spirit of the Legislature be in the same direction, it will greatly increase the mischief already done and might be fatal. It is hoped the action and spirit manifested by the Legislature will be so directed as rather to repair than to increase the difficulties under which the state has already placed itself–"[46]

Our friends are very confident that such a message from you would do great good, hence I have taken the liberty to suggest it. Please let me hear from you immediately

Truly yours

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington, 7 10 P M. Nov 27 1865.

Executive Dept Raleigh Nov
The President of the United States

Sir

Your dispatch has been received I am very grateful to you for this additional proof of your confidence & friendship my health has much improved hope to be able in a few days to at-

[46] The proposed message was incorporated verbatim in President Johnson's telegram to Holden, dated November 27, 1865. The telegram is published in Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 141.

tend actively to my duties I trust your dispatch will have a good effect upon the Legislature but the indications thus far are not satisfactory–

There is a tie in the Senate between Settle unionist and Ferebee secessionist for the speakership–tomorrow or next day will decide, Mr Phillips elected speaker of Commons,[47] not satisfactory to the Unionist two of the clerks of the Commons Secessionists McAden of Alamance unpardoned rebel has taken his seat and votes,

I will oust him by force if necessary as soon as the Houses are organized, Gov. Graham presented his credentials in the Senate but did not claim his seat. He requested me to inform you that He had been elected to the senate from the county of Orange & He desires to know your determination in regard to his pardon. I do this as a matter of form. I do not advise His pardon.

He ought not to be pardoned at this time, He is the head & front of the present opposition to the administration & his friends are retarding the work of reconstruction. The worth or Graham faction are said to be alarmed & may offer a compromise– but on the other hand it is the current talk that Graham & Vance are to be the senators

Rest assured Sir, I will do all in my power to prevent bad men from running our poor old state,

Very Respectfully

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 4 20 P M. Nov 27 1865.

Raleigh N.C. Nov. 27th 1865
The President

Your telegram to Holden received Many thanks for it. Phillips of Orange is Speaker of the House of Commons without opposition.Two (2) ballots for speaker of the Senate. adjourned without electing.Ferrebee the Worth candidate for speaker of the Senate is one of the nine who voted in the Convention against declaring the secession ordinance a nullity.[48]

Truly yours

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[47] Samuel Field Phillips was born in Harlem, New York; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1841; read law under David L. Swain; was a member of the house of commons from Orange County, 1852, 1854, 1864, and 1865, and at the latter session was unanimously chosen speaker of the house; and was appointed solicitor general of the United States. He married Fannie Stone, a granddaughter of Governor Stone. Wheeler, *Reminiscences*, 62-63; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 142.

[48] The election of Thomas Settle as speaker of the house over Dennis Ferebee was considered a victory for Holden. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 142.

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 12 10 P M. Nov 27 1865.

Raleigh Nov 27, 1865

The President

Pardon me for calling your attention to my telegram of last night. Our friends here implore your kindly assistance as indicated in that Telegram and feel great confidence as to the great result that may be produced. Not only to our State but to the country at large. In addition to the efficient support it will enable them to give to your Administration

Very Truly Yours

From R. J. Powell

The following telegram received at Washington, 1 P M. Nov 28 1865.

Raleigh N C

President U S

Two of our friends elected to the House of Commons Have not yet received their pardons, J R Logan of Cleaveland County, fifty five years of age, was County surveyor & tax Collector in that County. J J Lucas of Bladen County was a postmaster at a petty County office. Gov Holden requests that you will order their pardons & inform him by telegraph so that they can take their seats tomorrow Gov Holden telegraphed last night, your kind telegram of yesterday will be published tonight.

Truly Yours

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington, 9-10 P M. Dec. 1st 1865.

Raleigh Dec 1st
President of U.S.

Sir

The legislature has ratified with but six dissenting voices the congressional amendment abolishing slavery. five Judges have been elected all good selections, Those of my provisional appointments have been confirmed. Your despatch has had a good effect

but I cannot predict the result as to the senatorships, Senators will be elected on monday It is believed that Gov Graham will be elected. There appears to be a clear anti administration or secession majority on Joint ballot. I have not changed my opinion in regard to Gov Graham. He is more subdued however & may take occasion in a day or two to define his position. There are a – 11 kinds of combinations here but I still hope for the best.

Very Resp'y
Pro Gov

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 4 05 P M. Dec 1 1865.

From Raleigh Dec 1 1865

The President

Gov Holden directs me to respectfully ask that you order the pardon of Wm K Lanes of Wayne County N C & notify the Gov by telegraph

Truly Yours

From Jennie Brin

Raleigh N. Carolina,
December 1,st 1865.

President Johnson:

Ladies,I believe at all times are recognized as privileged characters, exercising my perogative as such, I address *you*, believing that you will at least peruse these lines. If I *seem* to lack respect attribute it to the *head*, not the *heart*, *I mean* to address you with the respect due the man whose actions show that his soul expands with magnanimity, & that he is truly great & noble.

I embrace this method of asking a favor. Do not turn away – it is no for "an office for a friend" nor the "pardon of my self or friends", *I* do no feel that any crime lies at my door, unless hating the yankees with an intensity that defies expression be such – but it is to ask that you visit your native state and this your native city, come as a private individual, so disguised as that none will know you – mingle enough with the people, hear their sentiments towards yourself – see the people *as they are* – in short come, use *your* own eyes and ears instead of Gov. Holden's

You know that this state was slow to secede– slow to enter a war that she vainly,but bravely tried to ward off– when it came,she could but enter it, and *nobly* did she do her part in fight-

ing, as she felt then, for liberty. The old north state may be wrong in many ways, but hypocritical *never!*

Being known as a rebel, I have been thrown much among those who *have been* the most rebellious; I have conversed with Carolina's best & noblest sons– and I have never yet heard one word spoken against you, or the course you have persued– They assert their willingness to suport you, but like myself they cannot believe that *you* and *W. W. Holden are one and the same person*– It is generally believed that Holden was appointed provisional governor from *necessity* not choice– We believe you to be consistent while *we know*, as does all the reading world that Holden has no idea what that word means–*Office* is his god and he would sell his soul for it (Is it treason to speak thus of a provisional governor? – if so – I am a traitoress–) The people of N.C. look upon you as a generous, kind and noble man – who is willing to forgive those who swear allegiance to the government you represent; and while yankee soldiers and Holden are not *beloved,* you are– We do not, cannot, *will not* believe that you are such a man as Holden– and while you see abusive articles referring to him, you find nothing of the kind in connection with your name–Pray tell me what confidence we can put in a man who is first a "methodist"– then an "Episcopalian" – One year a Democrat next a Whig– then a "know nothing" – a ranting secessionist then a Unionist, can such a "turn coat" have the confidence of the people? Never, Never! Yet Holden would lead you to believe that we are working against *you* & the government, while he knows as well as we do it is not you or the government but W. W. Holden, whom we would work against. We know him too well to love him! – too well to trust him, and if you would have N.C. love her governor give her another whom she can *trust* take him from us?

The man elected by the voice of the people to the gubernatorial chair, has never been a secessionist, has ever been for the union. He is the people's choice; Holden never was and never can be – he is too much of a demogogue.

Come to Carolina, learn for yourself that we have been grossly misrepresented, learn, what you may never learn in Washington that the old north state can and will submit to the powers that be– We have been called a people of common sense, at least– and does not *that* teach us that we are powerless – We are tired of military law– and N.C. is willing to go back to her old place in the Union, not merely willing but anxious – We know as well as you do that we were over-powered and that to-day as Poland, we lie powerless – helpless worn weary, wounded, crushed and ruined at the feet of a mighty conquerer. *Unlike* Poland, we are in the hand of a "generous foe" – (no I must call you *friend,* if you will allow a little rebel girl to do so–) one whose heart yearns over us, and while that one is beloved, and reverened he is not a traitor to the erring asses– Come and see that N. Carolina has lost none

of her nobleness – and that she feels that you are her trusted friend.

I believe that God in his infinite love gave us into *your* hands – (I mean to cast no reproach on him, whose sad death gave you the presidential chair) and that He is watching over us, and that He warms your heart to feel for the poor downtrodden children of the South– May He *guide guard,* protect and externally preserve you!

Forgive me for thus tresspassing on your time, but if I could only believe that these lines would vindicate the cause of our state – I think that *you would* freely forgive – Will you *not* make an effort to see North Carolina as it is? If I could only be instrumental in bringing about a better understanding between you and this state, I could feel that my life had not been spent in vain,– feel that I had accomplished that, of which the greatest might be proud–

I know not whither came the *courage* to address the chief ruler of this nation. Alone in my room miles and miles from those I love , in the midst of strangers I sit night after night and think of my dear beloved country and of the misunderstanding between the government and the people, and tears course down my cheeks. Tonight suddenly I thought that I, little and unknown, tho' I am, I might perhaps reach your ears – and I have written *just* as I *feel* – written what I know is to be true and I am hoping that you will at least read these lines –

The door is open for you to add fresh laurels to those that already adorn your brow – See – know, and *trust* the people make to yourself a name in the South and the homeless widows and orphans – the generous & brave men will"rise up and call you blessed."

I am with unfeigned respect
At L. Branson's
Raleigh N.C.

Permit me to ask that this be burned , lest it fall into the hands of your subordinates and the rebel girl be ridiculed.

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 2 P M. Dec 2 1865.

Raleigh E 1st

The Prest

It affords me great pleasure to inform you that the constitutional amendment was ratified by the House of Commons with but four dissenting voices and by the Senate with but two.[49]

[49] The chief opposition in the senate was made by John M. Morehead and Dennis Ferebee. Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 142-143.

This good result is greatly due to your timely Telegram. The struggle for the Senatorship has commenced and it may become necessary to again trouble you in settling the matter

Very Truly Yours

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 10 45 P M. Dec 2 1865.

Raleigh 9 30 P M Dec 2

His Excellency
A Johnson

Twleve 12 Oclock Monday is the time fixed for the election of the U.S. Senators– Graham's friends have proposed to me that if his pardon can be obtained they will elect him & Holden or Bedford Brown[50] or any one I may name– I have said that without a public declaration from him of his unqualified approval of your plan of restoration & of his determination to give a cordial & hearty support to the National & State administration his pardon cannot be asked for– They say he is ready & willing to make such declarations– Again I have suggested that the election to be U S Senate of any man who had been in the Rebel Senate might weaken us & strengthen the radicals– Is this opinion correct? He & his friends say not– They have the power & will elect him unless I can have your authority for saying that it would be imprudent– Your reply will not, of course, be published or made known to only a few reliable persons hence it had better be directed to me rather than to Gov Holden, Truly yours

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington 4-5 P M. Dec 4 1865.

Raleigh Dec. 4. 1865

The Prest of the US

Sir

William A Graham has just been elected Senator by the following vote.

Graham one hundred Thirty Eight Boyden Seven (7) Dick Six (6) Brown one (1)

[50] Bedford Brown served in the United States Senate from December 9, 1829, until November 16, 1840, when he resigned because he would not obey the instructions of the legislature of North Carolina, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 744.

Another ballot was had when John Pool of Bertie lacked one vote of an Election. Adjourned for the day– Mr Pool would be in all respects acceptable[51] If I were a northern member of Congress I doubt whether I would consent to sit with any ex member of the So-Called Confederate Congress a proposition is pending in the Senate that Thos L Clingman is entitled to the two year term.[52] Of course this will be voted down but it shows the feeling by which some of the members are actuated

Very respy

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 4 20 P M. Dec 4 1865.

Raleigh " "

The Prest US

No answer to my telegram of Saturday night. Gov Holden has given you the result of today as to the electing Senators

Graham leaves for Washington Tomorrow morning. His friends say he is confident that in an interview of Twenty minutes he will obtain his pardon from you – Full returns not yet recd but it is supposed that about fifty five thousand votes were cast in all at the recent Gubernatorial Election[53] but on the Anti-Slavery and an[t]i Secession ordnances perhaps not more than twelve or thirteen thousand were cast of which about nine tenths were for ratification. A few counties gave majorities against ratification in which Counties the vote was almost unanimous against Holden. The members who have voted against ratifying the Constitutional amendment & those now claiming that Clingman is Entitled to his seat are all anti Holden men– I would to God that I could report a more favorable State of affairs here than really exists

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[51] John Pool (June 16, 1826-Aug. 16, 1884) was born near Elizabeth City, North Carolina; graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1847; practiced law in Elizabeth City; served as a member of the North Carolina senate in 1856, 1858, 1864, and 1865; was elected as Senator of the United States in 1865, but was not permitted to take his seat because the state had not been readmitted to the Union; upon the readmission of North Carolina to the Union, he was again elected Senator and served from July 4, 1868, to March 3, 1873. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1421.

[52] Thomas L. Clingman (July 27, 1812-Nov. 3, 1897) was appointed to the United States Senate on May 6, 1858; was reelected in 1861 and served to March 28, 1861, when he withdrew. On May 17, 1862, he was made a brigadier general in the Confederate Army. Clingman went to Washington in 1865 for the purpose of taking his seat under the claim of his election in 1861, but a committee appointed by the Senate ruled that he had no claim to his seat. *Biographical Directory to the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 824; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 144.

[53] According to Benjamin S. Hedrick, Holden moved "Heaven and earth" to retain the governorship in 1865. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 675-676; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 145-146.

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 4 15 PM. Dec 4 1865

Raleigh " "

The Prest U S

The petition for pardon of C.B. Harrison of Wake County had been approved by the atty Genl before he left Washington as it is important to him in a business point of view that he should receive his pardon as early as practicable Gov Holden therefore directs me to respectfully ask that his pardon be issued and forwarded by mail to the Govrs office

Truly Yours

From William W. Holden

State of North-Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh, N.C., Dec. 6, 1865.

Hon. Andrew Johnson, President U. States.

My dear Sir: I received your Message on Tuesday night about ten o'clock, and you may be sure I read it with interest and avidity. As long as I have been in public life I do not remember to have seen any document which I so entirely approve as I do this; and I venture the assertion that it will command the hearty assent of a vast majority of the American people. The theory of the government, as maintained by the Fathers, and as settled *for all* time by the result of the late rebellion, is stated with clearness and accuracy. Your plan of restoration, which was the only feasible one under the circumstances, is explained, vindicated and commended to the Congress; yet after all, it is left to that body to say whether the states shall be restored and the work completed by the admission of the members from the insurgent states. The representatives of the insurgent states, having broken away from the Congress to engage in the rebellion, the question is how representatives from these states can again obtain seats, and this is a matter for the Congress itself. You have done your duty in so re-establishing [th]e machinery of self-government in these states [in orde]r to render them presentable through their rep[re]sentatives to the common Congress. Whether they shall be admitted or excluded, and the work of restoration commenced *de novo*. Your skirts are clear. In a spirit of patriotism and out of intense love of the union, you have ventured a great deal; and I regret that in some instances your liberality and self-sacrificing disposition have not been responded to as they should have been.

Allow me also to congratulate you on your foreign policy. We cannot afford to engage in war now, except in a clear case of insult to the national honor. We need at least ten years of profound peace. Believe me, Sir, a foreign war would develop elements in these Southern States little thought of by the superficial observer, and which might seriously embarrass and cloud the national arms.

But I need not dwell on special points in the Message. I repeat, it is what I for the most part expected, and cannot fail to strengthen your hold on the confidence and affection of your countrymen.

Dr. Powell will communicate to you much information in relation to the condition of [th]ings in this State; but there are some points to [wh]ich I wish to call your attention.

The late election in this State was shaped by secession votes and the rebel debt. More than half of those who voted for Mr. Worth are original secessionists and Vance men. Still more or less unsubdued, and who are disposed to return to the Union only under their chosen leaders.Mr. Worth himself was in favor of continuing the rebel State government, and he fled with Vance on the approach of Gen. Sherman. Up to a period somewhat subsequent to the committal of Gov. Graham and other former union leaders to the Davis policy of "fighting it out." Mr. Worth had been a devoted union man. I appointed him Provisional Treasurer in the liberal spirit which characterized your policy, in the hope that I might thereby obliterate lines of difference and make our people a unit. Still I do not think that he would have been a candidate but for the influence of Ex-Governors Vance and Graham. Indeed , it is known that he had agreed to disentangle himself from the secessionist and retire , but another letter from Gov. Graham determined him to be a candidate.These are the facts of which I am still convinced.

I regret to say that there is much of a rebellious [s]pirit still in this State. In this respect I admit I have [b]een deceived. In May and June last these rebellious [s]pirits would not have dared to show their heads even for the office of constable; but leniency has emboldened them, and the copperheads now shows his fangs. If these men had supreme power in this State the condition of the real Union men and of the freedmen would be exceedingly disagreeable. They count themselves on their devotion to the Confederacy; they make that a test of fidelity, declaring that as they were true to Davis, so they will be to you. Yet every word that wounds true hearts, and every measure calculated to obstruct the work of restoration, proceeds from them. And strange to say, the true union men were so oppressed under Confederate rule, and so cowed by the charge incessantly made that they were traitors, that they seem not to have entirely recovered their manhood, and hence it is that these malcontents are not denounced and exposed as they should be.

I communicate these convictions with regret. It may be that the policy of the government has been too lenient; or it may be that I have seriously erred in the discharge of duty, or that I was not the proper person for Provisional Governor. You may recollect that when in Washington I sought an interview with you at your private residence. My purpose then was to ask you to appoint some one else to this position, but I perceived that you were pressed for time, as the moment for the review of troops had arrived, and I told you, in reply to a question, that I had nothing more to say. My friends subsequently urged me in the most earnest terms not to decline the appointment, and I did not, therefore, mention to you what I intended to say on the morning I made the visit referred to. I am ready and willing at any moment to retire from this position; and if you have the shadow of a wish that I should do so, I pray you as a friend to let me know it. My chief wish is to be of benefit to my Afflicted State., and to see your administration successful.

The election of Mr. Pool to the Senate is highly gratifying to the true union men of the State. His record is as good as it was possible it could be under the circumstances. He is a gentleman of very high character and marked ability; and he had the cordial confidences of our friends in all parts of the State. In this connection it may not be improper for me to say that I was offered a Senatorship "by authority" with Ex-Governor Graham, but I emphatically declared that I felt I owed it to you to remain where I am, and that in no event could I accept it.

If this Provisional Government is to be continued it will be indispensible that the Courts of the State shall be put in full operation. Thefts, robberies, and murders are increasing, and the strong arms of law is indispensible to preserve life and property. Please give me instructions on this subject. I will have sufficient means to support a Provisional Government, and to put the entire machinery in full operation. A Supreme Court will be necessary as a Court of Appeals, and the Court elected by the Legislature might be appointed a Provisional Court. I am glad to be able to inform you that nearly all my Provisional appointments have been confirmed by the Legislature.

I have thus tared your patience at much length, but my situation and the importance of the subjects must be my apology. Our friend Dr. Powell who has borne himself here with much discretion, and who has made friends by his visit, can give you all the details.

Very Respectfully Yours,

From William W.Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington, 6 15 P M.
Dec 9 1865.

From Raleigh Dec 9 1865.

The President of the U.S.

Sir. Both houses of the General assembly have recinded their joint agreement to administer the oaths of office to Mr. Worth. The votes will only be counted and he will be declared Governor at the close of the Provisional Government

Very respy
Prov Gov

From William W. Holden

The following Telegram received at Washington 6 P M.
Dec 9 1865.

From Raleigh Dec 9th 1865.

His Excy the President of U S

Sir, The Legislature of the State today passed the following resolution. Resolved the house of commons concurring that the committee appointed to count the votes polled for Governor in November last be instructed to make arrangements for the administration of the Oath of Office to the Governor elect at the same time the returns are opened and the votes counted. Is their authority to administer this oath.[54] I am not informed of the views of the General assembly on this subject, the oath proposed to be administered may be intended to be only prospective. What course shall I adopt? Please let me hear from you soon. Dr Powell left for Washington this morning. I have written you by him at length in relation to our affairs in this state

Very resp'y &c

From Mrs Ancrum Burr

Wilmington No. Car
Dec. 13th 65.

President Johnson.

Dear Sir, Excuse this appeal to you again, but shear necessity obliges me to beg that you will give a few moments of your

[54] Before the adjournment of the legislature Jonathan Worth took the oath of office as governor of North Carolina. On December 23, William H. Seward notified Holden that by the direction of President Johnson he was relieved of his duties as provisional governor of North Carolina. He also notified Governor Worth of the termination of the provisional government and offered him the support of the United States government in his effort to bring peace and order. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 145-146.

precious time to my petition made some months ago, which I hear is now in your City, if you knew of my condition you would not delay longer, as,I have been reduced from true comforts, to actual want in every respect, so do dear President (Knowing what your family always was Gov– Dudley's) give me a hearing & assistance if possible With many prayers for your welfare I am very respectfully

over

Hoping to hear from you soon & getting some assistance I will wish you a happy Christmas.

From Jonathan Worth

The following Telegram received at Washington, 10 P M.

Dec 28 1865.
Raleigh N.C. " 28

His Excellency
A. Johnson
President U.S.

Sir: Is it desired that petitions for pardons under your proclamation of 29 May last be forwarded through my hands with my views indorsed as to merits or demerits of applicant?

From J. T. Hough

The following Telegram received at Washington, 10[10] P M.

Jany 8th 1866
From Newberne N C " " 1866

Andrew Johnson
President U S

The sheriff is proceeding to collect the tax imposed by the late state convention of this State. Memorial with copy of the law was presented you by committee from this place Cannot you now interfere in our behalf?

Chairman of Comm.

From J. T. Hough

The following Telegram received at Washington, 2 P M.
Jany 10 1866

From Newberne N C Jany 10 1866

Andrew Johnson
Prest U. S.

It was the Hon B. F. Moore who gave decision that the State Convention had no power to impose retrospective Taxes.

Am informed that the atty General has given no decision? Instructions from Gov Worth to sheriff is that the Tax must & shall be collected.

Myself with other business men have been arrested under Provisions of the law. Enforcement is causing great distress among us. Please answer immediately.

From Jonathan Worth

The following Telegram received at Washington, 6 45 P M.
Jany 14 1866

From Raleigh N C[Jan.]4 1866

His Ex Andrew Johnson
President U S

We have no law authorizing the Attorney General to give opinions to executive officers He has given no opinion on the convention revenue law so far as I know. B.F. Moore a distinguished lawyer on application of State Treasurer gave an opinion that some of the provisions of the ordinance are unconstitutional. This opinion will not protect the Treasurer or sheriffs in stopping collections Our judges now qualified can protect tax payers by injunctions or tax payers can pay under protest to bring action in the civil courts, can relieve if the ordinance be unconstitutional

Governor of N C

From Andrew Miller[55]

Raleigh N.C. Jany 16/66

Andrew Johnson Esq
President U. States
Washington, D.C.

Sir

I have taken the liberty to forward by mail of today to your address a short essay upon the subject of the "Currency

[55] Andrew Miller was postmaster in Raleigh. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, II, 825*n*.

of the U. States"–Though published in 1861 the circulation of it to any considerable extent was prevented by the rebellion–

If I have rightly understood your views upon that subject, mine will I think be joined in accordance with them –

The storm that has been raised against you at the Capitol is being surcharged, and is I think about to burst upon their own heads, and beyond it I think may be seen the promise of a clear and calm political sunshine, in which I trust opportunity will yet be afforded you quietly to administer to the necessities and advancement of the great interests of the republic which have so long been over-ridden by fanaticism and madness,– amongst those interests none is of higher importance than our currency

I have the honor to be sir
with great regard & very resp-fully
your servt &c

From William W. Holden

Raleigh, Jan. 25, 1866.

To the President.

Sir: Allow me to introduce my friend W.R. Richardson, Esq. of this City. Mr. Richardson was appointed Marshal from this State, but could not take the oath. He is a popular and worthy gentleman,and thoroughly loyal.[56]

Very Respectfully,

From J. T. Hough

New Bern N C
Jany. 29th 1866

Hon Andrew Johnson
President of the United States

Dear Sir:

Numerous petitions and letters are being forwarded to Congress. Praying for relief against the Tax ordnance of the State Convention of this state. An appeal was made by Council for Injunction but the Judges refuse to grant them. Property has been seized & advertised for sale to satisfy the Law. Persons are threatened with imprisonment for refusing to Comply In fact things are assuming a very bad shape here. Communications are being sent to the Radicals in the House at Washington which has a tendency to retard the great and glorious work you are en-

[56] This letter was enclosed with one from Richardson to President Johnson, dated March 17, 1866.

gaged in. I write this as a firm supporter of all your acts & a warm advocate of your policy;& hope that you may see some way to change this state of things–

Very Respectfully
Your obt Servt

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 6 10 P M.
Feb. 5. 1866

From Raleigh N. C. Feb. 5, 1866.

The President of the U.S.

I am directed by Governor Worth to most respectfully ask that the pardon of Ex- Gov Charles Manly may be granted He is over seventy years of age & comes within the thirteenth exception & none other.

Please answer to Gov. Worth

From R J Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, Feb. 20 1866
From Raleigh " " 1866

To the President
U S

Your veto has sent a thrill of joy through every loyal heart in your native state and she from the grave of your father sends the greeting,
Well done thou good and faithful servant

From Jonathan Worth

The following Telegram received at Washington, 9 P.M.
March, 4, 1866 –

From Raleigh N.C. March 4, 1866–

His Excellency
Andrew Johnson.–

Sir:– An engrossed bill "allowing persons of color to testify in all controversies at law or in equity where the right of persons of property of persons of color shall be put in issue, & also the pleas of the state where the violence fraud or injury alleged shall be

charged to have been done by, or to persons of color" has passed its second reading the Senate with this proviso:–

"that this section shall not go into effect until Jurisdiction in matters relating to freedmen shall be fully committed to the courts of this state." Many of the friends of this bill believe this provision highly inexpedient .– It has been much debated and sustained by taking votes in both houses.– The advocates of the provision insist that it does not conflict with your views–

I think it will be stricken out if you disapprove it.– Will you express your approval or disapproval with permission to me to show your answer to the individual members of the general assembly but not for the press– The bill comes up for its final reading next Tuesday

Governor of N.C.

From William W. Holden

The folowing Telegram received at Washington, 9, P.M.
March 4, 1866.

From Raleigh March 4, 1866.

The President

Your dispatch received. I took no oath of office either in Washington or Raleigh. No oath was tendered me but I took & subscribed to the amnesty oath as contained in your proclamation in order to become a voter. Copies of my proclamation & other papers were forwarded to the State Department.

Very Respectfully

From R. J. Powell

The following Telegram received at Washington, 230 P.M.
Mar 7 1866

From Raleigh N. C " 7 1866

The President of the U.S.

Solmon Pool brother loyal Senator elect was recommended for Internal Revenue officer this fourth (4) District by Holden & Worth after which at suggestion members Legislature from this District about half of whom are secessionists the name of another was sent on.[57] These secessionists oppose Pool because brother of Senator and as professor in University instilled loyal sentiments into his pupils during rebellion. Pool should be appointed

[57] In 1867 Solmon Pool left the University of North Carolina to accept a position in the Internal Revenue Service. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 625.

From Mrs. A. P. Devreaux Miller

March 16th [18]66

President Johnson

Sir

Please send Mrs. Ball a free pardon she will certainly die if kept from her blind paralytic husband & helpless family while her girls must be ruined if left without a mothers eye[58]

She is nothing to me I never knew her, but you are much – the daughter of one, whose name must be familiar to you (A P. Devereaux) the wife of another (H W Miller), boy & lad I remember you so well & the Pine grove back of my Fathers house where, when I could escape home supervision I would go to watch you boys my husband being one of the number play Marbles I can not but hope for the sake of those early days you will not be severe but even grant the pardon tho it may seem from the evidence that she is guilty tho I believe she was fully convinced it was her life, or the negro's I also believe if she is punished for defending her home no woman living away from protection will be safe

But it is not for her sake I beg it, it is for yours, tho not by southern votes still you are emphatically *our President*, a "Southern Democrat" & she will return to mix with just the class I would wish to see you beloved & upheld by, the hard handed honest Democracy of Warren & Granville Let her go *free* & able to say it was by no other help than that of "our President"

I have taken no council as to this not a soul knows of my writing I was moved by a strangers suffering & led to it from compassion added to a strong desire to see you persue a course which would make you & the old Democracy thro you beloved & popular It looks like presumption but it is not, for woman tho I be I have a right to love a cause with which I have been long identified & if I am but a woman I can see that the salvation of my country depends on your power to make it as embodied in you beloved.

I do not want my letter hand over to an official to be answered I shall know the result by Mrs. Ball fate had I the money I should have begged in person Any N Carolinian will tell you I am what I represent myself to be I should have said the widdow [sic] of H. W. Miller but I so dislike the term widow for I have been alone more than three years & no one is responsible for this perhaps you may call a most unwarrantable piece of impertinence

If so inclined, consider the motive & excuse Sir

Yours most
respectfully

Mrs. H.W. Miller
Raleigh N C

[58] Governor Worth appealed to General Ruger and endeavored to convince him that Mrs. Ishman Ball was not guilty of manslaughter. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I, 508.

From W. R. Richardson

Raleigh North Carolina
March 17. 1866.

To His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
President U S

Sir:

Influence by the advice of friends I am induced to make this application to your Excellency, first premising a few facts which I respectfully present to your consideration.

Upon the inauguration of a provisional government for the State, you were pleased to appoint me United States Marshal for the district of North Carolina, Being unable to take conscientiously the oath prescribed by Congress, I was compelled to decline the commission you had tendered me,This inability arising from my having been a candidate for a seat in our House of Commons, opposing the policy of Govr. Vance and his reelection and endorsing the course of Gov. Holden and advocating his election, will nevertheless I hope in the opinion of your Excellency prove my loyalty at that time, In the canvass I urged a call of a convention for the purpose of restoring the State to the Union and was only defeated by Seventeen votes.

That my attachment to the United States Government is unabated and of my zealous support of the policy of your Excellency in restoring the rebellious States to their proper federal relations I can confidently refer to the evidence herewith submitted and to every prominent Union man in our State– Gov. Holden appointed me his private Secretary which position I held until he was relieved, Since that time, owing to my loosing nearly everything during the rebellion I have barely been able to support my family consisting of a wife and three children, I am young (thirty years old) able willing and accustomed to work, and if I can obtain through the kindness of your Excellency some post or position in the Territories, or in foreign parts which I can fill without being called upon to take the "test oath" I am confident of performing the duties to the satisfaction of my friends,

I should have made this application in person when in Washington some weeks ago had my friend Hon John Pool been in the City– Hon E. G. Reade, R. P. Dick and Hon John Pool will give any recommendation in my case–

Hoping that your efforts in behalf of our Union will be successful

I am your obt. Servant

From David L. Swain[59]

University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, 31st March 1866

Dear Sir,

I have just read your veto message returning the Civil Rights Bill to the Senate and concur with you fully and heartily in all the positions assumed. I can assure you most confidentially that the measures of no administration in my day, General Jackson, inclusive, have been more universally acceptable to the great body of the people of North Carolina, and so they would pronounce most extraordinarily, if they considered themselves at liberty to speak at home when they are not permitted to be heard at Washington.

The enclosed newspaper contains what I do not remember to have seen elsewhere, a condensed historical sketch of American Rebellions. It is the pen of a lady, who is one of my nearest neighbors and most esteemed friends. It has occurred to me that if placed in the hands of some one of your friends in Congress, it might suggest a new line of defence for your policy of reconstruction, and therefore I send it.

Yours very truly

President Johnson

[*To be continued*]

[59] David Lowry Swain (Jan. 4, 1801-Aug. 27, 1868) was born in Buncombe County, North Carolina. Throughout the Civil War he was a constant adviser of Governor Vance. He was made a special commissioner when General Sherman was approaching Raleigh and arranged for favorable terms for the surrender of the state. In May he was called to Washington as an adviser to President Johnson about reconstruction, and during the remainder of his life he was constantly consulted by the President. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 230-231.

BOOK REVIEWS

Raleigh and the British Empire. By David B. Quinn. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1949. Pp. xiii, 284. $2.00.)

In this small volume in The Teach Yourself History Library series Professor Quinn of University College, Swansea, Wales, has presented a well-balanced, incisive, scholarly, and highly readable account of Sir Walter Raleigh's role in the founding of the British empire. The author, one of the leading authorities in this field, is cognizant of the fact that imperialism is always an expression of social forces and not primarily of individual enterprise. Accordingly, he interprets Raleigh as a representative personality, an originating rather than a dominating one, in the history of England's first overseas expansion.

In the first two chapters, the author traces Raleigh's early career, from his birth at Hayes Barton, near Budleigh, about 1552, until his rise to power and influence as a court favorite of Queen Elizabeth some twenty-five years later. Chapter Two, "New Worlds," gives a clear and concise account of the rivalry between Spain and England in their struggle for power and traces the connection between Raleigh and his older half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, from whom he derived his initial interest in colonization. At first Raleigh was "a very junior partner in an imperfectly thought-out enterprise," but the overseas world gradually came to fill a larger part of his thoughts and to inspire him to action on his own account, especially after Gilbert's death in 1583. Doubtless much of Raleigh's interest in colonies must have been inspired by those two great propagandists for colonization, the two Richard Hakluyts.

Chapters Three and Four, "The English Approach to America" and "Lost Colonies," will be of particular interest to students of North Carolina history. They relate to "the spring and summer of Raleigh's career," 1583-1592, when he made his unsuccessful efforts to plant colonies at Roanoke Island—the expeditions of Amadas and Barlow in 1584, the Lane Colony, 1585-1586, and finally the "Lost Colony," 1587-1591. These chapters are excellent in their clear-cut analysis of the problems confronting the leaders and the settlers: the lack of a good harbor and other geographic handicaps, the enmity or outright hostility of the natives, friction

between the leaders, inadequate supplies, and the disappointments and frustrations of the settlers themselves. In the Lane Colony, the settlers were to work together as paid servants of the investors, under the commander whom Raleigh appointed. As governor, Lane was virtually a dictator who, in his own words, "set down a disclipine which was severely executed." With the failure of the Lane Colony, Raleigh changed his whole plan. Henceforth, the colonists would get 500 acres on the strength of undertaking to go, and more in proportion to their investment; they would bring out their families to work the farms and build up a permanent community. Organized as a company enjoying rights of self-government under their own officials, the John White Colony was begun under a rather hopeful arrangement. The story of its failure need not be retold here.

Professor Quinn shows clearly that Raleigh was not an idealist, pouring out his money in pursuit of a dream of empire for the glory of England. Raleigh, himself, never invested more than a moderate proportion of his wealth in the enterprise. He believed that colonization must pay its way and "he was never willing to gamble too much or for too long in attempting to bring it to a successful issue."

One of the best chapters deals with the Irish Plantation in Munster. The author is of the opinion that too little emphasis has been placed on the various Irish schemes in the history of British colonization because "from the middle of the sixteenth century the main field for English overseas land settlement was not America but Ireland."

The last three chapters are concerned with Raleigh's two voyages to "the beautiful empire of Guiana" and with the "refounding of Virginia," at the time when Raleigh was a prisoner in the Tower of London.

The author's appraisal of Raleigh, the man, may best be quoted:

> He was energetic, hard-working, practical, reasonably quick and decisive in action, a disciplinarian. He took care of men's health, and was very successful, or lucky, in avoiding sickness among them. On the other hand, he was inclined to grouse and blame his superiors. He knew how to organize a garrison and conduct exploring expeditions, but he had little idea of building up the commercial and agricultural activities on which the

permanence of the colony would depend. He treated the problem of relationships with the natives as primarily a military one . . . He could see his way clearly enough to the end of the first stage in the establishment of a colony—the building of a strong, fortified settlement on a suitable harbour . . . The idea of a diversified community, building up family life on the basis of individual and communal enterprise, was beyond him.

In spite of these shortcomings, Raleigh was one of the great figures in the colonial movement of his day and he has received fair treatment at the hands of Professor Quinn. It is a splendid book.

Hugh T. Lefler.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943. By David Leroy Corbitt. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1950. Pp. xix, 323. Maps, appendices.)

Mr. Corbitt, who is head of the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, has labored long and carefully to produce a reference volume of value to genealogists, historians, county officials, and agencies of the state and federal governments.

A brief introduction sketches the early settlement of North Carolina, the creation of early precincts which were changed to counties in 1739, the controversy between the royal governors and the general assembly over the power to create new counties, and the vexing problems of boundary disputes and locating county seats. The author states that North Carolina has had 116 precincts or counties. Seven were in the region west of the mountains ceded to the federal government in 1790 and the names of several counties disappeared because of division, abolition, or a change of name. Today there are 100 counties.

The main portion (about two-thirds) of the book, arranged alphabetically by counties or precincts, presents for each the date of formation, the county or counties from which formed, origin of name, location, the 1940 area and population, and pertinent quotations from the act of formation and subsequent acts changing the boundaries. These county sketches constitute the most valuable and lengthy section of the work.

Appendix I contains reports of surveyors and commissioners to establish boundary lines for several counties, which were filed in the office of the Secretary of State at Raleigh.

Appendix II consists of twelve maps and a chart, all drawn by L. Polk Denmark of Raleigh from material contained in the main portion of the book. The maps show the approximate county divisions in 1790 within what is now Tennessee and the approximate county divisions in North Carolina in 1700, 1740, 1760, 1775, 1780, 1800, 1840, 1850, 1870, 1900, and 1912. The chart ingeniously shows by vertical and horizontal lines the date of formation of each county and the county or counties from which it was formed. On the chart is a list of the counties and the dates of their formation. The date chosen is "that of Assembly which authorized formation of County."

An index completes the volume.

Mr. Corbitt's volume is a useful work executed with thoroughness, care, accuracy, and scholarship. It is accurately and profusely documented. The main portion of the book devoted to the individual counties in alphabetical order has 969 footnote citations, most of them to the public and private laws.

The author, as others before him, found it difficult and in some cases impossible to determine definitely the dates of formation. Is the proper date "that of Assembly which authorized formation of County," used by the author on the chart? Or is it the actual date when the act was passed? Or is it the date when the act became effective? In nine cases—Chatham, Halifax, Hertford, Mecklenburg, Person, Pitt, Surry, Wake, and Wilkes—the author lists on the chart the date "of Assembly" and notes in the sketch of the county that the effective date of the law was the following year. For Robeson the author uses 1787 in the chart and sketch which is correct for date of passage and effectiveness but not for the meeting of the Assembly in 1786. There is an inconsistency or mistake in the case of Jones. The chart lists 1778; the sketch 1779. The date on the chart seems incorrect because the session "of Assembly which authorized formation of County" met wholly in 1779. The first session of the Assembly met in 1778 but the third session which formed Jones County met wholly in 1779.

The reviewer prefers the effective date of the law for the formation of a county.

Mr. Corbitt's work immediately takes rank as the standard reference work in its field. A. R. Newsome.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, 2 in one. By Griffith J. McRee. (New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. vi, 570; iv, 605. $10.00.)

This is one of the so-called "Micro-offset Books." According to the publisher, these are published in editions of 100 to 250 copies. The titles in this series consist largely of reprints of out-of-print and scarce books required by those doing research work, and for which only a very limited sale is possible. Original copies are practically unobtainable at any price; or if obtainable, are usually too expensive for most libraries and individuals to afford them.

A method of reprinting has here been found which makes available books that otherwise might vanish permanently from public use. They are reproduced at moderate price.

This edition, of course, contains all the information of the original—Iredell's English birth and background, his migration to America and his life at Edenton, his study of law under Samuel Johnston and his practice of the legal profession, his entering public office, his courtship and marriage. Very valuable materials on the revolutionary and postwar periods are made available in newly-printed form. This is especially true of social and political history of Iredell's time.

The needs for reprints of old, outstanding titles for use of research scholars is obvious. The two original volumes on Iredell are here published in one volume of very fine print, with several pages of the original printed on one page of the new. It is unfortunate that the print is so small that it will discourage most readers except students of research. The great tragedy of this worthy project, however, is that it is again published without an index. Fortunately Mrs. Helen Harrison at the library of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is now working on a thorough, usable index. It is hoped that the publisher of this newly printed work will also publish copies of the index, and thus make it available to all who buy or use this valuable work.

This reprint is especially valuable because of the subject it treats. The late Professor William K. Boyd of Duke University, writing of North Carolina literature before the Civil War, said:

> The biography *par excellence* was Griffith J. McRee's "Life and Times of James Iredell" (2 vols., 1857, 1858), really a collection of letters invaluable for an understanding of social and political affairs in the later eighteenth century, prized by all investigators of national as well as of state history.

M. L. Skaggs.

Greensboro College,
Greensboro, N. C.

The Natural Bent: The Memoirs of Dr. Paul B. Barringer. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1949. Pp. vi, 280. $3.50.)

Dr. Paul B. Barringer, long active in southern medical and educational circles, was persuaded by his daughter Anna to dictate some "recollections for his grandchildren," and this book is the result. Put together by his daughter, with some additional material but with very little editing of the basic manuscript, it is a rambling, repetitious narrative, anecdotal, occasionally pointless. Yet these characteristics of style are not offensive in a book of this type; on the contrary, they impart the flavor of personal conversation appropriate to the subject.

The son of Rufus Barringer, who became a brigadier general in the Confederate army, and of Eugenia Morrison, daughter of the founder of Davidson College, Paul Barringer was born at Concord, North Carolina, in 1857. The family place, Cottage Home, was a moderate-sized plantation near Concord where young Paul had an opportunity to observe the handicrafts and agricultural techniques of a largely self-contained community.

The first and more interesting half of the book contains vivid pictures of everyday life under the Confederacy, detailed with a precision rather startling when one remembers that the author was only eight when the war ended. Dr. Barringer's flair for observation and analysis of mechanical detail enabled him to describe the exact steps in such processes as the clearing of virgin land and the manufacture of home-made cartridges, candles, cloth, and bricks with a minuteness which makes them fascinating. An example of this is the system of brickmaking devised

during the war; not only is the making of the bricks described, but also the method of constructing the brickmaking machinery, a simple type yet one which could be readily managed by old men and children. The accounts of the canal, railroad, and stage-coach transportation of the time—with all of which the boy was familiar as a result of his frequent visits to various relatives in North Carolina and Virginia—are done with the same precise observation.

These memoirs, a child's-eye view of the war, do not of course contain any information of military or political significance. The author candidly admits that he remembers little of his famous uncle, Stonewall Jackson. There are a few anecdotes involving famous personalities, however, among them General Rufus Barringer's meeting with Lincoln, the former as a Confederate prisoner of war, and the disappointingly brief account of Jefferson Davis's stay at Cottage Home on his flight south shortly after Appomattox.

After the war young Paul's formal schooling began at the famous Bingham School, then located near Mebane, North Carolina. Considerable space is devoted to the curriculum, the amusements of the boys, and the rather primitive living arrangements. Less detailed but still of considerable interest are his recollections of student life and customs at the University of Virginia, where he completed his bachelor's work and the one-year medical course.

After his graduation he spent a year in the clinics of the city of New York, followed by a year's medical study in Vienna. The memoirs, an account only of his formative years, close with his return to the United States at the age of twenty-four. A brief postscript, provided by his daughter, summarizes the activities and achievements of his later life, as chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, where he founded the university hospital, as president of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and as a writer on medical subjects.

The chief value of the book is in the earlier sections with their graphic account of many facets of a way of life which has now disappeared.

Howard Braverman.

1620 St. Johns Place,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of Joseph Melville Broughton, Governor of North Carolina, 1941-1945. Compiled and edited by David Leroy Corbitt with a biographical sketch by Emery B. Denny. (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina. 1950. Pp. xxi, 718. Illustrated. Index.)

Joseph Melville Broughton was governor of North Carolina during World War II. He believed that "Government in a democracy exercises its true and noblest function when it seeks to promote the welfare of all the people." This volume, therefore, reflecting the problems, tone, and accomplishments of his administration, is important in the history of North Carolina and to those concerned with the state's significant contributions to the nation.

This work follows the general pattern used in the publication of the letters and papers of Governors Bickett, Morrison, McLean, Gardner, and Hoey. Much of the material was written by Governor Broughton and all of it issued from his office. Some thirty illustrations of the governor and Mrs. Broughton, important persons, and historic events enliven and add value to the book.

The biographical sketch by Associate Justice Emery B. Denny is brief and restrained. As a lawyer, manager of Governor Broughton's campaign, and warm personal friend, he was content to let the record with its many solid achievements speak for itself. Writing shortly before Broughton's untimely death on March 6, 1949, he described him as a "great North Carolinian, one who served his State in time of national peril, with manifest ability and patriotic devotion." And he added that the governor's election to the United States Senate in 1948 "is a finer testimonial of the esteem in which he is held by the people and the confidence they have in him than any praise he could be given here."

One of the most valuable parts of this work is the table of appointments to the various state boards and commissions. This includes the names and addresses of the appointees, dates of appointment and expiration, and citations to laws authorizing such appointments. The table fills some fifty-five pages and includes special judges, the State Highway and Public Works Commission, the State Board of Health, the Advisory Budget Commission, trustees for the various teachers' colleges, the State Board of

Pharmacy, the State Board of Barber Examiners, and other public agencies and institutions.

Unfortunately, this volume throws little light on those papers and letters which could not be included because of limitations of space. It is not a critical study, and undoubtedly political opponents and disappointed office seekers could supply information and documents to complete the picture. Furthermore, Governor Broughton usually spoke without a manuscript and many of his addresses are fragmentary or based on press reports. The index of thirty-seven pages is not only useful but attests the care with which the volume was prepared.

Editor Corbitt, the State Department of Archives and History, and North Carolina are to be congratulated on adding the record of another constructive administration to the many fine historical publications already issued by the state. If other states would publish the record to the world, perhaps more men of the character and ability of Joseph Melville Broughton would be elected to the high office of governor.

David A. Lockmiller.

University of Chattanooga,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Life and Works of Allen Jay Maxwell. By Raymond C. Maxwell. (Privately printed. 1949. Pp. xiv, 213.)

This book is the laudable effort of a son to perpetuate the memory of a worthy father. Allen Jay Maxwell first appeared in the public life of North Carolina as a newspaper editor. His election as clerk of the state senate in 1899 proved to be the beginning of nearly half a century of service to the state. His first appointment as a full time state official was as clerk of the Corporation Commission in 1910. From that time until his death, December 9, 1946, he was actively associated with every development in the operation and expansion of the state's fiscal machinery. By study and close application to his duties he became a recognized authority in this field. During Governor Bickett's administration he began the practice of blocking out changes in fiscal policies, cooperating with the General Assembly in passing suitable bills, and in turn putting these policies into effect as an administrative

official. He continued these activities under six other governors in succession, becoming best known for his work as Commissioner of Revenue, 1929-1942.

About half of the volume is devoted to a sketch of Allen Jay Maxwell's life. This is based primarily on excerpts from newspapers in support of Maxwell's various proposals in tax programs and his efforts to gain the Democratic nomination for governor in 1932 and 1940. For continuity the account depends on the author's own memory of events and an occasional reference to some story related to him by his father. The second half of the book is a series of speeches and papers by Allen Jay Maxwell. The main themes in these are the promotion of a greater pride in the state among its people and the orderly development of public services through sound fiscal policies and wise administration. No doubt the most useful section of the book to historians is the last paper, "Some Aspects of Economic Development in North Carolina since 1900." This is a summarization of extensive studies directed by Allen Jay Maxwell as head of the North Carolina Department of Tax Research during the last four years of his life.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

John Bell of Tennessee. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 435. $5.00.)

To his *Felix Grundy*, the first volume of the Southern Biography Series, Professor Parks has now added *John Bell of Tennessee*. The studies afford an account of two of the leading pre-Civil War Tennessee politicians, one a Democrat, the other the most significant Whig. In a real sense, the second biography resumes and overlaps a political history of Tennessee where the first one left off. Meticulously depicted is the state's shift from support of Andrew Jackson to an advocacy (in middle and west Tennessee) of the Whig party; and state and national political vicissitudes are interwoven in a masterly fashion. Emphasized, of course, are Bell's actions in the Tennessee legislature and in various capacities in Washington, and, more briefly, his private interests and activities. His whole career is traced effectively.

The book indicates a close study of widely scattered historical materials, objectivity, scrutiny for detail, and workmanlike organization. The style is good. A magnificient "Critical Essay on Authorities" rounds out this major publication in the field of southern political history. It is the first full-length, connected appraisal of Bell's career to be printed.

Most often Bell has been described and recognized as a compromiser, mainly concerned with maintenance of the Union and support of the politico-economic program earlier advocated by Henry Clay. One puts down the present biography, however, with a strong feeling that Bell was one of the most avid political opportunists in American history. Professor Parks has most certainly and obviously not set about to tear to pieces the reputation of his subject, but he does so to some extent, at least in the mind of this reviewer. Bell was continuously involved in some intrigue or machination, whether supporting or opposing Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, J. C. ("Slim Jim") Jones, or other state or national politicians. He did not hesitate to question the activities of the leaders of his own party. He was most careful to compose even his private letters with a view toward publication and public reception. His use of newspapers proves again that many antebellum editors made news rather than reported it. His ambition and caution were overpowering, and influenced his every public act.

In the last twenty years of Bell's career (1840-1861), there was need for careful consideration of his actions. Voters moved in a lightning-like manner from party to party, mainly over questions of slavery and economics. From a two-party system, the South proceeded to political turmoil and chaos. Passing across the stage were Whigs, Democrats, Know-Nothings, States' Rights Democrats, Union Democrats, and many others. New leaders skyrocketed to fame; many of them fizzled after dazzling their followers for short periods. The South, which Bell courted assiduously along with the North, knew its mind only on the question of slavery. Through all this Bell charted his course. In Tennessee he was faced with the peculiar situation of a border state made up of three recognizable and outspoken sections; and he managed to remain in office! Without doubt he possessed ad-

mirable qualities, capacity for thought and work, dignity, personal honesty, and love for the Union. More than that, he was the master politician, at least in Tennessee. His participation in the presidential campaign of 1860, however, showed that he had lost his ability to judge both men and the times. In that ignoble affair, so similar in its basic respects to the presidential campaign of 1948, he was an opportunist personified. The border states had more success in 1948 than in 1860. In 1948 we found ourselves, for the only time in our history, with a president and a vice-president from a border state. Bell tried unsuccessfully to accomplish half as much in 1860.

W. T. Jordan.

Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Florida.

John C. Calhoun: American Portrait. By Margaret L. Coit. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1950. Pp. ix, 593, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.)

With the instincts of the true biographer and artist Miss Coit exhibits in intimate detail Calhoun's actions and personality. She creates a vivid portrait of the man. Her delineation is ninety per cent convincing because that proportion of what she writes is based on a thorough examination of every Calhoun letter and every other bit of biographical data. Unfortunately ten per cent of her exposition is unconvincing because it is based on indirect or even dubious sources. The author carries this practice so far that one might suspect a less dutiful person of wishing to be too intimate with a character assumed by some biographers to be less colorful and more abstract than Miss Coit is willing to admit.

In many instances the author assumes familiarity with her subject by recounting the experiences of third persons unconnected with Calhoun. Activities at Yale College during the time he was resident there, for example, are vividly reconstructed on the basis of reliable sources, but Miss Coit is dangerously speculative and even fictional in her assumptions concerning the degree of Calhoun's participation in these activities. Scant evidence is advanced to support the suggestion that the South Carolinian while a law student at Litchfield participated in the gayeties described in this book. The "riot of scent and sight, color and

sound" characteristic of Charleston when Calhoun visited it represent the impressions of Frederick Marryat, Harriet Martineau, and other persons with greater feelings for such things than Calhoun is proved to have had. All the refulgent overflowings of nature with which the book abounds sound more like Miss Coit's improvisions than the perceptions of Calhoun. The account of a Calhoun picnic is based on a general discription of such events by Carolina Howard Gilman. Ben Robertson's testimony concerning the eating habits of the South Carolina up-country in the twentieth century may be justification for the assertion that the Calhoun family one hundred years earlier consumed "tart brown cider and sun-mellowed peaches." Eating habits change slowly in the rural South. But most certainly the Calhouns did not, as did the Robertsons, consume sorghum. According to the *Encyclopedia Americana* that sugary substance was not introduced into the United States until 1857.

Despite these aberrations Miss Coit has done what few academic biographers are willing or able to do. She has made her study of Calhoun lively and intelligent. She is primarily interested in the man, his actions and motivations, rather than in the externals of his life. To have portrayed such externals would have been easy and logical in the case of the great South Carolinian. The classical representation of him is that of a cast-iron man with a blueprint leading to ultimates over which he was not passionately concerned. To friendly interpreters he is the vindicator of the Truth as embedded in the Constitution. To hostile interpreters he is the creator of evil ideas standing in the way of the liberal nationalism responsible for that nearest approach to earthly perfection known as the United States of America.

Miss Coit contends that Calhoun was just as truly a creature of flesh and blood as one of Shakespeare's heroes or villians. She triumphantly sustains this thesis by interpreting industriously collected materials with a lively imagination. In the several stages of his career Calhoun is represented as behaving as other children, students, lawyers, husbands, fathers, and politicians might have done under similar conditions. He was human enough to be diverted into an indiscreet love affair, to woo fervently, and to possess an interesting mother-in-law problem. Like millions of other husbands and wives John and Floride Calhoun did not

know exactly how to get on with each other. Calhoun is revealed as desirious to be President as politicians with less austere reputation.

I do not mean to say that Miss Coit, in the ironic manner of the New Biography, tries to reduce Calhoun to the level or the commonplace or the sordid. She credits him with many heroic virtues. At the same time she does not neglect ideas, integrating his personal traits with the development of his statesmanship. Interestingly does she expound the theory that "basically Calhoun was at once a nationalist and a sectionalist from the beginning to the end of his career." With unparalled clarity she explains how he devised the doctrines of Nullification and the Concurrent Majority as means of protecting a minority section against the aggressions of centralizing liberals demanding universal democracy, the abolition of slavery, and the supremacy of the plutocrats. She leads the reader to accept the conclusion that Calhoun's political treatises were "perhaps the most powerful defense of minority rights in a democracy ever written."

Miss Coit learned from Benjamin B. Kendrick, her teacher in a North Carolina college, that she is not obligated to apologize for Calhoun's regionalism. She realizes that it has a rightful use today. She uses it to justify opposition to an American national standardization as tyrannical in the middle of the twentieth century as it was a hundred years earlier. It is a pity Miss Coit is not as courageous in defending Calhoun's championship of slavery. She supplements an able description of that institution with censorship of Calhoun for defending it because she believes it was doomed for economic reasons. Doubtless she would have revised her opinions had she been familiar with the writings of Lewis C. Gray and others who hold to the belief that slavery would not have died of internal weaknesses.

Francis B. Simkins.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.

Slavery in Alabama. By James Benson Sellers. (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press. 1950. Pp. v, 426. $4.50.)

What was the actual nature of the South's peculiar institution? Historians today, though they disguise their moral judgments

more carefully, still disagree almost as widely as ever over the essential quality of human bondage as America knew it. The assiduous researches of Ulrich B. Phillips cleared away much of the undergrowth which obscured a clear view of slavery, though he has been charged in some quarters with a tendency to palliate and justify. To know the institution, *"wie es eigentlich gewesen ist,"* requires a closer look.

It is in this sense that Professor Sellers' study, taken together with the work of Professor Charles S. Sydnor and others, is of prime importance. For he has subjected slavery as found in a restricted area to a thorough dissection and searching examination. It is apparent that his evidence has been gleaned through a painstaking combing of practically all of the relevant contemporary sources, including those unwieldy, neglected, and highly important records to be found in the dusty vaults of county courthouses. His findings—embracing the routine of plantation life, the slave trade, town slaves, the legal status of slaves, crimes and punishments, runaways, the churches and the slave, the defense of slavery, and the free Negro—are set out in a straightforward manner and in a surprisingly readable style, considering the nature of his materials.

The author generally refrains from value judgments, but where he does commit himself, he lines up with those who would hold that slavery was not so bad as it has sometimes been painted. "In some ways," he says (p. 80), "the Negro had the best of it. His master furnished all the necessities of life and shouldered all the worries. But genuine pride in the plantation, in its products, and in its people, could be shared by slave and master." There is perhaps some relation between this and the fact that the author has drawn most of his impressions of plantation life from the tiny percentage of very large estates. He has also neglected a few phases of the subject which might well have been discussed —the domestic arrangements of the slaves, the circumstances and extent of miscegenation, and relations between slaves and various elements of the white population.

The above should detract not at all from the able and scrupulous manner in which he has presented the available evidence, whether incriminating or beatifying. Perhaps the strongest im-

pression which emerges from the study is of the sense of insecurity which the Negro population bred in the master race, which resulted in increasingly harsh police regulations. It is also apparent from the large number of runaways that the slaves by no means reacted to the situation with uniform docility.

The University of Alabama Press is to be congratulated on an extremely attractive volume, with readable typography, well-chosen illustrations, and a handsome binding. A small number of the inevitable minor errors have, of course, escaped the eyes of proof readers. An exceptionally fine example of the cuts of runaways which filled southern newspapers in slavery days appears appropriately opposite the title page.

Charles Sellers, Jr.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Migration Into East Texas, 1835-1860: A Study from the United States Census. By Barnes F. Lathrop. (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association. 1949. Pp. x, 114. Preface, maps, figures, tables, appendix, and index. $3.50 cloth, $2.00 paper-bound.)

This is a significant study based largely on the manuscript schedules of the federal census for 1850 and 1860, written by a member of the history staff at the University of Texas. Professor Lathrop attempts to determine the sources and annual rates of population movement into East Texas (which he defines as that part of Texas east of the Trinity River) by an analysis of a large sample of the migration into the region. He also endeavors to establish certain characteristics of migrant families into the area in order to present "a substantially correct statistical picture of the anatomy of interstate migration." Making use of manuscript records that are much more inclusive than the printed census reports, and that have been but little used by the serious historian, this work points the way to new vistas for a better understanding of the westward movement.

The book includes as an introduction to the author's research and findings a valuable essay on the first hundred years of the United States Census. While this chapter makes the study somewhat disjointed, it clarifies Professor Lathrop's rather technical

undertaking and contains a description and analysis of the progress of the American Census, as well as a discussion of the potential uses by the student of the manuscript census returns.

Professor Lathrop's study is an experiment in what he describes as the "child-ladder method," a procedure that makes use of the dates and birthplaces of children listed in the census schedules to indicate family movement. While this method allows detection of only about fifty per cent of the total migration into the nineteen counties studied and while it misses some interstate moves (since all parents were not considerate enough of the future historian to have a child born at every location), certain compensations that the author makes insure reasonably accurate results. Some of the conclusions are arresting. Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi furnished over half of the 135,000 migrants estimated by Professor Lathrop to have come into East Texas during the period 1834-1860, while Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and Missouri added another thirty-five per cent. The magnet that drew people into East Texas, as one could guess, was the hope of economic betterment.

Migration Into East Texas is essentially a statistical study. While the author writes in a clear and direct manner, the frequent use of tables and figures, necessarily included in a work of this kind, does not make for readability. This is primarily a work for the specialist, but its importance should not be underestimated, for it will be of interest not only to those who are students of Texas history, but, because Professor Lathrop has carefully integrated his findings into the over-all picture of the expansion of the Old South, also to all who are alert to new developments in southern historiography. Professor Lathrop has demonstrated that the results of intensive study of large sources for a relatively small unit can be used to throw light on a regional or even a national development, though he modestly admits that a definite statement of sources and rates of antebellum migration to Texas awaits the investigation of more counties.

Dewey W. Grantham, Jr.

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Atlanta, Georgia.

Rustics in Rebellion. A Yankee Reporter on the Road to Richmond 1861-1865. By George Alfred Townsend. With an Introduction by Lida Mayo. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xx, 292. $3.50.)

Readers who, like the reviewer, have struggled with a broken-backed copy of George Alfred Townsend's *Campaigns of a Non-Cambatant,* with pages missing and paper too old and brittle for rebinding, will rejoice over a reprinting by the University of North Carolina Press. The twelve-page introduction by Lida Mayo is a valuable addition as it presents an account of the life of this Civil War correspondent with which many historical scholars may not be too familiar. However, the change of title to *Rustics in Rebellion* does not appeal to this reviewer as an improvement; on the contrary, it might well prove repugnant to Virginians.

Anyone familiar with the original edition will promptly miss several chapters: the introductory chapter, in which Townsend philosophized on his career as a reporter, two chapters on his experiences of over a year in England and on the continent in the midst of the war, a chapter on Washington after the conflict, and a final grewsome chapter on executions which he had witnessed. As a source for the Civil War the volume benefits from the omissions, as it stands now as a continuous war narrative.

The book is in no sense a history of the war, though it describes some battles minutely and vividly, of which the Battle of Five Forks (chapter XXV) is the most striking illustration. Indeed, it covers only the initial advance of the Army of the Potomac, a sort of practice march toward Manassas; that portion of the Peninsular campaign which embraced the Seven Days' Battles, for it was May, 1862, before his second newspaper assignment sent him to join McClellan's army but long enough for him to contract the Chickahominy fever; and the brief period of the war remaining after his return from Europe in 1865 when he resumed his reporting with the Battle of Five Forks.

The value of the book lies in the fact that it is concerned with people and life, with weary, hungry, suffering privates, with dying and burying, with runaway "contrabands," with Union skulkers, and with the life of the Virginians behind the lines. Though many of the great commanders of the war move through

his pages, the people who engage Townsend's attention are the plain citizens and the common soldiers. The general objectivity and maturity of the young reporter—only twenty when he first set off for the battlefield—is striking. This masterpiece of Civil War reporting has properly not been allowed to lapse out of print.

Ella Lonn.

2435 N. Charles St.,
Baltimore 18, Md.

Agricultural Progress in the Cotton Belt since 1920. By John Leonard Fulmer. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 236. $3.50.)

People who are accustomed to thinking of the South as a poverty-stricken region enmeshed in the one-crop system will be surprised by this book. They will also be encouraged. In a competent and scholarly analysis Dr. Fulmer, associate professor of rural economics at the University of Virginia, has revealed that striking changes in southern agriculture have occurred during the past three decades. A gradual decline in the relative importance of cotton and cottonseed has been accompanied by a marked increase in the emphasis given to tobacco, truck crops, peanuts, pecans, hogs, cattle and calves, dairy products, chickens, and eggs. Better land use and the advent of mechanization have greatly stepped up productivity per worker. The tractor has begun to displace the sharecropper. The growing cities of the South have absorbed excess rural population, opened up new markets for agricultural products, and even provided part-time employment for farmers. Farm income has risen sharply. Diversification, which agricultural leaders have preached for generations, seems nearer reality than ever before.

The genuine progress represented by these developments suggests still more impressive advances to come. But the author is fully aware of the problems yet to be solved. The tractor and the mechanical cotton picker pose questions of their own. Farm-to-city migrants are mainly young persons while city-to-farm migrants are commonly older people, thus causing an age distribution unfavorable to alert and progressive agriculture. Per capita farm income (including government payments) in the cotton belt lags far behind that of the rest of the country. Professor Fulmer

warns that crop surpluses may touch off the disastrous sequence of oversupply, low prices, reduced farm income and purchasing power, reduced demand for supplies, reduced industrial output, unemployment, and a back-to-the-land movement. He strongly recommends continuing and improving the cotton control and soil conservation programs, together with a plan of basic agricultural training for farm labor and basic industrial training for those farm persons who migrate to the cities.

In this study the ten-state cotton belt is divided into three subregions with distinctive characteristics: Eastern (North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee), Delta (Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas), and Oklahoma-Texas. Fifty-five tables and twenty-six charts indicate that the author's approach to his subject is primarily statistical. Though he modestly disclaims infallibility for his figures, readers may accept with confidence the accuracy of his tabulations and the validity of his conclusions. The footnotes, selected bibliography, and index are satisfactory, and the editing, checking, and proofreading have been excellent. The book is a worth-while addition to the many significant titles in regional self-examination published by the University of North Carolina Press.

Stuart Noblin.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Colonial Craftsman. By Carl Bridenbaugh. (New York: New York University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 214. Illustrations and index. $4.25.)

Something new has been added to the studies of colonial America. For many years, Dr. Bridenbaugh says by way of preface, the need had been felt for a study of the colonial craftsman but none had been made. He set to work, therefore, gathering data about the artisan and his place in the colonial community. When an invitation came to him to deliver the Anson G. Phelps Lectures on Early American History at New York University he brought together his findings on that subject.

The resulting volume, attractively bound and printed, is illustrated with seventeen engravings of the eighteenth century. Village craftsmen of the North and the rural South are treated separately. The urban craftsman is treated more extensively and

finally a chapter is devoted to the craftsman as a citizen. The seemingly endless list of trades and crafts treated in this study is quite impressive. The mass of information gathered on each of them makes fascinating reading. All the way from Boston's lady shoemaker to New Jersey's "obstinate . . . mechanicks" who served in the Assembly much to the dissatisfaction of their more aristocratic fellow townsmen, the volume presents a series of interesting vignettes.

This work will not appeal to the average "antique" collector—that is not its purpose—but to one interested in the life and work and the contributions to America made by the colonial craftsmen, it will be a treasure.

Notes indicating the sources of Dr. Bridenbaugh's information are grouped by chapters at the end of the volume, an arrangement designed to please the reader who is disturbed by the frequent appearance of footnotes and to exhaust the reader who is curious about sources. The index, while far from being all-inclusive, is generally adequate.

Joye E. Jordan.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840. With a Checklist of His Work. By Harold E. Dickson. (New York: The New York Historical Society. 1949. Pp. xxii, 476. Illustrations and index. $10.00.)

Aside from the fact that this volume is a most interesting and carefully done "life and times" study of one of early America's hitherto little-known artists, it has many other points to recommend it. For one thing it may well stand as a model to future would-be biographers of apparently obscure persons. Through diligent digging in manuscript collections and careful sifting of secondary sources Dr. Dickson, a member of the faculty in the Department of Architecture at The Pennsylvania State College, has made John Wesley Jarvis come to life not only as an artist but as a personality.

To make the study more complete, a chronology of Jarvis's life is included along with an annotated checklist of his works. Dr. Dickson's search for Jarvis' works has been most exhaustive and his catalogue of them almost trebles the number previously

known. The checklist of more than 400 works includes 67 unlocated portraits, while it excludes five which had previously been attributed to him.

The classified bibliography locates all manuscripts material as well as some of the rarer printed volumes. More than a hundred illustrations are included.

The volume's index should delight the reader in search of specific information. It is a threefold index. First is an index of owners of Jarvis's works contained in the checklist, next an index of works of art referred to in the text including the footnotes, and finally a general index.

And by no means to be disregarded is the fact that the volume is a handsome work of the publisher's art. It is bound in a shade of orange and stamped with gold. The type, Caslon Old Style, suits the subject and period with which the volume deals. The New York Historical Society is to be congratulated on this volume so attractive and strikingly different from the publications of many another historical society.

William S. Powell.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Drs. J. L. Godfrey, Cecil Johnson, F. W. Klingberg, Fletcher M. Green, L. C. MacKinney, R. K. Murdock, and J. C. Sitterson of the University of North Carolina and Dr. Stuart Noblin of North Carolina State College attended the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, November 9-11. Dr. MacKinney was chairman of the session on medieval history.

Mr. D. A. Smiley, a graduate student of the University of Wisconsin, became an instructor in history at Wake Forest College for the fall quarter.

Mr. Wayland Jones, an instructor in history at Wake Forest College, is doing part-time graduate work at Duke University.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall of North Carolina State College attended the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association in Chapel Hill and Durham November 17-18.

Mr. Walter L. Seegers of North Carolina State College attended the annual meeting of the Economic History Association at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., September 15-16.

Mr. Kenneth D. Raab of North Carolina State College is a member of the program committee for the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to be held in Cincinnati in the spring.

Mr. W. F. Burton and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History attended the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Madison, Wisconsin, October 8-9. Mr. Corbitt served as chairman of the membership committee for the past year. Mr. Burton was appointed on the nominating committee for the current year.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, delivered in Franklin

on October 3 the annual address of the Macon County Historical Society. On November 17 Mr. Corbitt met with a group of citizens in Greenville looking toward organizing a Pitt County Historical Society. At the meeting Mr. David J. Whichard was elected temporary chairman and Mrs. Robert Lee Humber was elected temporary secretary.

The Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the Department of Archives and History has installed a laminating shop which includes a Barrow laminating machine and facilities for neutralizing the acidity in papers. With this new equipment the Department has begun an expanded program of repair and restoration.

Yadkin County celebrated its centennial during the week ending October 8. A pageant in twelve scenes with more than 300 characters was given nightly. The story started with the Lost Colony and ended with the Yadkin County centennial. The celebration began with a county-wide religious service and ended with an old-fashioned square dance.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, has announced that a limited number of Grants-in-aid of Research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815 will be available in the spring of 1951. Ordinarily grants will not exceed $1,000. Candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1951, and announcements of awards will be made on May 15, 1951.

On October 2 approximately 250 persons from North Carolina and Virginia assembled at St. John's Episcopal Church at Williamsboro to study plans for the restoration of that colonial house of worship. Bishop E. A. Penick gave the principal address and announced a donation from the Lawrence Holt fund. The restoration cost is estimated at $25,000.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of Durham and Orange counties on October 8. The group, consisting of persons from Orange, Durham, Wake, Franklin, Har-

nett, Anson, Guilford, and Lee counties, met at the courthouse in Durham where Mr. R. O. Everett made an address. The group visited the grave of B. S. Durham, for whom Durham County and the City of Durham were named; the courthouse at Hillsboro; St. Matthew's Episcopal Church; the place where the Regulators were executed; the Presbyterian Church and cemetery; the Colonial Inn; and the Bennett house where General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered to General William T. Sherman. At the end of the tour Mr. and Mrs. R. O. Everett entertained the group at their home.

The Maude Moore Latham Tryon Palace Collection, a collection of furniture and furnishings made by Mrs. J. E. Latham of Greensboro for Tryon's Palace when it is restored, was placed on exhibit at the Greensboro Historical Museum, October 12. The collection will remain on exhibit until Tryon's Palace is ready to receive it.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its fall meeting in Winston-Salem on October 20. At the afternoon meeting Dr. James W. Patton of Chapel Hill read a paper, "Dr. R. D. W. Connor, an Appreciation," and Dr. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem read a paper, "Adelaide Lisetta Fries." At the evening session Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Cullowhee, acting president, read a paper, "Carolina Cross Roads." At the business meeting Dr. C. C. Pearson of Wake Forest College was elected president, Miss Mary L. Thornton of Chapel Hill, vice president, and Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College secretary-treasurer.

The Library of Congress on October 29 announced the completion of the joint project of the Library of Congress and the University of North Carolina of the microfilming of the official papers of the 48 states. Films were made of the legislative, judicial, and executive records of the states, territories, and colonial possessions, and the collection contains some 2,500,000 pages or the equivalent of more than 8,300 books of 300 pages each. A guide to the contents has been prepared and is available at the Library for $5 per copy. Positive copies of any reel of the film can be procured for $15 per 100-foot reel.

The Josephus Daniels papers, which were presented to the Library of Congress in 1948 by his sons, Josephus Daniels, Jr., Worth Bagley Daniels, Jonathan Worth Daniels, and Frank A. Daniels, contain approximately 500,000 pieces. They include many series of correspondence, mainly unbound, covering roughly the period from 1877 to 1948. There is, however, relatively little material for the early period. Daniels was editor and publisher of *The News and Observer* from 1894 to 1948, Secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1921, and Ambassador to Mexico from 1933 to 1942. These papers, although not completely arranged as they eventually will be, are and will be available for scholarly investigation.

The Archeological Society of North Carolina held its annual meeting in Raleigh on November 30 and the following papers were read: Mr. J. C. Harrington of the National Park Service, "Recent Developments in American Archeology"; Mr. Barton Wright of the University of Arizona, "The Restoration Program at Town Creek Indian Village"; and Mr. Ernest Lewis of the University of North Carolina, "The Sara Indians and the Eastern Sioux." At the business meeting Dr. Christopher Crittenden was re-elected president, Mr. O. L. Giersch of Charlotte was elected vice president, Mr. Harry T. Davis of Raleigh was re-elected secretary-treasurer, and Mr. Joffre R. Coe of Chapel Hill was re-elected editor.

The North Carolina State Art Society held its twenty-fourth annual session in Raleigh November 29-30. At a get-together luncheon the first day remarks were made on art developments throughout the state and a business meeting was held. At the evening meeting awards, gifts, and recognitions were made, after which Mr. Eugen Weisz of the Corcoran School of Art, Washington, D. C., gave an address, illustrated with colored slides, entitled "Modern Masters of Other Days." After this session a reception and preview of the Jacques Busbee Memorial Collection of Jugtown Pottery were held in the State Art Gallery. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton; vice-presidents, Mrs. Jacques Busbee of Steeds, Mrs. J. H. B. Moore of Greenville, and Mr. John Allcott of Chapel Hill;

treasurer, Mrs. James H. Cordon of Raleigh; and executive secretary, Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp of Raleigh. Members elected to the executive committee are as follows: Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, chairman; Dr. Clarence Poe, Mrs. Isabelle Bowen Henderson, Mrs. Matthew Nowicki, and Mr. Albert Hoskins, all of Raleigh.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its tenth annual meeting in Raleigh on November 30. At the morning meeting Mr. George R. Ross, director of the Department of Conservation and Development, made a report on the restoration of Tryon's Palace. Mr. Sam Weems, superintendent of the Blue Ridge Parkway, reported on "Restoration in Western North Carolina National Parks," and Mr. Sam Selden of Chapel Hill and others gave a skit, "Lost Colony." At the luncheon meeting Mr. J. C. Harrington of the National Park Service made an address, "Ruins, Relics, Documents, and Tradition Tell the Story of Fort Raleigh." At the evening meeting Miss Martha Langston, director, and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives and Mrs. William D. Campbell, sponsors, all of Southern Pines, presented a skit, "The Old Shaw House," and Dr. Archibald Henderson presented the Charles A. Cannon awards, after which there was a reception for members and guest. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, president; Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, vice president; and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh secretary-treasurer. Vice presidents for the congressional districts are: Mr. Theodore Meekins of Manteo, Mrs. Katherine P. Arrington of Warrenton, Mrs. R. N. Duffy of New Bern, Mrs. Charles Lee Smith of Raleigh, Mrs. Gordon Gray of Chapel Hill, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, Mrs. Henry J. MacMillan of Wilmington, Mr. George H. Maurice of Eagle Springs, Mrs. Henkel Spillman of Statesville, Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby, Mr. Ralph Erskine of Tryon, and Mrs. Robert T. Cecil of Asheville. The board of directors who were elected are as follows: Mrs. J. E. Latham of Greensboro, Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern, Mrs. James A. Gray of Winston-Salem, Mrs. T. R. Rankin of Mount Gilead, and Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill.

The North Carolina Folklore Society held its thirty-ninth session in Raleigh on December 1. Dr. Thomas B. Noble of Indianapolis, Indiana, delivered an address entitled "Navaho Indians: Their Life and Land," and Mrs. Thomas B. Noble gave an exhibit of Southwestern Indian Portrait Studies. Miss Clare Leighton of Durham showed an exhibit of woodcut illustrations for *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore.* At the business meeting the following officers were elected: Mr. Cratis D. Williams of Boone, president; Mr. Bascom L. Lunsford of Leicester, first vice-president; Miss Isabelle Busbee of Raleigh, second vice-president; and Dr. A. P. Hudson of Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians held its annual session in Raleigh on December 1. After several reports on activities during the year Mr. William Whitaker, author of a history of Alamance County, made a talk on his experiences in writing his book and Mr. George R. Ross made a brief talk on North Carolina State Parks. Mr. Willis G. Briggs of Raleigh was re-elected president and Dr. W. P. Jacocks of Chapel Hill was elected vice-president.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its fiftieth annual session in Raleigh on December 1. At the morning meeting Mr. Richard Walser of Raleigh read a paper, "The North Carolina Sojourn of the First American Novelist"; Mr. William Burlie Brown of Chapel Hill read a paper, "The State Literary and Historical Association at the half Century Mark"; and Miss Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford College gave a review of North Carolina books of the year. At the evening meeting Mr. George M. Stevens of Asheville gave the presidential address, Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Byerly, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, announced the Mayflower Society award to Mr. Max Steele of Chapel Hill for his book, *Debby,* voted the best book published during the year by a resident North Carolinian, and Dr. Archibald Rutledge of McClellansville, S. C., delivered an address, "Old Plantation Days." A reception to members and guests of the association followed. At a business meeting Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville was elected president, Mrs.

Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, Dr. H. S. Stroup of Wake Forest, and Dr. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem were elected vice-presidents, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh was re-elected secretary-treasurer. The nominating committee for the next year consists of Dr. Stuart Noblin, Dean B. F. Brown, Miss Daisy B. Waitt, and Mr. Willis G. Briggs, all of Raleigh, and Dr. James W. Patton of Chapel Hill.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden has addressed the following groups on various phases of the program of the State Department of Archives and History: September 8, a book club in Shelby; October 6, a group of citizens of Charlotte; October 15, at Olivia, Harnett County, a group at the unveiling of a historical marker for old Barbecue Church; October 18, a group in Wilmington; October 26, a group in Hertford; October 27, the meeting of the Polk County Historical Society at which a history of the county by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville was presented to the county; November 2, the Hertford County Historical Society at Winton; November 3, a group in Windsor; November 3, a group in Williamston; November 6, the North Carolina Recreation Conference in Charlotte; November 10, a group in Sanford; November 15, the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Raleigh; November 16, a group in Warrenton; December 2, the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina meeting in Winston-Salem; December 7, the Kiwanis Club, Lexington; December 8, a group in Salisbury; December 13, a group in Oxford; December 14, a group in Aberdeen; and December 15, a group in Monroe.

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held a meeting in Raleigh on October 13. Mr. Bill Sharpe was elected president, succeeding Mrs. Charles A. Cannon.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXVIII APRIL, 1951 NUMBER 2

THE PROFESSIONAL THEATER IN WILMINGTON,* 1858-1870

BY DONALD J. RULFS

The first notice of a theater for professional entertainment in Wilmington apparently was an advertisement by a certain Robinson, manager of a traveling company, in the *State Gazette of North Carolina* (New Bern) for November 29, 1787, to the effect that he had arranged for an "elegant theatre" in Wilmington and that he had planned for the company to stay there one month.[1] Thereafter this theater, which was doubtless an improvised stage in one of the public halls, was occasionally used by traveling companies until the end of the century,[2] when, at an undetermined date, a theater was constructed on the lower floor of Innes Academy. This was a free school located on the northeast corner of Third and Princess streets and was erected with funds bequeathed in 1759 by Colonel James Innes. After its completion, arrangements were made between the trustees of the Academy and the Thalian Association, well-known amateur theatrical group, for the Thalians to rent the theater on perpetual lease, although it was continually sublet to professional entertainers.[3]

Beginning with the turn of the century, the history of professional theatrical activity in Wilmington remains obscure until about 1840 as a result of the limited number of extant newspaper files. After 1840, however, the files are more complete,

* This is the first in a series of three articles dealing with the professional theater in Wilmington, 1858-1930. Editor.

[1] Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina: the Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis, 1941) I, 640.

[2] Richard G. Walser, "Strolling Players in North Carolina 1768-1788," *Carolina Play-Book*, X (December, 1937), 108-109; Thomas H. Wetmore, Jr., The Literary and Cultural Development of Ante-Bellum Wilmington, North Carolina (unpublished Duke University A. M. thesis, 1940) 81-88; Henderson, *North Carolina*, I, 644-646.

[3] James G. Burr, *The Thalian Association of Wilmington, N. C., with Sketches of Many of Its Members* (Wilmington: J. A. Engelhard, 1871), 3-6.

and a recent investigation indicates that between 1840 and 1855 the old theater in Innes Academy was frequently used for professional plays, concerts, panoramas, dance groups, minstrels, and variety entertainments.[4] Since the theater apparently had a seating capacity of only 300 to 400,[5] many entertainments were also given at Mozart Hall, located above stores at 20 South Front Street, and at Masonic Hall, 124 Market Street upstairs.[6]

It was not until the opening of the new Thalian Hall on Tuesday, October 12, 1858, therefore, that the professional legitimate drama of the sort that had been flourishing in such centers as Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans began in Wilmington. In the early 1850's the town authorities had decided upon the erection of a new city hall on the site of the old Innes Academy and had purchased the property, the Thalian Association receiving one-half of the purchase money with the understanding that the Association, of which Donald MacRae was president, should use the funds to furnish and equip a theater in the east wing of the new building.[7] Consequently the state legislature of 1854-1855 passed an act authorizing the commissioners of Wilmington to issue bonds of the town not to exceed $50,000 for the construction of the combined city hall and theater.[8] The old academy was demolished in the fall of 1855, and the cornerstone of the new structure, which still stands, was laid on December 27 of the same year.[9]

The original plans for the building, of Corinthian design, were drawn by a certain Trimble of New York, and James F. Post of Wilmington was superintendent of construction.[10] The exterior dimensions of the wing containing the theater measured 110 feet by 60 feet; the stage 42 feet by 57 feet; the auditorium 45 feet by 57 feet, with a ceiling of 54 feet.[11] The theater had a seating capacity of 950[12] and was lighted with 188 gas burners.[13]

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[4] Wetmore, Ante-Bellum Wilmington, 90-107. Mr. Wetmore closes his study in December, 1859, but does not mention the opening of the new theater or the nature of the first season, 1858-1859.

[5] Wilmington *Daily Journal*, January 19, 1854.

[6] Frank D. Smaw, Jr., *Smaw's Wilmington Directory 1866-1867* (Wilmington: Frank D. Smaw, Jr., 1867), 111, 117. According to a street diagram in the directory, 20 South Front was on the east side.

[7] Burr, *Thalian Association*, 48-49.

[8] *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

[9] *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

[10] *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

[11] *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

[12] Wilmington *Messenger's* Encampment Edition, July, 1889, p. 3.

[13] *Daily Journal*, October 12, 1858.

The Thalian Association used the new theater for several productions, but it soon found itself in such a poor financial condition that it made arrangements with the town authorities to the effect that ". . . if they would assume the responsibilities of the Association, all of their right, title, and interest in that part of the building used for theatrical purposes, would be surrendered."[14] The agreement was made, the Association was dissolved, and the theater, which was thereafter alternately called Thalian Hall and The Wilmington Theater, became the property of the town.

Upon the grand opening of the new theater on the evening of October 12, 1858, the ceremonies began with the national overture by the orchestra under the direction of H. Eckhardt, leader of the Charleston Theater orchestra; then the curtain rose on members of the Thalian Association, and James G. Burr delivered an address of welcome, followed by a history of the Association. The national anthem was then sung by the theatrical company. Lessee and manager for the season was G. F. Marchant, manager of the Charleston Theater, who delayed the opening of the Charleston season until November 15 in order that his company might play in Wilmington for one month.[15] Since the Charleston Theater consistently offered only the highest quality of entertainment, the new theater in Wilmington was fortunate to have as its first tenants the Marchant Company. In fact, ten years later, as will be indicated below, there was still remembrance in the newspapers of the excellence of these performers.

The piece selected for the opening night was John Tobin's *The Honey Moon*, a romantic play in blank verse reminiscent of *The Taming of the Shrew* and other Elizabethan plays. *The Honey Moon* had been first produced in London at Drury Lane on January 31, 1805, and had remained a stock favorite in England and the United States for over fifty years. The Duke of Aranza was played by Marcus Elmore, Rolando by a certain Penistan, and Juiliana by Mrs. Mary Gladstane. At the end of the play there was a dance, "La Espanola," by Miss Adelaide Raymond; then, in accordance with a long standing custom in

[14] Burr, *Thalian Association*, 50.
[15] W. Stanley Hoole, *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1946), 149.

the English and American theater, an afterpiece in the form of James Robinson Planché's farce *The Loan of a Lover* completed the evening's activities.

In the lengthy unsigned review which appeared the next day in the *Daily Journal,* edited by James Fulton and A. L. Price, all performers were praised, and we are told that the audience "comprised a large portion of the most intelligent people of our town." The review concludes with an appeal for the support of the company:

> Now, finally, the Company appears to be a good Company. They all evidently wish to please. They can and will present a pleasant and intellectual evening's entertainment, and really, even in the interests of morality and refinement, we think it very desirable that they should be sustained. There was certainly neither incident, scene, or allusion last night that the most religious Church member or the most bashful maiden could object to.

As for the means of supporting the new theater, the census of 1860 gives Wilmington a total population of 9,552, including 5,202 white persons. This represented an increase of 1,621 in the white population since 1850, when the total was 7,264 with 3,581 white persons. Furthermore, during the decade 1850-1860 there were great increases throughout the state in agricultural production as well as in industry, especially turpentine production in and near Wilmington.[16] By 1858 the town was also being served by three railroads: the Wilmington and Manchester to the south; the Wilmington, Charlotte, and Rutherford, which by 1860 had been completed almost to Rockingham; and the Wilmington and Weldon, which connected with northern lines.[17]

As a result of these prosperous times, Wilmington could support the theater, and in return the Marchant Company offered nightly during its month's engagement a repertoire of good variety and quality, ranging from Shakespeare to the better melodramas. Of the six Shakespearean plays, *Macbeth* on October 27 and November 6, and *The Merchant of Venice* on October 30 had the best receptions. As for *Macbeth,* with Elmore and Mrs. Gladstane in the leading roles, the reviewer for the

[16] Henderson, *North Carolina,* II, 176-178.
[17] Henderson, *North Carolina,* II, 155.

Daily Journal stated that "Not one stock company in ten could have done better,"[18] while *The Merchant of Venice* was said to have been ". . . better presented than we have seen it in pretentious Metropolitan Theatres."[19] Among the best of the contemporary English and American offerings were Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons, or Love and Price* on October 14, which was described as being "fresh, buoyant, youthful" and "the *Romeo and Juliet* of modern times";[20] Dion Boucicault's *The Willow Copse* on October 25; and James Sheridan Knowles's *The Wife* on October 26 and *The Hunchback* on October 29. In addition to *The Honey Moon* of the opening night, other romantic plays in the Elizabethan style were James Rees's *Lucretia Borgia* on November 2 and 11, and Henry Hart Milman's *Fazio, or the Italian Wife* on November 8. Among the better melodramas were William Dunlap's *The Stranger*, adapted from Kotzebue's play of the same title, on October 15; John Howard Payne's *Therese, or the Orphan of Geneva,* adapted from a French melodrama of the same title, October 16; and *Pizarro* on October 23, which could have been one of three adaptations from Kotzebue by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Charles Smith, or William Dunlap. On November 13 the company closed its engagement with a benefit performance for Marchant, the bill being *Paul Pry,* a contemporary American play by John Brougham, and two farces, *Bamboozling* by T. E. Wilks, and the anonymous *Who's My Husband?* The theater then remained unoccupied until December 21, when a portion of the Marchant Company returned from Charleston to feature Andrew Jackson Neafi for four nights. He appeared successively in Bulwer-Lytton's *Richlieu,* Morris Barnett's comedy *The Serious Family,* Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers,* and R. T. Conrad's *Jack Cade, or the Kentish Rebellion,* which had recently been adjudged by Edwin Forrest the best play written by an American and for which Conrad received a prize.[21]

The season continued on December 27 at Mozart Hall with a week's exhibition of Dr. Beale's Grand Illuminated Panorama of the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky and the River and Falls of Niagara, with vocal and instrumental music and Signor Valdi's

[18] October 28, 1858.
[19] November 1, 1858.
[20] *Daily Journal,* October 15, 1858.
[21] *Daily Journal,* December 24, 1858.

Marionette Family. Contemporaneously, Ravel's Martinetti and Blondin Troupe opened an engagement at Thalian Hall on December 28 and played nightly through January 8, featuring Charles Blondin, the famous tightrope walker who attracted nation-wide attention during the summers of 1859 and 1860 by walking across Niagara Falls several times.[22] The troupe offered comic pantomines with various kinds of dancing by French artists.

The Blondin Troupe opened in Charleston on Monday, January 10, and played through January 22,[23] during which time the Marchant Company returned to Wilmington to star James E. Murdoch. After January 22 a portion of the company remained in Wilmington through February 25, with Miss Maggie Mitchell replacing Mrs. Gladstane after January 22, and Miss Amy Frost replacing Miss Mitchell after February 5. The stock plays were interrupted February 7-11 by Matt Peel's Original Campbell Minstrels, and February 12, 14-15 by the popular magician Wyman.

Among the new plays presented by the Marchant Company from January 10 through February 25 were Bulwer-Lytton's *Money, or Duplicity Exposed* on January 12 and 15; Schiller's *The Robbers*, January 13; the anonymous adaptation of Cooper's novel *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish, or the Indian*, February 4; the anonymous spectacle *The Sea of Ice, or a Thirst for Gold*, February 16-19 and 22; Knowles's *William Tell*, February 21; and John Banim's *Damon and Pythias, or the Test of Friendship*, February 24. In the meantime J. Insco Williams' Bible Panorama opened at Mozart Hall on January 25 but was moved on January 26 to the Military Hall in the rear of the Episcopal Church, where it continued through February 5. On February 2-3 Stephen Massett offered his Songs and Chit-Chat of Travel in Many Lands at the Court House, and the Panorama of Dr. Kane's Arctic Voyages was on display at Mozart Hall February 16-19.

On March 10 the well-known New Orleans English Opera Company under the direction of W. S. Lyster appeared for three nights at Thalian Hall, still under the management of Marchant.

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[22] William F. McDermott, "Niagara's Daredevils," *Readers' Digest*, XLI (December, 1942), 113.

[23] Hoole, *Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre*, 150.

N 792 Pam

WILMINGTON THEATRE

H. M. JENKINS, ... Sole Lessee and Manager.
JOHN DAVIS, ... Stage Manager.

By request of numerous citizens and patrons of the Drama,

MR. GEORGE BAILEY

Being home on a visit from Lee's Army in Virginia, will apppear in his celebrated character of "Major Jones," in the Comedy of

MAJOR JONES' COURTSHIP.

ASSISTED BY

MISS EMILY BAILY AS . . . MISS MARY STALLINGS

AND

MISS FANNY BAILY AS . . . KESIAH STALLINGS

Supported by the whole Company.

Fancy Dance - Miss S. Warner.

MONDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 7th, 1865.

Will be presented the admired Comedy of

MAJOR JONES' COURTSHIP!

OR,

THE ADVENTURES OF A CHRISTMAS EVE!

MAJOR JONES	Mr. GEORGE BAILEY
Miss Mary Stallings	Miss Emily Baily
Miss Kesiah Stallings	Miss Fanny Bailey
Dr. Peter Jones	Mr. Herbert.
Crotchett, (alias Wiggins,)	Mr. D. T. Anderson.
Bob Moreland, (a young planter,)	Mr. Webb
Bill Simpson (a Constable)	Mr. Van Osten
Ned,	Mr. Lewis
Brutus	Mr. Corbet
Mrs. Stallings	Mrs. J. Davis

After which

GRAND FANCY DANCE, . . . MISS SELINA WARNER.

To Conclude with the Screaming Farce of

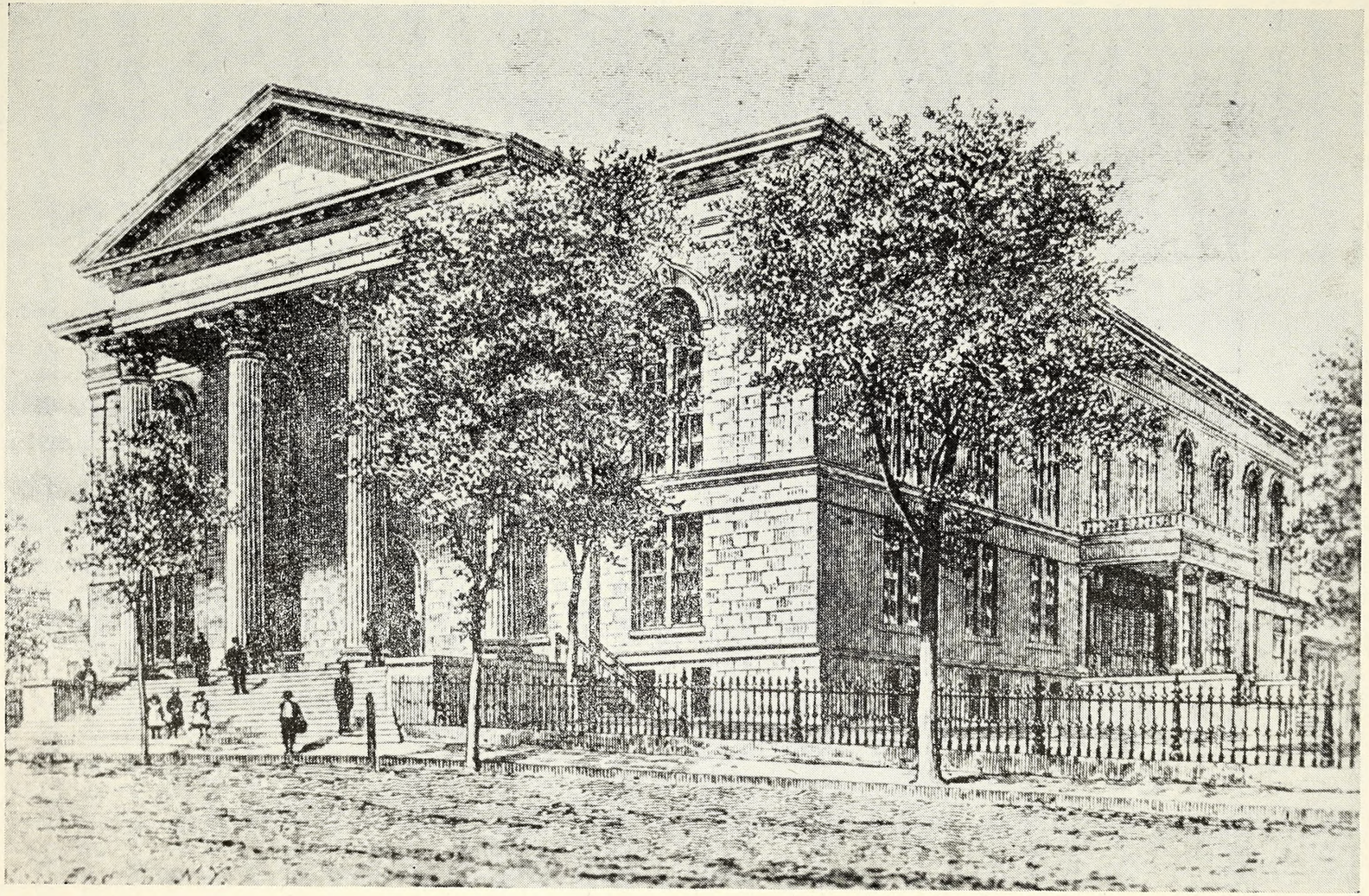
SKETCHES IN INDIA.

COUNT GLORIEUX	Mr. JOHN DAVIS.
Tom Tape,	Mr. D. T. Anderson.
Sir Matthew Scraggs	Mr. Coleman.
Captain Dorrington	Mr. Herbert.
Milton	Mr. Webb.
Sally Scraggs	Miss Ida Morton.
Lady Scraggs	Mrs. J. Davis.
Poplin	Miss Selina Warner.

Doors open at a quarter before 7; Commence at half past seven.

☞ Price of admission as usual.

HANDBILL FOR MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6. 1865. THE BILL IS ERRONEOUSLY DATED FEBRUARY 7. COURTESY OF THE STATE LIBRARY.



CITY HALL AND THALIAN HALL, ENGRAVED BY MOSS ENGRAVING COMPANY OF NEW YORK (c. 185—). COURTESY OF THE WILMINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The operas were Rossini's *Cinderella*, Bellini's *La Somnambula*, and Balfe's *Bohemian Girl*. Attendance was good, and the reviewer for the *Daily Journal* felt that the whole company "fully sustains all that has been said of them abroad."[24] Thus ended the first season at the new Thalian Hall, with a total of eighty-five nights of entertainment. Mozart Hall, however, carried on with D. D. Griswold's vocal concert on April 1; and the Katie Estelle Troupe, under the management of Charles Mackenzie, offered musical pieces, songs, and dances there April 12 through 16.

The season 1859-1860 opened on September 28 with the F. J. Christopher Minstrels, Charles Wood, manager, at Thalian Hall. Although the company played but three nights, we are told that "The entertainment was a *good* one,"[25] the instrumental music being especially admired as well as Christopher and Tim Morriss. The theater then remained closed until December 5, when J. S. Parker presented the Parker Family for two nights without advertising titles of plays, though H. W. Gossin was the featured actor. A week later, on December 12, Signor Donnetti's and Colonel Wood's Troop of Educated Dogs, Monkeys, and Goats brought the first animals to the new stage and drew good audiences for three nights. On December 26 an unusual type of entertainment in the form of B. G. Marsh's Company of Juvenile Comedians, forty in number, became a hit with a week's offering of plays and spectacles, including the popular *Sea of Ice* on December 30. The fad of the panorama continued the variety of entertainment on January 3 with Dr. E. Beale's Wonderful Panopticon and Mechanical Exhibition of India and the Sepoy Rebellion, which remained for five nights. The intricacy of the construction and operation of such exhibitions is suggested by the following portion of the *Daily Journal* review: "The aquatic scenery, with ships and steamers moving about, is truly remarkable, as are also the battle pieces, with the vast number of figures in actual march motion, cannon firing, etc., etc."[26] At the end of the month Buckley's Burlesque Opera Troupe with the Leviathan Band of the World played January 27-28 with no titles of pieces advertised. Next appeared the French Opera Comique

[24] March 11, 1859.
[25] *Daily Journal*, September 29, 1859.
[26] January 4, 1860.

and Operette on February 20-21, featuring Mlle. Darcy in *La Chatte Metamorphosee* and *Toinette et Son Carabinier*, with afterpieces.

The only stock company to appear during the season for a good run was W. M. Fleming's group "from the principal Southern Theatres," according to the advertisements. During its engagement from April 16 through May 5, the most significant new plays were Boucicault's *London Assurance* on April 20 and Mrs. Catherine Gore's *The Maid of Croissey, or Theresa's Vow* on May 5. In addition to the most popular Shakespearean plays, another Elizabethan play, Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, was offered on April 24, and the character of Sir Giles Overreach as played by Fleming was well received.

As an obvious result of growing tensions, the fateful third season, during which the war clouds were gathering and finally broke, was even more sporadic than the preceding one had been. Two panoramas, *Pilgrim's Progress*, September 17-28, and the Washington Panorama, October 1-3, both at the City Hall, opened the season. Beginning on October 29, Thalian Hall, under Marchant's management, presented the H. C. Cooper Opera Company, with twenty-two artists, in a week of grand opera. Then the theater was reopened for a week on November 12 under the management of Messrs. Thorne and Hamilton, whose company offered no important new plays except Daniel Terry's adaptation *Guy Mannering, or the Gypsy's Prophecy* on November 17. Although this was a capable company, the reason for its short engagement is plainly stated by the *Daily Journal* for November 17:

> The political excitement now pervading the country interferes with every branch of business, and destroys the interest in every kind of amusement. At least so it would seem, judging by the inadequate support given to the really talented Dramatic Company now performing in our theatre. It is to their credit, as a correspondent says, that their efforts to please have suffered no diminution by reason of the smallness of their audiences.

After a three-day engagement by the George Christy Minstrels beginning December 13 and a two-day stand by the Duprez and Green New Orleans Burlesque Opera Troupe February 8-9, there was no professional entertainment until the J. H. Bailey

Troupe, offering stock and variety, appeared in its own tent on Boundary Street (now Fifth) between Chestnut and Princess from April 1 through 15. On April 16 the *Daily Journal* announced that the performance for that evening had been postponed "owing to circumstances of a public nature, which will be hereafter explained," but there was no further explanation.

The fourth season, 1861-1862, opened very late and was also irregular. On December 7 the famous Zouaves, French soldiers of the Crimea, offered a variety program with pantomines and drills. Then the theater was dark until January 9, when the Thespian Family offered rather weak stock for four nights. A month later, on February 10, appeared the Confederate Minstrels, which provoked the following editorial comment indicating that the troops passing through Wilmington and stationed there were attending the theater:

> Now, the truth is, whatever people may think to the contrary, a place of public amusement is a public benefit in war times. Surely the soldier or officer who spends his time laughing at the witticisms of our friend "Bones," and he is apt to be very *dry* bones, does better than if he spends his time and money in a bar-room.[27]

Entertainment for the remainder of the season was varied but not outstanding, except for the appearances on May 20, 21, and 30 of Blind Tom, a young Negro pianist of exceptional talent. The greatest attraction, perhaps, was the last one, the Pantechnoptomon, which was Lee Mallory's exhibition of "Thousands of Moving Figures Picturing Life in Camp and the Battle of Manassas," according to the advertisement. It remained at Thalian Hall from August 25 through September 5.

After the tragic yellow fever epidemic in Wilmington from the early part of September until the middle of November, 1862, the first performance of any kind was on January 15, 1863, when Thalian Hall advertised for the "First Night" Mago del Mage, a magician, who played for three nights. The stricken population, however, was apparently still not ready for theatrical entertainment, and the theater remained closed until March 3, when Lee Mallory's War Panorama returned for three nights. The first

[27] *Daily Journal*, February 11, 1862.

play was not offered until March 25, in this instance *The Fireman,* although the advertisement in the *Daily Journal* does not indicate the name of the company. This might have been the Bailey Company, which had appeared during the two previous seasons and which is identified in the advertisement for April 17 as the group offering *The Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish,* the next performance after *The Fireman.* Following an interval of the Grand Panoramic Mirror of the War, April 27-30 and May 2, 4-5, the Bailey Company became more or less established and offered scattered performances of stock through July 13. It was during this engagement that the first of the several popular war plays, John Davis's *The Roll of the Drum, or the Battle of Manassas, and Vivandiere of the Potomac,* was presented on June 11. The Bailey group was succeeded by the Katie Estelle Company, which opened on July 16 with *Lucretia Borgia,* and for the first time since April, 1861, the theater offered unbroken nightly productions. These continued through August 14, with contemporaneous offerings July 22-28 by the Excelsior Burlesque Opera Troupe in the large room on the second floor of the City Hall now occupied by the Wilmington Public Library. On August 25 the Bailey Company reappeared for one night with *Ben Bolt* and was followed by the Star Company with four performances beginning September 9. Thus closed the first summer season in the new theater.

By this time Wilmington, instead of suffering economically, was beginning to experience a war boom of no small proportions. As early as April, 1862, the chief ports still in Confederate control were Charleston, Mobile, and Wilmington;[28] and Mobile was captured in August, 1864.[29] Between November, 1861, and March, 1864, blockade-runners made 425 trips from Nassau to Wilmington, of which only sixty-two were unsuccessful.[30] Furthermore, during little more than a year preceding the fall of Fort Fisher on January 15, 1865, the transactions of British speculators in Wilmington for all kinds of merchandise amounted to sixty-six million dollars in gold, and sixty-five million dollars worth of

[28] James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston and New York: Heath, 1937), 579.
[29] Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction,* 592.
[30] Henderson, *North Carolina,* II, 261.

cotton in gold was exported in return.[31] A general impression of this activity may be gained from the account of an eye witness, "A Late Confederate Officer," who submitted an article to *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1866:

> It seemed singular to us that the United States should so long neglect to close the only port almost of the Confederacy into which every "dark of the moon" there ran a half dozen or so swift blockade-runners, freighted with cannon, muskets, and every munition of war—medicines, cloth, shoes, bacon, etc. Through that port were brought till January '65 all the stores and material needed by the indefatigable Colonel Gorgas, the Confederate Chief of Ordnance, the most efficient bureau officer the Confederacy had.[32]

The town was crowded with American and foreign speculators, especially English, and in addition there were many transient troops as well as temporary encampments, such as that of Martin's Brigade in 1864.[33] Incidentally, there was an attempt on the part of the theatrical managers to capitalize on entertainment as a diversion from the war as observed in frequent lines inserted in the advertisements, such as the following for June 5, 1863, in the *Daily Journal*, announcing the Misses Sloman and their vocal varieties: "Let those now laugh who never laughed before, and those who love to laugh now laugh the more."

The effect of such circulation of money and temporary increase of population was that the season 1863-1864 proved to be the fullest one during the years covered by this survey. The season opened on November 30, 1863, with variety entertainment at Thalian Hall and with the Bates and Jenkins Company at the City Hall. During the season of ten months, through September 30, 1864, two hundred and forty performances were given in Thalian Hall; thirty-four were given by the Bates and Jenkins Company in City Hall through January 6; and a total of eleven entertainments was offered in Mozart Hall: the Stereoscopticon, consisting of portraits of Confederate generals and Belle Boyd, the Confederate spy, March 4-12; Charles Morton, comedian and vocalist, March 14-15; and the Bailey Company for one night

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[31] James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River 1660-1916* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916, 2d ed.), 387.
[32] John Johns, "Wilmington During the Blockade," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII (September, 1866), 498.
[33] Johns, "Wilmington During the Blockade," 497.

on March 23. The total of all performances during the season was two hundred and eighty-five, including matinees at City Hall on December 25 and January 1. Thalian Hall was closed only on January 6, 8-10 because of the freezing weather and July 13-17 for cleaning.[34]

After a one-night engagement by the Rebel Minstrels on December 1, 1863, Mr. and Mrs. Harry McCarthy began on December 3 with their variety company and played through December 19. They were followed by the Estelle Company, which offered stock through January 5. The Bates and Jenkins Company then moved from City Hall to Thalian Hall and stayed there for the remainder of the season. Among the more significant new plays offered were the following: Dumas père's *La Tour de Nesle,* January 1; Knowles' *William Tell,* February 11; Hugo's *Angelo and Tisbe,* March 31; Maturin's *Bertram,* April 6; Boucicault's *Used Up,* April 13; Hugo's *Tyrant of Padua,* May 9; Byron's *Werner,* July 4; and Mrs. Henry Wood's *East Lynne,* September 21-27. Of the many capable performers appearing with the Bates and Jenkins Company, the following were the most popular: Walter Keeble, February 29-April 14, whose Shakespearean roles were outstanding; J. W. Thorpe, April 15-May 10; Miss C. A. Crystal, April 19-May 12; Theodore Hamilton, May 11-July 4; Miss Ida Vernon, May 30-July 9 and September 19 to the end of the season; and Mr. and Mrs. John Davis, August 4 until the end of the season.

The next season, October 1, 1864-August 26, 1865, was also full, with a total of 117 performances, all in Thalian Hall by the Bates and Jenkins Company, including a matinee at 11:00 on October 6 to accommodate the crowds wanting to see Miss Vernon in *East Lynne.* However, the fall of Fort Fisher, the occupation of Wilmington by Federal troops, and the generally unsettled state of affairs at the end of the war naturally caused an abatement of theatrical activity. In addition, the inflationary economy must have caused theater-goers to consider twice before buying a ticket. For example, on August 29, 1864, prices of admission at Thalian Hall were advertised as follows: dress circle, $5.00; parquette, $3.00; center gallery, $5.00; and colored gallery, $3.00.

[34] *Daily Journal,* July 18, 1864.

By October 26 of the same year, however, admission to all parts of the theater was $5.00. Nevertheless, the Bates and Jenkins Company continued with almost nightly performances through January 13, the day on which the final two-day bombardment of Fort Fisher began.[35] The theater then remained closed until January 25, when nightly performances were resumed through February 20. On the morning of February 22 Federal troops entered Wilmington under the command of General A. H. Terry.[36]

Within a week after Federal occupation, performances were resumed; on February 28 the following statement appeared in the advertisement for that evening's play, Miss Eloise Bridges's *Lady Audley's Secret:* "By permission of the military authorities the Theatre will be open this Tuesday Evening, February 28, 1865."[37] It is interesting to note also that the same advertisement announced a great drop in the prices of admission: dress circle, $1.00; parquette, 50 cents; and center gallery $1.00. A later advertisement on May 12 announced 25 cents as admission to the colored gallery. Stock pieces were offered nightly through March 13; thereafter the company presented an average of about two plays a week through May 15, when nightly performances were resumed through May 26. The management of the company was then taken over by John H. Davis, who had previously been stage manager and actor, and the troupe remained through the summer offering light variety. On July 12 the company humorously advertised itself as the Wilmington Nightingale Opera Troupe and "re-engaged" itself nightly, except on July 15 and 18, through July 26, and again August 18-19, 25-26.

The season of 1865-1866 began on October 19 with the Davis Company's *Lucretia Borgia,* and, except for November 2-5, plays were given nightly through December 4 with Davis and Miss Vernon in the leading roles. On December 5 H. M. Jenkins was announced as lessee and manager, with Davis as stage manager. Variety was offered through December 13 except for December 12, when Miss Vernon chose *Camille* for her farewell benefit performance. On December 25 the theater was advertised for

[35] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1929), II, 253.
[36] Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River,* 495.
[37] *Herald of the Union,* February 28, 1865.

rent by the week or month,[38] although Charley White's Burlesque Opera Troupe appeared for only one night on January 17, and Artemus Ward for two nights on February 7-8 with his Great Salt Lake City and the Valley of the Utah Panorama and accompanying lecture. On March 19-20 Wilmington had the privilege of hearing grand opera when the Ghioni and Susini Company gave *Il Trovatore* and *Faust*. The theater was then leased by J. H. Rogers, who opened on March 29 with Davis as manager and Mme. Carlotta Pozzoni as star, supported by the members of the old Davis Company. Performances were unbroken through April 11, except for March 30. On May 1-2 appeared Carter's Grand Combination Troupe with "Fifteen Beautiful Young Ladies," according to the advertisement, and this was followed by the *Paradise Lost* Tableaux on June 1-16 and 18. During the summer of 1866 the Bailey Troupe returned and offered stock plays at the theater once a week, on Wednesday evenings, from August 7 through September 26.

During 1866-1867 the effects of reconstruction and the growing scarcity of surplus money resulted in the poorest season since the opening of the theater. During 1866-1868 the crop production in the Wilmington area was only one-fourth of the normal yield.[39] Furthermore, employment of labor became a problem after the freeing of over 10,000 slaves in the area;[40] shipping was falling off because of the competition of Norfolk and Charleston and high railroad freight rates; and no one had confidence in the town's banking facilities.[41] Editorials on "hard times" appeared frequently in the newspapers.

The new season opened on October 2, 1866, with Edwin Blanchard's Company, which used trained dogs in the plays, and it reappeared on October 5 and 12. Thereafter the theater was open for only eight nights through February 21, after which it remained closed until November 14. On July 20 John J. Hedrick announced in the newspapers that he had leased the theater and that he would rent to legitimate or amateur groups.

The next season opened on November 14-15, 1867, with H. J.

[38] *Daily Dispatch*, December 25, 1865.
[39] Bryant W. Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction in Wilmington and the County of New Hanover," *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, XI (1915), 101.
[40] Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 100.
[41] Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 105.

Sargent, The Scientific Illusionist and Wizard of the South. Two days after his appearance, the following editorial appeared in the *Daily Post*, edited by E. A. Paul:

The "local [intelligence"] of the *Journal* had yesterday an article regretting the small amount of amusements, which come in the way of the people of our city. His remarks are trite, and are worthy of more than passing attention. With one of the best and most handsomely furnished theatres in the South, and with a population of fourteen thousand souls, it is strange that the Thalian Hall should be allowed to remain idle. . . . There are many people who possess in the highest degree, a taste for the legitimate drama, and it would be no very difficult task to inculcate the same appreciation in others. Ours is an intelligent community, more so for its size, than is perhaps any other in the South. . . .[42]

On November 19 the same editor stated that he had learned that Sargent had leased the theater and was forming a company. In the meantime, on December 21 a Panorama of the ruins of Columbia, South Carolina, was exhibited for one night, followed on December 23-26 by Marshall and Doyle's Mikado Troupe of Japanese, offering variety.

On December 30, 1867, the Sargent Company, featuring A. R. Phelps, opened with Banim's *Damon and Pythias* and played nightly through January 20. After the long dearth of dramatic entertainment and in spite of admission prices ranging from $1.00 to 25 cents, the company was warmly received. The *Daily Journal* stated that ". . . the troupe far surpasses any which has appeared here since the celebrated Marchant Troupe,"[43] while the *Post* commented that "The beauty and fashion and elite of Wilmington nightly throng there . . . not since the days when Marchant first opened with his troupe in our then entirely new Theatre have such great pains been taken to please the lovers of the drama."[44] On January 18 there appeared in the *Post* a letter of thanks to the troupe signed by the mayor, John Dawson, and sixteen other "admirers of the Histrionic Art," offering Sargent a benefit performance. Sargent's letter of acceptance follows the letter of thanks, setting January 20 as the date of the benefit,

[42] November 17, 1867.
[43] January 6, 1868.
[44] January 4, 1868.

with G. W. Lovell's *Love's Sacrifice.* Although the theater was open for only eleven nights during the remainder of the season, the quality of entertainment was high, including Grau's German Opera Company, which presented *Faust* and *The Magic Flute* on March 30-31; Charles M. Barres' *The Black Crook,* the first successful American revue, which had played nearly two years in New York, June 1-4; and Harry McCarthy, June 8-9.

The 1868-1869 season began on November 30 with the ventriloquist St. Maur for two nights, but there was no further entertainment until January 4, when the John Templeton Troupe offered an anonymous adaptation of Byron's *Mazeppa,* featuring Miss Kate Raymond and Her Champion Mare, Black Bess. This was repeated on the next night, and on January 6 Augustin Daly's *Under the Gas Light* was offered with "Engine and Cars and Railroad on the Stage," according to the advertisement. The touring *Under the Gas Light* Company returned on January 15 and on the next night offered *The Hidden Hand.* On March 8-9 Mme. Frederici's Grand German Opera offered *Martha* and *Fra Diavalo,* which drew large audiences.[45] The theater then remained open for eight nights, March 10-18, with Wyman the magician and the Hanlon Brothers Velocipede Troupe playing four nights each. Next came Mlle. Marie Louise Durand's Opera Company, which presented Signor P. Brignoli, "the Greatest Lyric Tenor Living," in *Don Pasquale* on April 9, the last night of the season. The reviewer for the *Daily Journal* stated that Brignoli's voice ". . . possesses a power of music impossible to describe; but we think the great tenor did not do himself justice on this occasion."[46] In the main, he thought the recent German Opera Company was better.

The 1869-1870 season, with fifty nights of entertainment, was the fullest since the most prosperous of the war seasons, 1863-1864. The theater was opened on November 15 under the management of John T. Ford, formerly owner of Ford's Theater in Washington, in which Lincoln had been assassinated. According to the advertisements, the company came from the Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore, and it offered a week of stock, including T. W. Robertson's popular English comedy *Caste* on November

[45] *Daily Journal,* March 9-10, 1869.
[46] April 10, 1869.

20. Contemporaneously, the Tremaine Brothers and J. G. Pierson offered musical entertainment at Masonic Hall, November 16-20. At the theater Ford next offered the Chapman Sisters and C. B. Bishop in musical extravaganzas, December 29-January 1, and for the next two months there were short engagements of panoramas, trapeze artists, minstrels, and Wyman the magician. Beginning on March 7, however, the very capable Shakespearean actor Neil Warner, supported by the Ford Company, offered *Hamlet, The Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, Othello, Richelieu,* and *Richard III.* The writer for the *Daily Journal* stated that he had seen Macready, Forrest, and Junius Brutus Booth in the role of Hamlet but that Warner's interpretation was the best. His style was described as being "scholarly, graceful, and subdued."[47] Warner's portrayal of Romeo was reviewed in the *Post* as being "easy, unstrained, studious, and pains-taking . . . the acting was as smooth as the running rivulet."[48]

During the remainder of the season, Ford engaged Mrs. James A. Oates' Burlesque and Operatic Troupe, March 14-19; the McCullock and Brignoli Italian Opera Company on March 28-29 with *Il Trovatore* and *Lucia di Lammermoor;* Signor Rubini, European magician, March 31-April 2; and McEvoy's Hibernicon, a panorama of Ireland, April 7-9, the close of the season.

The increase in the quantity and quality of the entertainment offered during 1869-1870 was very probably an indication of the economic recovery being made in Wilmington by 1870. In fact, despite the depression years 1866-1868, the turpentine and lumber trade in the town continued to prosper, and by the end of the decade there were frequently as many as one hundred sailing vessels in port at one time, for the river was too shallow for the larger steam freighters.[49] In 1866 the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce had been incorporated to stimulate trade and shipping,[50] and in 1872 it made a detailed commercial survey, an extract of which reads as follows: "The trade of this port is steadily and constantly increasing, and as our harbor improves will continue to do so in more rapid proportion."[51] The total

[47] March 8, 1870.
[48] March 10, 1870.
[49] Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River,* 501.
[50] Ruark, "Some Phases of Reconstruction," 105.
[51] Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River,* 512.

population of the town in 1870 was 13,446, including 5,526 white persons; the total increase since 1860 was 3,894.

This survey has revealed that once Wilmington acquired a modern and sizable theater, the people of the town supported this cultural institution as ably as the varying conditions of the turbulent times permitted. Immediately after its opening on October 12, 1858, the theater had fairly full seasons for two years. Then, as the political situation in the South grew increasingly serious during the latter part of 1860 and the early part of 1861, interest in the theater naturally declined. After the general unrest caused by the beginning of the war, an additional setback occurred in the form of the yellow fever epidemic during the fall of 1862. Beginning in the spring of 1863, however, theatrical activity gradually revived as Wilmington began to feel the effects of greatly increased trade brought about by blockade running, and the season 1863-1864 proved to be the fullest in the years covered by the survey. After the war the performances gradually declined, as a result of the difficulties of reconstruction, until the season of 1866-1867, the poorest of all, during which only eleven performances occurred. Economic recovery, however, was under way by the last two years of the decade, and the season 1869-1870 witnessed a restoration to the normal activity of ante-bellum years but not to the flourishing times of the blockade-running period.

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTIETH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER, 1950

INTRODUCTION

By Christopher Crittenden

The fiftieth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held at the Hotel Sir Walter in Raleigh, Friday, December 1, 1950. Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folklore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and the North Carolina Society of County Historians. At the morning meeting of the Association, with Vice President George M. Stephens of Asheville presiding, the following papers were read: "The North Carolina Sojourn of the First American Novelist," by Richard Walser of Raleigh; "The State Literary and Historical Association: 1900-1950," by William Burlie Brown of Chapel Hill; and "North Carolina Books for 1950," by Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert of Guilford College. A business session followed.

At the evening meeting, with Vice President Gilbert presiding, Vice President Stephens delivered an address and Mrs. Thomas Jefferson Byerly of Winston-Salem, governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the state of North Carolina, announced that the annual Mayflower Cup award had been made to Mr. Max Steele of Chapel Hill for his book, *Debby*. The meeting was brought to a close by an address, "Old Plantation Days," by Dr. Archibald Rutledge of McClellansville, S. C.

Most of these papers and addresses are included in the pages that follow, and it is believed that they will be read with interest both by those who did not have opportunity to hear them in the first instance and also by those who, though they were present when the papers were delivered, will nevertheless enjoy the opportunity to refresh their memories as to what was said. In most cases the authors have made certain revisions and the usual editing has been done, but in no instance has the original meaning been materially altered.

THE NORTH CAROLINA SOJOURN OF THE FIRST AMERICAN NOVELIST

By Richard Walser

In 1792, probably in the late summer or autumn, a young man left Boston and, taking the various modes of transportation then necessary, traveled to North Carolina. No drum and fife corps greeted him; no flowers were strewn in his path. In North Carolina he visited relatives, studied law, and wrote poems. After being in the state about a year, he caught a fever, from which he died in September, 1793. The location of his grave has never been established.

Now, there is little in this preceding paragraph to cause excitement, and the matter would deserve no notice at all one hundred and fifty years afterwards, if it were not for the fact that the young man happened to have the name of William Hill Brown, that three years before his southern trip he had published in Boston a novel called *The Power of Sympathy,*[1] that the work is now acknowledged the first American novel and its author the first American novelist.[2]

The fact that Brown died in North Carolina allows this state the distinction of providing the final scenes in the lives of two of the most important American literary "firsts." Thomas Godfrey, whose authorship of *The Prince of Parthia* makes him the first professional American dramatist, came down from Philadelphia and, like Brown, caught a fever. He died in Wilmington in 1763. Unlike the forgotten grave of luckless Brown, Godfrey's resting place has been clearly marked for the literary peregrinator to see.

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[1] *The Power of Sympathy or, The Triumph of Nature. Founded in Truth.* 2 vols. Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Company, 1789. Reissued in facsimile, with a bibliographical note by Milton Ellis, by the Columbia University Press (1937).

[2] Biographical data from Arthur W. Brayley, "The Real Author of 'The Power of Sympathy,'" *The Bostonian,* I (December, 1894), 224-233; Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Famous Mather Byles* (Boston: W. A. Butterfield, 1914); Emily Pendleton and Milton Ellis, *Philenia, The Life and Works of Sarah Wentworth Morton,* University of Maine Studies, 2nd Series, no. 20, December, 1931; Milton Ellis, "The Author of the First American Novel," *American Literature,* IV (January, 1933), 356-368; Charles Knowles Bolton, "Some Notes on Gawen Brown's Family," *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* LXIV (October, 1933), 317-322; Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, *American Authors, 1600-1900* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1938), 107-108; Milton Ellis, "Brown, William Hill," *Dictionary of American Biography* (1944), supplement one, XXI, 125-126; and notes compiled by the late Professor Milton Ellis in his preparation of a biography of Brown, and now deposited in the office of the Department of English, University of Maine, Orono.

Let us glance over the life of our novelist before he set forth to dwell in a new part of the young nation. William Hill Brown was born in Boston in 1765. On December 1 of that year he was baptized at the Hollis Street Church. His father Gawen Brown, the celebrated clockmaker, was married three times. His second wife was Elizabeth Byles, a daughter of the famous Reverend Mather Byles and a great-granddaughter of the even more famous Increase Mather. The third was a widow, Mrs. Elizabeth (Hill) Adams. William Hill Brown was the first child of this union, a daughter Elizabeth (Eliza) the second. In all, Gawen Brown had fourteen children, several of whom died in infancy.

As a youth William Hill Brown, after attending school, evinced an interest in literature. He was a familiar in the smart Bohemian circle in Boston which included Robert Treat Paine, Jr. He wrote poems, stories, essays, plays, and at least two novels.[3] His literary confidante and adviser was Catharine Byles, who always called herself Brown's aunt, though she was only a half-sister of his father's second wife and therefore of no blood relationship.

In 1789, when Brown was twenty-three, Isaiah Thomas of Boston brought out anonymously the young writer's first novel, *The Power of Sympathy*. In thin disguise the book, advertised even then as the first American novel,[4] related the story of an actual seduction which was the scandal of Boston at the time. The real persons involved, the Perez Mortons and their connections, are said to have been highly indignant at this treatment by

[3] Besides *The Power of Sympathy*, Brown wrote "Harriot: or, The Domestic Reconciliation," a romantic tale, in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, January, 1789; a series of twenty-four verse fables in *The Boston Magazine* (November 30, 1805, to April 26, 1806) and *The Emerald* (June 7, 1806, to January 24, 1807); "The Yankee," a series of twenty-two literary and political essays, in the *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), (September 1, 1790, to December 11, 1790); *Ira and Isabella: or the Natural Children. A Novel, Founded in Fiction. A Posthumous Work* (Boston: Belcher and Armstrong, 1807); "West-Point Preserved," a tragedy apparently lost, the epilogue of which has been preserved in *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), June 5, 1797; a lost "comedy, entitled Penelope, in the style of the West-Indian," the latter a play written by Richard Cumberland and produced in 1771 (see "Pollio: a Monody to the Memory of Mr. W. H. Brown" in *The Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Robert Treat Paine*, Boston: J. Belcher, 1812; the poem "Pollio" appeared previously in the *Columbian Centinel*, October 2, 1793, and in *The North-Carolina Journal*, December 11, 1793); and miscellaneous poems from 1789 to 1793 in the *Massachusetts Magazine* and the *New England Palladium*, sometimes under the pen name "Pollio."

Two unique productions, in addition to the foregoing, are probably the work of Brown: *Occurrences of the Times. Or, The Transactions of Four Days. Viz.—From Friday the 16th, to Monday the 19th January 1789. A Farce. In Two Acts* ([Boston]: [Benjamin Russell], [1789]), a satire on Boston residents who considered themselves slandered by *The Power of Sympathy;* and *The Better Sort: or, The Girl of Spirit. An Operatical, Comical Farce* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, 1789), a good-natured, self-condemning piece, poking fun at those who write of scandal. There are copies of *Occurrences of the Times* at Harvard, Brown, and the American Antiquarian Society; of *The Better Sort*, at Harvard, Brown, Yale, the New York Public Library, and the Massachusetts Historican Society. The Yale copy of *The Better Sort* has this inscription on the title page: "Catharine Byles, presented by Mr. Wm. H. Brown."

No complete bibliography of the writings of William Hill Brown has been compiled.

[4] Milton Ellis, "Bibliographical Note," *The Power of Sympathy* (The Facsimile Text Society, Publication No. 38; New York: Columbia University Press, 1937; 2 vols.).

one who was their neighbor and supposed to be their friend. Tradition tells us that the Mortons bought all copies of the book available and attempted to suppress the volume.

It is doubtful that young Brown was great affected. He continued to write and publish for the next several years; but the fact that he was author of the scandalous book, even if generally known, was not publicly admitted.

Things do not seem, however, to have been going very well for the writer. He clearly wished to pursue a life devoted to belles-lettres and, consequently, he had not provided himself with a lucrative profession or business. Such a course would hardly please the more sober members of his family. His half brother, Mather Brown,[5] had developed almost a dislike for him. On July 25, 1791, from London, where he had established himself as a fashionable painter, Mather Brown wrote his aunts, the Misses Catharine and Mary Byles: ". . . please to remember me to my Father and Friends, from whom I wish to hear, (but I do *not* wish to be troubled with any more of Will. Brown's ill manners and impertinence). . . ."[6] The deviltries which young Brown had been engaging in were thus significant enough to be the subject of trans-Atlantic correspondence.

Whatever the nature of these difficulties—and it seems that the roguish, irresponsible, and unconventional air of the Bohemian was somewhat accountable—to say nothing of the literary hangover of *The Power of Sympathy* as well as Brown's occupational indolence—the writer decided to depart Boston and see how things were elsewhere.

In the latter part of 1792 he traveled to the South, and the next we hear of him he is already in Murfreesborough, North Carolina. There his closest sister Elizabeth (Eliza) lived. Baptized July 5, 1767, she was only a year and a half younger than her brother. On September 28, 1791, she married John Hinchborne,[7] a merchant of Boston, and soon afterwards moved with him to the Hinchborne family[8] plantation at Murfreesborough.

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[5] [Frederick W. Coburn], "Brown, Mather," *Dictionary of American Biography* (1929), III, 144-145.

[6] Byles Papers, transcripts in Masschusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[7] Spelled also Hitchborne, Hichborn, Hitchburn, Hichbonn, Hichburn, Hitchburne, and Hitchborn.

[8] In the Census of 1790, Hertford County, North Carolina, the "John Hichborn" family is listed with four "Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families," and two slaves. No females are listed. It would appear that Eliza in 1792 had a widowed father-in-law and two adult brothers-in-law. It is, of course, possible that she married the elder "John Hichborn."

Brown had other connections with the South. Two of his half brothers had removed there. Gawen, Jr., eleven years older, settled at Petersburg, Virginia, and became a prosperous merchant and planter. John Franklin Brown, nine years older, had been engaged in trade throughout the South, part of the time in Virginia. Besides the family relationships of these two, it seems probable, though genealogical records do not prove the case conclusively, that the young novelist had other kinfolk living in North Carolina at the time of his arrival here. William Hill, of Boston, quite likely the brother of Brown's mother and evidently the one for whom the writer was named, visited the Cape Fear some time after his graduation from Harvard in 1756.[9] In North Carolina he married the niece of the fabulous "King" Roger Moore, aligning himself with one of the most affluent families of the colony. He left four sons, all of whom were prominent in the region.

We do not know that Brown visited these connections. At any rate, he was present in Murfreesborough in January, 1793, when his sister Eliza died at her home there.[10]

Though Brown is now remembered primarily for his famous novel, during his life he was more proficient as a poet. His first composition after his arrival in North Carolina appeared in *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax) in the issue of March 13, 1793. The "ELEGY on Mrs. ELIZA H . . . . . ."[11] is dated from Murfreesborough, January 12, 1793, but there is no signature. The seven eight-line stanzas are undistinguished; and were it not for Brown's most certain connection with the poem, it would pass unnoticed. According to the poem, the young wife's death was sudden:

'Twas night, and no one fear'd the close
Of life's uncertain play;
'Twas night, yet ere the morning rose
A palid corse she lay.

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[9] S. A. Ashe, "William H. Hill," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (1907), IV, 176-180.

[10] The *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), February 6, 1793, has the following listing under "DEATHS": "—At Murphysborough, (N. C.) Mrs. Eliza Hitchburn, AEt. 24, wife of Mr. John Hitchburn, and daughter of Mr. Gowen Brown, of this place." The same journal, on February 27, 1793, has this similar notice: "At Murphpsboro', Mrs. Elizabeth Hichborn, wife of Mr. John Hichborn, mer. and daughter to Mr. Gowen Brown, of this town. AEt. 25." Her correct age was twenty-five.

[11] The nine dots following the "H" clearly spell out Hinchborne or Hitchburne.

The clue which resolves any doubt about the identity of the verses is in the sixth stanza. We know that at that time Brown's sister was shortly expecting her first child. The sixth stanza reads:

Chang'd in an hour—the sudden blow
Her fancied view destroys:
Pass but two moons she thought to know,
A mother's anxious joys.
On these no more her hopes descant,
For low Eliza lies:
And fallen with the parent plant,
Th' expected blossom dies.

In a letter[12] to Mrs. Sarah Holmes, No. 156 Strand, London, dated November, 1793, Catharine Byles wrote of the death during January in Carolina of Brown's sister "who with agreeable prospects was settled in life, & expecting soon to experience the anxious pleasure of being a parent."

Brown's authorship of the poem is assumed not only because he was a facile poet and would most likely be the one to record his grief in an elegy, but because of the tardiness of its printing. There was no newspaper in Murfreesborough, where Brown was as the time of his sister's death. He went to Halifax soon afterwards and was certainly there before April 1. From January to March, then, Brown evidently kept the poem among his papers and then submitted it to Abraham Hodge,[13] the Halifax editor, after his arrival in the village to study law.

Sometime during the early months of 1793 Brown took up the course of legal instruction in the office of General William R. Davie,[14] at Halifax, where the Revolutionary hero had located ten years before and where he then had a large, successful practice. The poet seems not to have remained in Halifax on a permanent basis, but to have traversed the thirty miles or more between the two river towns, Murfreesborough on the Chowan and Halifax on the Roanoke, with rather constant regularity. He had become a fast friend of the editor, Abraham Hodge, whom apparently Brown saw as the only publishing outlet for his poems

[12] Byles Papers, transcripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
[13] Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New* (1941), I, 491-492.
[14] S. A. Ashe, "William Richardson Davie," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (1907), VI, 193.

in the hinterlands of North Carolina. Somewhat later he was even turning a penny or so as a result of his journalistic association, for he was listed as one of the two persons in Murfreesborough to whom "PAYMENTS may be made" for *The North-Carolina Journal.*[15]

In the *Journal* of April 3 appeared a second poem, "DEATH OF LOUIS XVI." It is dated "Halifax, April 1" and signed "COLUMBUS," the pen name Brown used again later. Prefacing the poem is a letter:

> Mr. HODGE,
> The writer of the following lines is no friend to Kings: He is the friend of human life. He however considers his country under obligations to the *last King of the French,* and in common with the free, the dispassionate and the grateful of his countrymen, pours forth the tribute of respectful pity to the *manes* of the desolated Monarch. In common also with the philosopher, the philanthropist and the politician, he declares his indignation and his sorrow are equally awakened, that the progress of Liberty should be disgraced with the blood of a King, whose errors have arisen more from situation than principle.

The poem which follows, in eight four-line stanzas, has various references to Pity, Imagination, Democracy, Rage, Murder, Sorrow, and other typical eighteenth-century personifications, as well as a comment about COLUMBIA, who "shall raise the trophied urn" and "wander oft, her *Royal Friend* to mourn." It is just the sort of grandiose piece which papers like *The North-Carolina Journal* used in their poetry corners, and we cannot doubt that Abraham Hodge was pleased to have a local contributor fill the space so admirably. Regardless of its rather dubious political sentiment, the verses are impressive with "Notes and Imitations" from *Della Crusca, Dryden,* and *Ossian.*

The chef d'oeuvre of Brown's poetizing came, however, in the issue of July 3, signed again from Halifax by "COLUMBUS" and titled "The Lion and the Tarapen." The excellence of this quite admirable selection, containing few of the clichés so numerous in his first two North Carolina efforts, is due in considerable measure to the fact that the poem was not one of untried medium to the writer. Brown had written some two dozen verse fables

[15] *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax), July 10, 1793.

previously, though this was one of the first to be published.[16] The principal difference in this (the last poem he wrote, so far as we know) and the earlier ones was that the fables written before he left Boston where composed primarily in iambic tetrameter couplets, while "The Lion and the Tarapen" is in pentameters. In length the other fables ran from fifty-four to one hundred fifty lines; "The Lion and the Tarapen" has exactly one hundred. Most of the fables are animal stories pointing up a moral, with the villain eventually coming to grief. Political satire is evident in many, one of them, "The Revolution,"[17] relating the defeat of a tyrant Lion, symbol of vanquished Britain, as is the case in the more mature poem "The Lion and the Tarapen." Throughout them all, whether dealing in politics, manners, or morals, Brown wrote expertly in a genre formerly explored but not pre-empted by Jean de la Fontaine in France and John Gay in England with their *Fables*, and John Trumbull in America with his satiric verse.[18]

After its initial publication, "The Lion and the Tarapen" was reprinted at least three times in the next sixty years. Abraham Hodge used it in his *North-Carolina Almanack* for 1795,[19] where continuous portions of it ran along the tops of the calendars for the various months. On January 26, 1809, *The Star* (Raleigh) printed it with this heading:

> The following was admired 14 years ago, as an amusing, well told story, possessing much of the true spirit of Poetry. Many who read it when first published will be pleased to have it again brought to their recollections, and may perhaps be desirous to preserve it as a curious relick on [*sic*] their files of interesting and useful matter. It is possible also the frequent mention which our *witty* politicians have lately made of "Tarrapins" and "Lions" may now give it an interest among the *wits* which it never had before.[20]

Brown was not given as the author.

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[16] "The Spider and the Bee," *Herald of Freedom*, September 4, 1788, may be Brown's. Certainly he wrote "The Sailor and the Bramin," *Columbian Centinel*, December 1, 1790; it was reprinted in *The Emerald*, June 7, 1806, as Fable 15 in the series then running.

[17] *The Boston Magazine*, I (January 25, 1806), 4.

[18] The Fables of William Hill Brown, unpublished paper written at the University of Maine in 1931 by Doris L. Gross, Stonington, Maine.

[19] By William Thomas and published at Halifax. There is a copy in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

[20] James S. Purcell, Jr., in Literary Culture in North Carolina before 1820 (Duke University: unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1950), 299, n. 122, suggests as explanation for the 1809 interest in the poem that in the years before the War of 1812 the Federalists slightingly referred to the proponents of the embargoes as Terrapins. Naturally the Lion is England.

In 1854 Mrs. Mary Bayard Clarke included it in *Wood-Notes*, a two-volume work which was the first anthology of North Carolina poetry.[21]

The selection is sufficiently significant to deserve another hearing, all these years later. Its importance for us is not only that it is a verse fable written by a Bostonian, the first American novelist, with an almost distinctive North Carolina tone; it is likewise a creditable and commendable poem. Its humor and accelerated story-telling are quite beyond the talents of the literary amateur.

THE LION AND THE TARAPEN[22]

Bella! Horrida Bella! — Vir.[23]

The race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong. — Sol.[24]

A fam'd Hibernian, in this curious age,
Confin'd the King of Beasts within a cage;
Keeping his Majesty in *durance vile*—
From place to place he journeyed many a mile;
Travell'd thro' Chowan, Halifax and Nash,[25]
And pocketed a devilish deal of Cash;
Commenc'd a gentleman, and taught to play,
He grew in grace with Fortune every day:
As Tully eloquent, as Stentor[26] loud,
Thus he harangu'd the ever-wond'ring crowd:
"Come, gentlemen—behold the sweetest *crature*[27]
That e'er was modell'd by the hand of Nature.

[21] *Wood-Notes* (Raleigh: Warren L. Pomeroy), I, 64-68. Here for the first time Brown is credited with the authorship of the poem. In a note Mrs. Clarke states erroneously that Brown died in 1795. After *Wood-Notes*, an unimportant but curious later reprinting was in the pamphlet *"The Early Times and Men of Albemarle," An Oration Delivered at Elizabeth City, N. C., on 7th of August, 1877, at Request of the "Albemarle Historical Society"* [Elizabeth City? 1877] by John H. Wheeler (1806-1882), well-known writer on North Carolina history. Wheeler, who does not cite Brown as the author, introduces the poem with these words: " . . . I will mention, that in my researches I have found a veritable production, by a North Carolinian on a truly North Carolina subject which I trust may interest you, or at least relieve you from the dry details of facts and dates, which my subject has imposed upon you. There are fewer finer specimens of the mock heroic style, extant." Wheeler takes considerable liberties with the poem. He renames it "Africa and Carolina," substitutes "Pasquotank" for "Halifax" in line 5, and later "Tar Heel" for "Planter," "boid Pat" for "Master," "Carolina" for "Tarapen," and so on. Wheeler's attempt to modernize and localize the poem is rather unfortunate. In 1793 Brown would have felt uncomfortable in the presence of such unknown words as "Tar Heel" and "boid Pat."

[22] Spelled "Tarapen" in 1793 and 1795 printings, "Terrapen" in 1809; "Terrapin" in 1854. Occasional spellings, some punctuation, and all obvious typographical errors have been corrected to insure less difficult reading, but no attempt has been made to alter the eighteenth-century savor of the poem. The text printed here is, on the whole, a composite of the four existing versions.

[23] Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book VI, line 86.

[24] Ecclesiastes 9:11.

[25] Three North Carolina counties.

[26] Tully is, of course, Cicero the "eloquent." Stentor, in Homer's *Iliad*, is a herald with a very loud voice.

[27] The 1793 printing has "creature," but the 1854 form is used here because of its Hibernian flavor.

A spectacle to feast a curious eye on—
Come, gentlemen, *walk up and see the Lion!*
All beasts confess'd his tyranny complete,
And, trembling, crouch'd for mercy at his feet:
No animal his peerless power withstood,
He reign'd the Monarch of the Libyan wood.
Sole sov'reign of the plain—no odds he begs
Of any beast, that walks upon *four legs.*"
"Ah!" said a *Planter,* "in our modern age,
To see the mightiest Monarch in a cage
Is no new thing!—but, by the immortal gods,
If you declare this Lion asks *no odds,*
An animal I'll bring, shall make him roar,
And bathe that visage with his royal gore:—
Make you the wager*—and behold what follows."

* *See Virgil, Ecl.* 7.[28]

"Done," said the Master, "for a hundred dollars."
Off went the Planter for his beast, so keen,
All wond'ring what the devil he could mean.
At length he brought—the Lion to oppose,
What seem'd "a fiddle that had feet and toes."*

* *See* "A Tour in the United States," *by one Smyth.—He thus describes the Tarapen:* "I saw an animal crawl behind a rock, which I could compare to nothing but a fiddle with feet to it,"—*a book beneath criticism, and containing nothing to excite admiration but a long list of* noble *subscribers.*[29]

"Here, boastful wretch, behold the *Loggerhead,*[30]
Who never from his adversary fled:
Sole monarch of the Swamp—he fights his foe
With certain skill, and conquers at a blow.

[28] This footnote of Brown's is found only in the 1793 printing. Eclogue VII describes a song-duel between the shepherds Corydon and Thyrsis. The reference, while allowing for a classic comparison with the lion-terrapin contest which follows, is little more than a sop to eighteenth-century display and erudition. Line 16 of Eclogue VII reads:

et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum.

It is translated ". . . and the match—Corydon against Thyrsis—was a mighty one" by H. Rushton Fairclough in *Virgil* (London: Heinemann, 1938), II, 49.

[29] Smyth, whose book was published in both London and Dublin in 1784, was a British soldier who, during the Revolution, traveled widely throughout the South. His *Tour* relates various hidings (one of them in the Dismal Swamp), captures, and escapes. John Randolph observed that the volume was filled with "calumny and falsehood." *Library of Southern Literature* (1910), XV, 409. Brown must have agreed with Randolph. His footnote, however, is not accurately transcribed. Smyth writes:

"Another time, whilst I was reading in a very solitary retired place among the rocks and trees, on hearing some little noise near me, I looked around, and just had the glimpse of a very strange and singular animal, such as I had never seen even any resemblance of before. It appeared to me more like a fiddle with feet, than any thing else that I know; the sight I had of it was just as it was running behind a rock. I sought there, and every where for it immediately, to no purpose, for I could not discover even a trace thereof remaining.

"When I returned, I mentioned what I had seen; but no one, from my description, could inform me what animal it was."—John Ferdinand Dalziel Smyth, *Tour in the United States of America . . .* (Dublin: G. Perrin, 1784), I, 31-32.

Later on, Smyth writes: "There was another animal that particularly engaged my attention, it being one of the same species that formerly I just had a glimpse of among the falls of James River, when it struck me with the strange idea of its resembling a fiddle with feet.

"These animals are called here *Tarapens,* and are both of the land and water kinds. They are all however of the species of the turtle." Smyth, *Tour,* I, 223.

[30] A species of large marine turtle.

Shew him the Royal Lion, and you'll see
He'll reverence kings like Prince Egalité."[31]
Now for the fight the combatants prepare—
Now in the cage, behold the advent'rous pair!—
The scales of vict'ry hanging in the skies,
Were then discovered by poetic eyes,
Wavering in doubt, unknowing to subside,
For *Carolina's boast* or *Africk's pride.*
Wise Tarapen, beneath his coat of mail,
Took in, secure, his head and legs and tail;
So when the wind blows hard, and thunders roll,
And tempests shake the world from pole to pole,
The cautious sailor sees the verging woe,
Furls up his sails, and drops the yard below,
Rides on the billow's top, sublime and vast,
And scorns, serene, the elemental blast.
Advancing firm, the Monarch of the Plain
Lash'd his long tail and rear'd his mighty mane,
Held out his princely paw—and, at one thwack,
Extended Tarapen upon his back:
But, free from pain, and without loss of gore,
The *Carolinian* found his legs once more,
Laugh'd at the Lion's strength, and mock'd his frown,
And rose the stronger for the knocking down.
'Twas thus of old—poetic history shows,
Alcides fought, and thus Antaeus[32] rose.
Hark! from the skies a rattling peal of thunder!*

* *See Homer's Batrochamuomachia.*[33]

The Gods and Goddesses look down with wonder:
'Tis a Land-Turtle with the Lion strives!
They never saw such fighting in their lives.

[31] Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, assumed such a name in 1792. He voted for the execution of Louis XVI. Brown's simile, in comparing the terrapin to Philippe, is a particularly happy one.

[32] In Greek mythology, the wrestler Antaeus was invincible as long as he touched the earth. When lifted from it, he renewed his strength (like the terrapin) by touching it again. Alcides (Hercules) conquered him by squeezing him to death in mid-air.

[33] In *Batrachomyomachia (The Battle of the Frogs and Mice)*, a mock-heroic poem sometimes attributed to Homer, Jove decrees victory for the frogs which are being defeated, first by sending down thunder, then by releasing an army of crabs which chase the mice away. Jove and all his gods and goddesses, in true mock-heroic fashion, view the battle from the clouds and are as actively interested in the outcome as if it had been the finale of the Trojan war.

Ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη. Κρονίδης δ' ἔβαλε ψολόεντα κεραυνόν.
πρῶτα μὲν ἐβρόντησε, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον,
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα κεραυνόν, δειμαλέον Διὸς ὅπλον,
ἧκ' ἐπιδινήσας. ὁ δ' ἄρ επτατο χειρὸς ἄνακτος.

See *Hesiod. The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (London: William Heinemann, 1914), 562. Samuel Wesley in 1726, translating the poem as *The Iliad in a Nutshell: or Homer's Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, renders the foregoing lines:

She ended speech, and cloud-compelling Jove
His three-fork'd thunder takes to part the fight,
With goat-skin shield descending from above,
Swift, silent, black, and terrible as Night.
In sudden darkness either host he shrouds,
Harsh thunders roll, and bluish lightnings blaze.
LXVII 1.—6.

See Friedrich Wild, *Die Batrachomyomachia in England* (Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumuller, 1918), 64.

"Now, *let the Carolinian win*"—JOVE said,
And shook the reverend honours of his head.
Whom JUPITER befriends must then prevail,
So smiling VICTORY turns the dubious scale.
Leo, unknowing whom he had in fight,
Stoop'd down his head to take a nearer sight—
While Tarapen, firm, watchful, never scar'd,
Directly seiz'd his highness by the beard:
That is, so bit the Lion by the jowl,
He could not disengage him for his soul.
Close as a lover to his mistress dear,
Close as the pillory to a rascal's ear,
Close as a miser to a bag of joes,[34]
So close hung *Tarapen* to *Leo's* nose.
Soon as the *Master* saw what came to pass,
Not *Sancho*[35] griev'd so loudly for his Ass;
Not with more sorrow did the Trojan dames
Bewail their *Hector*[36] dear, and Troy in flames;
Nor trembling *Frenchmen* with more rage and fear,
At the last feat of General *Dumourier*.[37]
At length, to generous pity all inclin'd,
With godlike sympathy within his mind,
The great Hibernian ey'd the fray as cruel,
In tears exclaiming, "O, my *baste!*[38] my jewel!"
Then, to the Planter turn'd—"Ah! dearest honey,
Release my Lion and receive your money."
The subtle hero, liking well the truce,
Receiv'd his bet and let the Lion loose:
Then to the mighty conqueror said, "Yes! go,
Enjoy your freedom in the vale below;
O! may your bed of laurel leaves be made,
And sweet magnolias blossom round your head;
Amphibious Victor! Tarapen divine!
Yours be the glory, but the wager mine."
COLUMBUS.

Halifax, July, 1793.

Though "The Lion and the Tarapen" was Brown's final poetic effort, it was not his last appearance in print. Considerable agitation in the public press concerning education in general and the establishment of the University of North Carolina in particular did not leave the Bostonian unmoved. His association with Wil-

[34] A "jo" is a double johannes, American colonial coin.
[35] In Cervantes' *Don Quixote*.
[36] In Homer's *Iliad*.
[37] Charles Francois Dumouriez, French general. The June 19 and June 26 issues of *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax) had leading articles on "French Affairs" with much attention on the activities of General Dumouriez. As a constant reader of that newspaper, Brown was fresh from a perusal of these accounts when he was composing "The Lion and the Tarapen."
[38] In the 1793 printing "beast." See above, p. 145, n. 27.

liam R. Davie, later known as "the Father of the University," disposed Brown in favor of the immediate founding of the proposed institution; and on July 10, 1793,[39] the following letter appeared in the *Journal* over his pen name, "COLUMBUS":

MR. HODGE

That the proposed University of North-Carolina would operate [to] the happiness of the State, has been doubted, and the idea of its utility to the people at large has been combatted in your paper. It may appear extraordinary that the progress of learning should be opposed in a young Republican Country, since the *experience* of mankind, from the infancy of government to the present day, exhibits a clean illustration of this truth, THAT KNOWLEDGE MUST BE THE GUARDIAN OF LIBERTY. Whatever strengthens this sentiment, is important at this juncture, when subscriptions are circulating in various counties for the establishment of a fund for the promised seminary of learning. I, therefore, send you the enclosed manuscript containing observations on Education, &c. written a year or two since—and though originally thrown together for a different purpose—for shewing the *means of Preventing Crimes*—they are nevertheless applicable to the present period and subject, because drawn from from [*sic*] the history of governments and of man. You are at liberty to publish, from the first Chapter, as many extracts as your judgment or convenience may direct,—and, also, to continue them in a series of papers, until you shall have selected the most interesting matters.

Then followed a rather lengthy essay titled EDUCATION and geared to the purpose stated by Brown, showing education to be "the *means of Preventing Crimes.*" The essay is embellished with classical allusions and sententious examples, but lacks the directness and simplicity evinced in "The Lion and the Tarapen." We do not know whether other similar essays were published in accordance with Brown's permission, for there are no extant copies of the *Journal* for the next three weeks. By the issue of August 7 the essays had been either discontinued or concluded.

Brown's stay in North Carolina was clearly a happy one at this time, and he was planning to establish himself permanently in the state. He had not become so serious in his life and study there, however, that he had abandoned his irresponsible and capricious nature. The best indication of his carefree tempera-

[39] In Chapel Hill on October 12, 1793—three months after this letter—Davie laid the cornerstone of Old East, the first building at the University.

ment during these days is contained in a letter written him by Catharine Byles from Boston on August 5,[40] and addressed to him at Halifax. The annoyance of his "aunt" over the showing of her previous letter cannot be considered too seriously.

My dear William,

With peculiar pleasure I received your favor of April 17th. But judge of my emotions on perusing the first paragraph! Flattered by my friend! Criticised by Strangers!—consciously humble in Myself! I must acknowledge I really found my situation was truly mortifying. If the few hasty lines I last wrote you had any merit, as you politely insinuate, I recollect none except the sincerity of its expressions which spontaneously flowed warm from the heart of the Writer. To say I am not solicitous to please whenever I am forming a letter would be doing injustice to myself: but it is the partial friend only to whom I am writing in whose eyes I wish to appear pleasing; & as soon as my letter has answered this happy end of its existance I had much rathar in the quiet possession of its lawful proprietor, it should slide into oblivion, in humble imitation of the retired situation of its author, then after making the grand tour of North-Carolina & at length carelessly drawn from the pocket of one of the literary critical genius's of the age it should be employed, by way of substitute to the fragments of an out-of-date news-paper, in reviving the dying fumes of a tobacca-pipe. Perhaps you may think this candid declaration of mine originates from pride—be this as it may I am resolutely determined not to retract a syllable of what I have uttered, & I must further add that in the present case, while my poor fugitive letter has been banded about, & sampson-like making sport for the Philistines, it affordds me some consolation that its mistress unconscious of its misfortunes at the Moment, & personally unknown to the partys concerned, may still enjoy herself in her obscurity or in the dear society of the friends she loves.

I am exceedingly gratified by your accounts of the affectionate attention you meet with from the inhabitants of Carolina, but can by no means reconcile myself to the idea of your settling at such a distance from Boston. To one of your profession, learned in the law, the case must appear plain that it is directly contrary to the inclination of your friends to have you seperated from them, that in equity of reason, that is [*sic*] in parity of judgment, the matter ought to be duely, deliberately, fully & maturely considered: & to be plain with you, for as my Lord Bacon very wisely observes (or might have observed if he *was* a lawyer) lib. 4 pag. 389 "honesty is the best policy"[41]—I say, I am of opinion that to consider an affair which in its self is not inconsiderable sometimes shews considerable consideration: & therefore, may it

[40] Byles Papers, transcripts in the Masschusetts Historical Society, Boston.
[41] The proverb stems from Aesop. I have not been able to locate a repetition in Bacon.

please your honors & you gentlemen of the jury, such atrocious conduct in my clients antagonist apparently appearing in opposition to his friends aforesaid consequently an infringement on Magna Charta et treasonabus against commonwealthum; I can only regret, that destitute of the assistance of John-a-Rokes & John-a-Stiles[42] I, as a single disputant am not endowed with suitable talents to plead in the cause & decide it to my mind: But—if you are resolute—I refer you to Blackstones Commentaries, Cook upon Lyttletons,[43] or any other learned volume on the subject. —Should you observe me at Court when you open your budget I beg you will not be disconcerted, for all attention & silent as midnight, I shall only exclaim—O Yes!—success attend you!—

Seriously my dear William I am greatly disapointed in not seeing you this summer, buoyed up as we have long been with the agreeable idea that you meant us a visit at least, if not to reside amongst us. You know not how much I have missed your friendly calls & chearful society; particularly so as I have not enjoyed my health for five months past, though I am now beginning to recruit a little & walk abroad: you promise however to write to me, frequently recollect that promise & reallize how much I am interested in every concern of yours. Your Aunt Mary[44] desires her love, says she often thinks of, & highly esteems you. May heaven direct bless & prosper you! is the retiring prayer, of

Your sincerely affectionate Aunt
C. Byles.

But Brown was never to see his beloved "aunt" again. Perhaps he never read the jocose and pleasant letter which she had written him. During the last of August an epidemic, probably malaria, struck the area. In Halifax on Wednesday, September 4, 1793, *The North-Carolina Journal* reported: "This town and neighborhood, has been, and still continues, exceedingly sickly—scarcely a family have escaped the general calamity." The same issue listed among the dead Col. Herbert Haynes on Tuesday the 26th.[45] Likewise, "On Friday last, after a short illness, CHARLES GILMOUR, Esq. Postmaster in this town. He has left a sorrowful widow and two young children to bewail his loss"; and in another column of the paper Gilmour's tavern already was advertised for rent. Finally beneath the Gilmour obituary

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[42] Imaginary figures in a law case. "John Doe" would be the modern equivalent. See Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1595).

[43] Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries* (1765-1769) and Sir Edward Coke's four *Institutes*, the first of which is known as *Coke upon Littleton* (1628), are basic volumes in the study of English law. The typescript has an obvious error, "look upon Lyttletons," which has been corrected in the text.

[44] Catharine Byle's maiden sister.

[45] Actually the last Tuesday in August, 1793, came on the 27th of the month.

is this additional notice: "Also the same evening, Master JUNIUS SITGREAVES, eldest son of the Hon. Judge Sitgreaves." The number of fatalities was indeed heavy in a village the size of Halifax.

Even supposing that Brown had contracted the fever in Halifax, he was, at any rate, in Murfreesborough with his in-laws at the time of his death.[46] In fact, he died at least two days before the news reached his friend Abraham Hodge in Halifax. The shock of his death, the gentleness of his conduct during his illness, and most of all, the great esteem in which he was held—all are illustrated in the flowery but genuinely sincere obituary which appeared in the *Journal* on September 11, evidently written by Hodge, who of course would most appreciate his friend's literary accomplishments. The length of the piece—a fullness not accorded to Postmaster and Tavern Keeper Charles Gilmour—as well as the elevated character of the sentiments, is highly complimentary and indicative of the regard Brown's friends had for him, particularly considering his comparatively brief residence in the town. Under "Halifax News" appeared the following:

DIED, after a short illness, at Murfreesborough, on the 2d instant, in the 27th year of his age, Mr. WILLIAM HILL BROWN, formerly of Boston, but lately of this town, where he was pursuing the study of the law.

In this gentleman were united every virtue and qualification, which an uncommon genius and insatigable application to study had rendered into general usefulness: But that accomplishment, which of all others shone conspicuously in him, and was his most proper and peculiar characteristic, was that richness of fancy and copiousness of expression, which upon all occasions made him serviceable, not only in a social but civil capacity. In his writings, he was concise but comprehensive—sublime and elegant—a little satyrical at times, yet always pleasing and entertaining—In conversation, he was affable and polite—witty and winning: —It will be useless to illustrate his piety—the conduct of his life in general and his sickness in particular, has given sufficient testimony thereof—his loss is great both to his friends and country.

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[46] Arthur W. Brayley, in "The Real Author of 'The Power of Sympathy,'" 232, says Brown "went to Virginia to study law, but did not long survive a severe cold contracted while riding on horse back."

"Of manners gentle, of affections mild;[47]
In wit, a man—simplicity, a child:
With Attic salt, he season'd many a page,
Form'd to delight at once and lash the age:
A good companion and a faithful friend,
Unblam'd thro' life, lamented in his *End.*
Thus say the good and worthy, with a tear,
Striking their pensive bosoms—BROWN *lies here.*"[48]

So died William Hill Brown in Murfreesborough, North Carolina. And where, one asks, is the grave of the first American novelist? Was he interred in a family cemetery in Murfreesborough, perhaps beside the body of his sister Eliza Hinchborne? Was he taken to Halifax? Surely, in 1793, he was not sent to Boston for burial. But no one knows. We can hope only that some antiquarian will someday discover the spot and raise a stone over it.

In fanciful mood Brown's friend, the poet Robert Treat Paine, wrote from his northern Boston home a lengthy eulogy. The last four stanzas are doubtlessly more accurate than he realized when he wrote them.

Felt ye the gale?—It was the Sirock[49] blast,
That spreads o'er burning climes Death's gelid sleep!
Hear ye that groan? 'tis dying Pollio's last;
And Friendship, Genius, Virtue, speechless, weep.

"Oh, Pollio, Pollio!"—all Parnassus cries!—
Their breasts the grief-delirious muses beat;
Torn from their brows, the withering garland dies;
And drooping groves this funeral dirge repeat:

"Lamented Pollio, o'er thy sacred tomb.
"The laurel-sprig we plant, the turf to shade:
"Bathed by our tears, its spreading boughs shall bloom,
" 'Till Fame's most verdant amaranths shall fade!

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[47] These eight lines have as their basis "On Mr. Gay" by Alexander Pope. There are considerable variations and deletions from the original, with one entirely new line.

[48] This obituary, giving the *Journal* as its source, was reprinted in the *Columbian Centinel* October 2. In the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston) on September 13, the following notice appeared: "Died: In Virginia, Mr. William Hill Brown, son of Mr. Gawen Brown, of this place. A young man over whose Bier Genius and Philanthropy will long mourn." In November, Catharine Byles wrote to Mrs. Sarah Holmes in London of her hope for "the arrival of my friend Mr. Wm. Brown from N. Carolina; but the death of that truly amiable young man on the 2d Sept. last has blasted the hope I had formed & given a recent wound to his distressed family who, aided by the lenient hand of time, were but just gradually recovering from one they received in Jany. occasioned by the death of his sister at the same place, Carolina. . . ." See above, p. 142, n. 12.

[49] The sirocco is a hot wind. Paine's allusion is to the oppressive southern air which carried the death-dealing fever to Brown.

"No towering marble marks thy humble dust,
"Yet there shall oft our pensive choir repair;
"Thy modest grave can boast no sculptured bust,
"Yet Nature stands a weeping statue there!"[50]

Even as this elegiac poem and the obituary notices were being printed and copied in various papers, Brown's "Aunt" Catherine Byles was making an effort to gather together his literary productions. On October 29 she wrote a letter[51] from Boston to Davie at Halifax, commending him for his treatment of her "nephew" and requesting the return of one of Brown's dramas.

Sir,

You are doubtless wondering at the novelty of a letter from a person utterly unknown to you: But will you permit a stranger who feels herself under obligation to offer you a few lines? Your attention to my nephew Mr. Brown, whose amiable character warmly attached him to his friends & to whose memory the tear must ever be sacred, demands the grateful acknowledgements of his connexions: In a letter I received from him a few weeks before he bid adieu to mortality he particularly mentions Col. Davie, & I feel a melancholly pleasure in thus conveying you my own thanks, and those of his family, for the notice with which you were pleased to favor him. Among the various productions of Mr. Browns genius, one particular peice The Tragedy of Major Andre,[52] I greatly regret has escaped from me; May I sir request the indulgence of again recovering it if it is in your hands? or if it is not, & you are acquainted who is the present possessor, may I presume further by soliciting you would kindly procure it for me? Should you succeed, by placing it in the hands of Mr Hitchborn, who will forward it to me, I should esteem it a very singular favor.

I beg pardon sir for thus intruding on your goodness and subscribe myself, your obliged

& obedient servant
Catherine Byles.

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[50] "A Monody, to the Memory of Mr. W. H. Brown," *The Works, in Verse and Prose, of the Late Robert Treat Paine, Jun, Esq.* (Boston: Belcher, 1812), 120-121. See above, p. 139, n. 3.

[51] Byles Papers, transcripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[52] Under the title "West-Point Preserved or the Treason of Arnold," this play was given twenty-seven performances at the Haymarket Theatre, Boston, beginning in April, 1797. Kunitz and Haycraft, *American Authors, 1600-1900*, 108. *The North-Carolina Journal* (Halifax) of June 5, 1797, printed the *"EPILOGUE to* 'WEST-POINT PRESERVED.' *Written by* William Brown, *dec. formerly a Student of Law in this town."* Here are the last four lines:

If any faults appear, those faults excuse
In the first offspring of a native muse—
West Point preserved from ruin, saved your nation;
Then save, O save! in me—the poet's reputation.

Brown's patriotic drama, in condemning André's actions, is in contrast with the sympathetic feeling for André exhibited by the royalist grandnephew of Brown's "Aunt" Catharine Byles, Dr. William Almon, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Almon "possessed the walking stick of Major André, whom Washington hanged as a spy." See "The Life and Work of the late Senator Almon," transcripts in *Dr. Raymond's Scrapbook* (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia), 3. The family relationships are discussed in Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1891), 246.

The play was returned, and with it Brown's ties with North Carolina came to an end. His sojourn in the state had not been an unproductive one from a literary point of view. It has been conjectured that he wrote *Ira and Isabella* during his stay in the state:[53] and since "West-Point Preserved" was recovered from Davie, to whom it evidently had been given for reading and criticism, perhaps that drama too was composed or at least completed in North Carolina. Even without these two possible works, three poems—one of them among the best of his inventions—were written during this period and thereafter were published in the local press.

It is, of course, idle to speculate what he might have produced if he had lived longer and had remained in North Carolina. Certainly he had appreciative readers and admiring friends and even a patronizing printer to publish his longer compositions.[54] In the years following 1793 he might have assumed the literary leadership of the section; for there was little cultural activity in the region and no presiding genius around whom might rally those who were interested in such activity. It remains only to say that the first American novelist, "a successful poet, dramatist, and essayist of the time,"[55] came to live in North Carolina, that he was happy in the prospects of his new home, and that an early death cut short the life of one who might have become an influential literary figure in the region where he had expressed a desire to settle permanently.

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[53] Jessie Mae Brooks, North Carolina Fiction, 1795-1861. A Checklist (Duke University: unpublished master's thesis, 1942), 7. No authority for the conjecture is cited.

[54] There is no evidence that Brown's North Carolina confreres knew him to be the first American novelist. His connection with *The Power of Sympathy* was not established for over a hundred years after his death. Milton Ellis, "The Author of the First American Novel," *American Literature*, IV (January, 1933), 356-368.

[55] Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (American Book Company, 1948), 10. There is a discussion of *The Power of Sympathy* in this volume, 9-12.

THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 1900-1950

By William Burlie Brown

The year 1900 is a significant one in the history of North Carolina. It marks the beginning of an intellectual development in the state that one of its historians has called the "Dawn of Culture" after the "Twilight" of Reconstruction and its immediate aftermath.[1] In that year Charles B. Aycock was elected governor and a tremendous revival of education was inaugurated. In the same year this "renaissance" produced a society that has come to be recognized as the parent of cultural organizations within North Carolina—The State Literary and Historical Association.

Prior to 1900 a number of societies devoted to the study of state history were in existence but they were local in character, usually devoted to the perpetuation of the traditions of a particular historic spot. The Guilford Battleground Association and the Moore's Creek Association were of this type. Others, like the Wachovia Historical Society, were limited by their interest in a particular group or institution. Colleges within the state sponsored their own societies—The Historical Society of North Carolina for the University at Chapel Hill and The Historical Society of Trinity College. There was no one organization devoted to the literature and history of North Carolina drawing its members from all interested citizens of the state. Thus the chief motivation behind the founding of the State Literary and Historical Association was the belief that these local organizations would never be able "to organize the literary talent of the State" or get together to coordinate their activities. Therefore they would never be able to present a united front in spurring on literary and historical activity by native North Carolinians to combat both the embarrassment of continued ignorance and the exploitation of the state by "alien" writers.[2]

On the evening of September 18, 1900, a group of citizens "met by invitation in the auditorium of the agricultural building to

[1] Archibald Henderson, *The Old North State and the New*, II, 750.
[2] This is clearly expressed in a newspaper article by W. J. Peele, *News and Observer* (Raleigh), October 23, 1900.

consider the question of forming an organization to stimulate literary and historical activity in North Carolina." The following are known to have been present: Walter Clark, Miss Rebecca Cameron, Theophilus H. Hill, D. H. Hill, Rev. T. N. Ivey, Thomas S. Kenan, S. L. Patterson, Fred L. Merritt, W. J. Peele, H. J. Stockard, George T. Winston, and Mrs. John Van Landingham. They agreed to form a society under the name of The State Literary and Historical Association and appointed a committee to issue a call for a general meeting.[3] This committee drafted a notice setting forth the purposes of the Association and inviting all interested parties to attend an organization meeting. This notice appeared in several of the state newspapers on September 23, 1900.[4]

On October 23, 1900, the organization meeting was held in the Music Hall of the Olivia Raney Library in Raleigh. The body approved a constitution that had been previously drafted by a committee under the chairmanship of W. J. Peele.[5] Walter Clark was elected president and Alex. J. Feild corresponding secretary. The meeting immediately settled down to business, heard several addresses on ways and means of accomplishing their purposes, and passed several resolutions designed to stimulate public interest in North Carolina history.[6] Press reaction was immediately favorable and the Association was launched amid a hail of enthusiastic press notices.[7]

This year the Association celebrates its fiftieth year of uninterrupted existence. What might be called the "external features" of the Association—its annual sessions, its officers, its membership—have not been altered in any fundamental way in its fifty-year history. By and large, these features are the façade of the Association, forming the aspect of the organization that is constantly in the eye of the public. They are, of course, a vital part of the organization, but no amount of detailed scrutiny of these would yield a complete picture of the Associa-

[3] Edward P. Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," in W. J. Peele (ed.), *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905*, 1-2.
[4] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), Sept. 23, 1900; copied in *Fayetteville Observer*, Sep. 24, 1900; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, September 26, 1900.
[5] MS. Minutes 1900-1910, 5. (The Association's unpublished records are in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.) Full text of 1900 constitution is in Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 3-6.
[6] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 3-11.
[7] *News and Observer* (Raleigh), Oct. 24, 1900; *New Bern Daily Journal*, Oct. 24, 1900; *Fayetteville Observer*, Oct. 24, 1900; *Charlotte Daily Observer*, Oct. 24, 1900.

tion's history. To weigh the organization's accomplishments, it will be necessary to go behind the distinguished names that grace its roster of members and its succession of officers, and the brilliance of its annual programs to the long and often difficult struggles of its officers and committees who worked for the realization of the society's objectives many days of the year and with an anonymity that has often become irritating to their historian.

The most conspicuous of these features that we have called "external" is the annual session. It has grown from a modest assembly of local citizens to discuss ways and means of advancing the cause of literature and history in their state to a virtual congress of specialized societies representing almost all of the cultural activities within North Carolina and climaxed by a series of distinguished addresses delivered by some of the most prominent men in the country. The early annual sessions were generally held during Fair Week. Not until 1909 was this practice abandoned.[8] From 1909 to 1919 the date of the annual session varied considerably, in order to accommodate the principal speaker chosen for each year. Since 1920 the present practice of meeting during the first week of December has been adhered to with few exceptions.[9] The Association failed to hold an annual session only once. This was occasioned by an epidemic of influenza in 1918.[10]

Raleigh has been the scene of its annual meetings every year since the Association's founding. On numerous occasions during the early years of its history, the Association was invited to meet at other cities in the state, but they were seriously tempted only once. In 1911 the Executive Committee worked a bit of strategy on Raleigh. They refused to decide definitely on a meeting place. Their purpose comes out in several letters from the Association's correspondence. In general it seems to have been a feeling that the eagerness of other cities to have the Association's annual sessions pointed up the indifference of a Raleigh that had come

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[8] The third annual session was delayed until January 23, 1903, and the fourth until November 2, 1903.

[9] The twenty-eighth annual session was held on November 22-23, 1928; the twenty-ninth on October 31-November 1, 1929, and the forty-fifth on December 14, 1945.

[10] No session was held in 1902 nor in 1910, but these represent late sessions rather than a failure to hold a session. Thus the third annual session was held on January 23, 1903, and the eleventh on January 12, 1911. The latter was delayed purposely to coincide with the presentation to the state of a bust of Matt. W. Ransom. See Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, August 2, 1910, MS. Minutes 1900-1910, 7.

to take this event for granted. It seemed an excellent opportunity, to reawaken enthusiasm in Raleigh by threatening to change the meeting place. Clarence Poe conducted a behind-the-scenes campaign to gauge Raleigh's reaction and it turned out very successfully.[11]

The principal feature of the annual sessions has been the addresses. Until 1907 these consisted entirely of papers given by the members of the Association. In 1907 the practice was begun of inviting a prominent personage from outside of North Carolina to give the principal address. Since this beginning at the eighth annual session with Hannis Taylor, writer and one-time Minister to Spain, as the guest speaker, the Association has presented some of the ablest and most prominent men in this country and from abroad. Literary men such as Thomas Nelson Page, Edwin Markham, John Erskine, and Henry Seidel Canby; historians including William A. Dunning, John Spencer Bassett, William E. Dodd, and Ulrich B. Phillips; political figures such as Henry Cabot Lodge and William Howard Taft; and foreign ambassadors Lord James Bryce, Count René Doynel de Saint-Quentin, J. J. Jusserand, and Romulo S. Naon.

In 1911 the Association inaugurated a feature that for a time came to hold its place as a highlight of the annual meeting, second in interest only to the principal speaker. This was the presentation of an address by a North Carolinian who had left the state and had achieved outstanding recognition in his profession. C. Alphonso Smith delivered the first of these addresses at the twelth annual session.[12]

These special events did not crowd the presentation of papers by members out of the picture, however, for the sessions were lengthened to accommodate additional features.[13] Among these contributions by members, the annual presidential address has occupied an important place on the program. The subjects embraced in the addresses by members have varied greatly over

[11] Clarence Poe to R. D. W. Connor, March 17, 1911; Poe to Executive Committee, May 3, 1911; [Connor?] to Poe, May 6, 1911. All are in the unpublished correspondence of the State Literary and Historical Association, hereinafter referred to as Correspondence.

[12] Although Hannis Taylor, mentioned above, was an ex-North Carolinian this seems to have been a chance occurence. Indeed, the first mention of this feature as a definite policy occurs in the proceedings of the thirteenth annual session. *Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association*, published as Bulletin 12, Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission (hereinafter cited as *Proceedings*, thirteenth session).

[13] In 1907 they were increased to three—morning, afternoon and evening. In 1911 the practice of meeting on two days instead of one was begun.

the years. In the early years the majority of the papers bore specifically on projects the Association was currently sponsoring —improvement of library facilities, promotion of county history, memorials, and many others. There has always been a large number of papers of a historical and biographical nature relative to North Carolina. The proportion of papers on literary subjects has not been as high.

Reports of committees and resolutions by the body have come to occupy less importance in the annual sessions. Since 1911 they have been relegated to a special session of the meeting, usually occupying part of the morning session. The reading of a report on the year's harvest of books by North Carolinians began in 1902. Until 1935 it took the form of an annotated bibliography. Since then it has been given in the form of a review of selected works published during the preceeding year.

Since 1904, with the exception of the period 1923-1930, the Association has made the annual presentation of an award for outstanding literary achievement by a North Carolinian one of the principal attractions of its meetings.

A group of organizations have grown up around the Association, some sponsored directly by it and some arising independently, but for the most part allying themselves with the Association in its annual session. The practice generally followed has been for the organization to be invited to hold its annual meeting in Raleigh during the week of the Association's annual session. In this fashion the North Carolina Folklore Society began meeting with the Association in 1913, the North Carolina State Art Society in 1926, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in 1939, and the North Carolina Society of County Historians in 1947. From time to time their number has been augmented by other organizations which kept up the practice for a short time only.

This practice of meeting along with other organizations derives largely from the policy suggested by R. D. W. Connor in a paper on the year's historical activities delivered before the

Association in 1908.[14] Connor's plan provided that the Literary and Historical Association take over the job of coordinating the various efforts of the cultural and patriotic societies within the state by persuading them to meet at the same time and place but separately, remaining distinct organizations. One final grand session together under the aegis of the Association was to provide the link. The Association has clung to this policy even in the case of organizations that it has directly sponsored. Rather than foster subgroups within its own organization, it has encouraged its members who had a special interest to form an independent society and draw its members both from within and without the Association. In this way the North Carolina State Art Society was formed in 1924[15] and the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities in 1938.[16]

The office of president of the Association has been ably filled by a long procession of distinquished citizens. The Association has drawn its presidents from men active in many fields—prominent members of the Bar, college presidents and faculty members, newspaper editors, and businessmen. In the early years the lawyers predominated; since about 1910 the academic profession has been most often in the chair. Four of the Association's seven secretaries have been honored with the presidency.[17] In 1929 the Association conferred its first honorary presidency on Samuel A'Court Ashe as "dean of North Carolina Historians."[18] Although the Association's constitution was silent on the matter of the eligibility of the president to succeed himself, a one-term precedent has been established and adhered to with but one exception. President James Sprunt was prevailed upon to continue in office for a second year in 1918 when the influenza epidemic prevented an annual session.

As is the case with most organizations of this type, the office of secretary is the one position that demands a great deal of the

[14] R. D. W. Connor, "Historical Activities in North Carolina during the Past Year," *Minutes* of ninth session, 17. (From 1905 to 1909 the proceedings were published as unnumbered pamphlets of the North Carolina Historical Commission under the title of *Minutes of the State Literary and Historical Association.*)

[15] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, II (1925), 112 for formation; V (1928), 135 for chartering.

[16] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 101 for formation; XVII (1940), 82-83 for chartering.

[17] R. D. W. Connor, 1911-1912; Clarence Poe, 1914-1915; A. R. Newsome, 1938-1939; and R. B. House, 1945-1946.

[18] A. R. Newsome to S. A. Ashe, November 14, 1929, Correspondence.

incumbent's time. He is, as is recognized, the nerve center of the organization, is responsible for the practical details of promoting the Association's projects and policies, and has been also an originator of many of its projects. The constitution originally provided for a division of labor between a secretary-treasurer and a corresponding secretary. At one of the earliest Executive Committee meetings on November 1, 1900, D. H. Hill resigned as secretary-treasurer and a "treasurer" was appointed. All the other duties were lumped together and given to Alex. J. Feild as "secretary."[19] No attempt was made to revise the constitution accordingly until 1922.[20] The office of secretary has been held by only seven men since 1900. The first was Alex. J. Feild, who continued in office until 1902. George S. Frap served only one term, 1902-1903. In 1903 Clarence Poe began a term that ended in 1911. R. D. W. Connor served from 1912 to 1919; R. B. House from 1920 to 1925; A. R. Newsome from 1926 to 1935. Since 1935 the present incumbent, Christopher Crittenden, has established a record run of sixteen years.[21] Since the assumption of the duties of secretary by R. D. W. Connor in 1912, it has so happened that the secretary of the Historical Commission (now the director of the Department of Archives and History) has always served as secretary of the Association.

The membership growth of the organization has not been a steady one. At the end of its first year it could boast of 150 members; two years later this had declined to 73. The next year it was back up to 127. Although the rise and fall in membership has not been quite as drastic in subsequent years, it has continued to exhibit a marked fluctuation.[22] In 1950 the membership stands at 443. The very low cost of membership in the Association permits almost anyone who wishes to become a member. The only qualification that it has placed on membership is that the applicant be interested in the work of the Association[23] and (in the revised constitution of 1948) that the prospective mem-

[19] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 1, 1900, MS. Minutes, 1900-1910.
[20] Text of constitution as revised in *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 11-12.
[21] Mrs. Ernest A. Branch served as acting secretary in 1946-1947 during the temporary absence of Crittenden. Minutes of the forty-sixth session, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.
[22] During the period 1905-1922 a chart showing the membership totals for each year since 1900 appeared in the published *Minutes* and *Proceedings*. Since the discontinuance of the full publication of the Association's proceedings, this information appears in published form only in the list of members appended to the yearly programs.
[23] The 1900 constitution added the further restriction of "white resident." Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 6. The 1922 constitution removed this restriction. *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 11-12.

ber's application be approved by the Executive Committee. The Association elected its first honorary member in 1907—James Bryce.[24] It allowed this practice to languish in the ensuing years. In 1920 it revived the plans for conferring honorary memberships and laid plans for life memberships.[25]

In 1900 the Association wrote into its constitution the following purposes for its existence:

> The purposes of this Association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation.[26]

When a revision of the constitution was made in 1922, these purposes were left unchanged.[27] Not until 1948, when the constitution was again revised, did these objectives undergo any alteration.

Having set up these objectives as a goal toward which its activities should be directed and having persisted in their pursuit for forty-eight years, the Association has made it evident that it is an organization dedicated to an active program and that its real history does not lie solely in the long procession of its annual sessions but in its record of success and failure in the achievement of these purposes. Accordingly one of the chief purposes of this paper is to set up a "balance sheet" and to attempt to assess what in relation to its stated objectives has accrued to the credit of the Association during the fifty years of its existence.

At the outset, however, we are confronted with a very fortunate difficulty. There are many entries to be made on the credit side but there is no way of assessing the liabilities. It is obviously futile to speculate about what the Association might have accomplished and didn't. It is only somewhat less satisfactory to attempt to compare the Association's accomplishments with those of similar societies. Besides the fact that there is no large amount

[24] Minutes of Executive Committee, February 8, 1907, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 36.
[25] *Proceedings*, twentieth session, 10.
[26] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 3-4.
[27] *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 11-12.

of data available on this subject, the most obvious reason for the impracticality of this scheme lies in the word "similar." The Literary and Historical Association is in many ways unique. There are many older historical societies that have had a much longer time to carry on many excellent projects, and quite a few younger ones that have had less opportunity. There are an endless number of factors besides age, such as endowment, membership, and state support to mention but a few, that render any comparison highly dangerous. Indeed, the purposes for which these societies are organized and the general character of their organization and direction afford almost no satisfactory basis of comparison, each to each. Finally, there remains the alternative of listing the specific instances in which the Association's projects have ended in failure. There are two objections to this alternative. In the first place, the Association has been very reasonable in its demands on the legislature, the public, and its members. It has not envisioned grandiose schemes and sponsored projects that were beyond the realm of probable achievement. Therefore the list of failures is almost negligible. Secondly, in the few instances in which ambition has soared, the Association has tenaciously refused to relinquish the project. Thus projects that have met temporary frustration are revived again and again, and at present writing some are still hanging in the fire. All that can be done is to credit the Association with what it has done on these projects and to note their state of incompleteness.

In attempting to record the accomplishments of the Association under the purposes set forth in the original constitution, the activities and projects sponsored by the organization have been grouped under the individual objectives there listed rather than chronologically. This scheme of organization seems to make the process of measuring the Association's achievement in terms of its stated purposes more graphic. There will be many instances in which the listing of a project under one purpose rather than another may be quarreled with, so inseparable are some of the stated objectives.

THE COLLECTION, PRESERVATION, PRODUCTION, AND DISSEMINATION OF STATE LITERATURE AND HISTORY

Although the collection of historical material was the first-mentioned objective of the Association, it has never made any direct attempt to carry out this purpose. The realization came early that the collection and preservation of historical material on any appreciable scale is a costly undertaking impossible for an organization solely supported by very modest membership dues. The only instance that has come to light in which the Association itself has attempted actually to collect material occurred in 1905 when the Association learned of the existence of a "valuable paper bearing on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" and resolved to secure it "if possible."[28] Perhaps the temptation was too great to resist. The wise decision to confine their efforts in this direction to the encouragement of collection and preservation through repeated exhortations to the public to preserve historical material, through emphasizing its importance in addresses and discussions in its annual sessions, and through the sponsorship of independent organizations for this purpose has led by indirection to achievements under this objective that far surpass much that the Association has achieved directly.

If the Association had accomplished nothing else, its sponsorship of legislation that created the North Carolina Historical Commission would have justified its claim to have served North Carolina well. The resolution to petition the legislature for the creation of the Commission was passed at the third annual session in January, 1903,[29] and the bill drafted by a committee of the Association was enacted as law the same year.[30] Since its creation the work of the Commission (now the State Department of Archives and History) in the collection and preservation of historical materials has been outstanding and is too well known to need elaboration here.

An excellent illustration of the tenacity of the Association when it undertakes an ambitious project is the county history project. The efforts of the Association to arouse interest in the preservation of county history have met with varying degrees of

[28] *Minutes*, sixth session, 32.
[29] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 21.
[30] *Public Laws of 1903*, ch. 767.

success from 1904 to the present. There have been periods when the project has lain dormant but it has never died. Under the leadership of President C. Alphonso Smith and Secretary Clarence Poe, the Association inaugurated the first phase of the movement in 1904.[31] Their object was to publish a plan for the organization of clubs in the various counties of the state for the study of the history of each county. They intended to collect the papers read at these club meetings and to publish the best ones. Apparently very little came of this first effort, although there is evidence that at least one such club was formed in 1906.[32] Interest in these local societies was revived in 1907 when the organization of local literary and historical societies was placed in the hands of Edward Mims,[33] and again in 1909 when J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton was appointed to head a committee on organizing local societies.[34] One indication of at least partial success was the adoption of a plan in 1911 allowing the local societies to affiliate with the State Literary and Historical Association.[35] In 1912 the Association kept the movement alive by devoting a large part of its annual session to papers emphasizing the historical value of county records.[36] There was a revival of plans for the publication of a series of county histories in 1913. Unlike the 1904 plan, this one called for a central control to be vested in a committee of editors.[37] At the annual session in 1914 the Association decided to enlist the aid of the college history departments in its publication scheme. This first phase of the county history movement reached its climax that year when a conference on county history occupied a large share of the annual meeting. A series of papers on methods and technique in writing county history and plans for pushing this writing stimulated a general

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[31] Minutes of fifth annual session, MS. Minutes, 1900-1910, 27. The Association was not a pioneer in the movement to preserve county history. A. R. Newsome in an address before a conference on county history held in connection with the twenty-seventh annual session outlined the early history of the efforts to secure county histories. He stated that the Historical Commission possessed the original manuscript accounts of thirteen counties and one town, all dated between 1810 and 1812, which were written by informed local citizens in response to a circular letter from the publisher of the *Star* requesting the preparation of a sketch of each county for publication in the *Star*. He also recounted the efforts of D. L. Swain in 1857 to persuade each county to have a historical sketch of the county prepared. There were four competent county histories published in the period 1881-1898. (From unpublished address in the possession of A. R. Newsome, Department of History, University of North Carolina.)

[32] *Minutes*, seventh session, 5-7.

[33] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 23, 1907, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 57.

[34] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 27, 1909, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 65.

[35] *Proceedings*, eleventh session, 13.

[36] *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, *passim*.

[37] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, December 20, 1913, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 93.

discussion. A general enthusiasm was aroused and the members resolved to memorialize the General Assembly for an appropriation to enable the Historical Commission to advise with county officials on the care and preservation of county records.[38] Then rather mysteriously this ardor seems to have evaporated without a trace. The record reveals but a single effort after 1914. In May, 1915, Archibald Henderson wrote enthusistically to Secretary Connor about getting together a committee "to outline steps for the preparation of a bulletin on county archives and county history."[39] Connor's reply indicating the failure of his own efforts even to assemble the committee marks the end of this first phase of the movement.[40] During this first phase at least ten book-length county histories and four shorter works on local history were produced.[41] It is, of course, impossible to credit these works directly to the Association's project but they are indicative of an aroused interest in county history which was, in the last analysis, the end toward which the project was directed.

A second phase of the county history movement opened in 1927. It differed from the early phase in that it was an attempt to charge the responsibility for promoting county history to a particular individual in each county rather than to approach the problem through local historical societies. This project originated with the Historical Commission early in 1927 under the secretaryship of A. R. Newsome, who was then secretary of the Association. The active support of President Josephus Daniels and the Association was enlisted and a portion of the annual session was devoted to a conference on county history. Thirty-five counties were represented at the conference by their county historians.[42] At this conference Mr. Newsome presented a paper outlining the project which during the past six months had resulted in the appointment of a county historian by each of the

[38] *Proceedings*, fifteenth session, 7.
[39] Henderson to Connor, May 4, 1915, Correspondence.
[40] Connor to Henderson, May 19, 1915, Correspondence.
[41] Full length books: B. B. Winborne, *Colonial and State Political History of Hertford County* (1906); W. C. Allen, *Centennial History of Haywood County* (1908); A. M. Waddell, *History of New Hanover County, 1723-1800* (1909); H. T. King, *Sketches of Pitt County* (1911); J. P. Arthur, *History of Watauga County* (1915); W. S. Boyce, *Economic and Social History of Chowan County, 1880-1915* (1917); W. C. Allen, *Halifax County* (1918); J. K. Turner and J. L. Bridgers, *History of Edgecombe County* (1920); Mrs. H. S. Chamberlain, *History of Wake County* (1922); and J. C. Leonard, *Centennial History of Davidson County* (1927). The shorter pieces have been published as pamphlets and articles: J. P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina* (1914); James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (1916); Mrs. L. W. Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton* (1924); and W. K. Boyd, *Story of Durham* (1925). Newsome, address to conference on county history, 1927.
[42] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V (1928), 132.

boards of education in sixty-six counties, sketching the history of the local history movement in the state and discussing the specific opportunities and problems of the county historians and suggesting ways and means to accomplish the purposes for which they were designated.[43] Under this new stimulus the county history movement revived for a time. County historians began to promote county historical societies.[44] The writing of county history revived. During this second phase thirteen book-length county histories were published.[45]

The third and latest phase of the movement came about independently of the Association. It is included because, while it does not represent a direct achievement of the Association, it does represent the latest development of a movement that represents forty-six years of intermittent labor on the part of the society. On December 26, 1941, sixteen local historians from ten counties met in Chapel Hill and formed the North Carolina Society of County Historians.[46] Five years later they were invited to meet with the Association[47] and since 1947 they have usually formed one of the allied societies participating in the annual Association meetings.

It would be a mistake to regard the county history movement as a completed project; very probably it will never be really completed. None of the schemes for directing the movement have ever been fully realized. But the results have been far from discouraging.

While the Association was fostering the collection of state and county historical materials, urging upon individuals and local administrations the grave danger of exposing the history of two centuries to the ever present hazard of fires in homes and county courthouses, it found itself in the position of having no

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[43] Newsome, address to conference on county history, *passim*.

[44] Among the earliest mentioned are the Warren County Historical Association, September 21, 1928; Wake County, October 8, 1928; and Franklin County, October 26, 1928. "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VI (1929), 119-121.

[45] Of these, four were by the original county historians appointed in 1927. J. C. Leonard, *Centennial History of Davidson County* (1927); F. A. Sondley, *A History of Buncombe County* (1930); C. W. Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford County* (1937); and Mrs. M. S. Puett, *History of Gaston County* (1939). The others are: J. W. Harden, *Economic and Social History of Alamance County* (1928); E. G. Winslow, *History of Perquimans County* (1931); W. C. Allen, *Annals of Haywood County* (1935); J. G. Hollingsworth, *History of Surry County* (1935); J. H. Separk, *Gastonia and Gaston County* (1936); W. L. Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County* (1937); W. L. DeRossett, *Pictorial and Historical New Hanover County and Wilmington* (1938); R. C. Lawrence, *The State of Robeson* (1939); and L. H. Bonner, *Colonial Bath and the Pamlico Section* (1939).

[46] Phillips Russell to C. C. Crittenden, December 29, 1941, Correspondence.

[47] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXIV (1946), 128.

safer place to advise for storage. Accordingly, there was begun a vigorous campaign to induce the legislature to erect a fireproof building to house the material collected by the Commission along with the State Library. At the outset in 1904 they urged this building project as a "Hall of Records and History."[48] In the ensuing years of the campaign, it came to be known as simply "a fire-proof state library." Hardly a year passed between 1904 and 1910 when the Association failed to petition the legislature for this building and to censure it for failing to provide for it the previous year. Finally in 1911 the General Assembly appropriatd $250,000 to erect the building.[49]

It was quite a while longer before the Association took official cognizance of the fact that another kind of historical material was in imminent danger of destruction from neglect. Not until 1938 did the Association become interested in the preservation of the state's historic architecture. At the annual session a committee was appointed to form a society for the preservation of North Carolina antiquities.[50] The organization was chartered October 4, 1939, under the name of "The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities."[51] The organization then, as is usual with the societies that are progeny of the Association, began to function independently, enlisting the aid and interest of public-spirited citizens in the purchase and restoration of historic buildings in the state. It meets annually in joint session with the Association and allied societies.

This late beginning in caring for the historic architecture of the state seems strange in the light of the Association's obvious intention to preserve historical materials other than written records. They specifically stated as an objective "the establishment of an historical museum." Fortunately, the Association had in Colonel Fred A. Olds an avid collector and the nucleus of a collection already well begun by him. Although the Association has often claimed credit for the establishment of the Hall of History,[52] this collection had been, since the 1880's, and continued

[48] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 24.
[49] *Proceedings*, twelfth session, 115-116.
[50] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVI (1939), 101.
[51] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (1940), 82-83.
[52] See "An Appeal," MS. Minutes, 1900-1917; also *Minutes*, tenth session, 52. The Hall of History is also listed as one of the Association's achievements in brief resumés of its history entitled "A Record of Achievement." These appeared in the printed programs for the annual sessions in 1912, 1914-1916.

to be, until his death, largely the work of Colonel Olds. From the beginning, however, the Association had worked with him through one of its committees—with Colonel Olds serving as chairman.[53] In 1902 the State Museum's small number of historical items and Colonel Olds's collection were combined as the "Hall of History" and occupied one gallery of the State Museum.[54] The Hall of History was run, as Colonel Olds's report in 1907 puts it, "strictly on a volunteer basis," and no funds were provided for it by the state or any other organization.[55] When the State Library was erected, specially designed quarters were provided in it for the collection. When it moved into its new quarters in 1914, it was taken over by the Historical Commission and has continued as the state historical museum.[56] From Colonel Olds' first yearly report in 1901, announcing the acquisition of 300 articles,[57] the collection has grown tremendously until in 1942 it held 20,000 items.[58]

Direct efforts of the Association to promote the production of historical writing have already been referred to in connection with the county history movement. This is about as direct an effort to promote the production of historical writing as an organization with very limited funds can achieve. The two instances in which the Association attempted a more direct promotion are rather more "curious" than important. The first of these took the form of a petition in 1901 to the legislature to purchase Creecy's *Grandfather's Tales,* and, oddly enough, the legislature complied.[59] The second was even more direct. At an Executive Committee meeting in 1912, the Committee went on record "to urge General Jarvis to write his recollections and deposit them with the Historical Commission."[60]

J. Bryan Grimes, reporting on the accomplishments of the Association after its first decade, gives an impressive list of historical scholars who produced during the period 1900-1909:

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[53] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 8.
[54] "Hall of History," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 43 (1942), 28-32.
[55] F. A. Olds, "The Historical Museum," in *Literary and Historical Activities,* 29-32.
[56] "Hall of History," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 43 (1942), 28-32.
[57] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 8.
[58] "Hall of History," in North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 43 (1942), 32.
[59] The tales were children's stories drawn from the history of North Carolina by R. B. Creecy. The legislature appropriated $280 to be expended by the board of trustees of the Public Library in the purchase of copies of this book and they were to distribute them "as they shall deem wise." Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 11.
[60] Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, September 27, 1912, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 83.

Battle, Ashe, Graham, Clark, Hill, Peele, Weeks, Connor, Hamilton, Nash, Clewell, Pittman, Boyd, Sims, Allen, Hoyt, Waddell, Sikes, Noble, Schenck, Haywood, Bassett, Grady, Dodd, and others.[61] Unfortunately, in his enthusiasm Colonel Grimes leaves the implication that somehow this historical output can be added to the laurels that he piles on the brow of the Association. This is highly dubious. Most of these men were either academicians whose business it was to produce historical writing or amateur historians already devoted to the Muse before the advent of the Association.

If the paucity of its funds hindered the direct sponsorship of historical writing and made publication impossible, it did not entirely prevent the Association from attempting to fulfill its purpose of disseminating knowledge of state history. It has relied rather heavily upon its offspring, the Historical Commission, to deal with the large problem of publication. While this agency, almost from its inception, has confined itself to the publication of primary source materials culled from the best of its collection, it did for many years (up to 1923) issue a separate publication each year devoted to the annual meeting of the Association.[62] In this manner the Association has been able to bring to the public not only its proceedings but also the papers at its sessions. These very largely concerned the history of the state and doubtless contributed to the fulfillment of the purpose of disseminating knowledge about North Carolina history, besides encouraging some historical writing on the part of its members. Since 1924 the *North Carolina Historical Review* has continued to publish those Association adresses that meet its standards of historical scholarship.[63]

The Association itself has been far more active in bringing state history to the attention of the public through projects that do not involve publication. At its first annual session in 1900, it set on foot a movement to stir an interest in state history in the public schools. This project known as "North Carolina Day" called for the designation of one day each year to "be set apart

[61] *Minutes*, tenth session, 53.
[62] As previously cited: *Literary and Historical Activities*, 1900-1905; *Minutes*, 1905-1909; *Proceedings*, 1910-1922. Only the *Proceedings* are numbered publications.
[63] In addition, a summary of the proceedings of the annual meetings is published in the "Historical News" section of *The North Carolina Historical Review*.

in the schools of our State for the consideration of some important fact of State history, with appropriate public exercises. . . ."[64] It gained the immediate support of the press and was enacted as law in 1901.[65] For a number of years a special committee of the Association devoted a good deal of time to planning, in cooperation with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, a rather elaborate program of exercises for the yearly celebrations. These programs, sometimes running to fifty pages, were printed by the state and distributed in large quantities. Besides historical sketches, the programs included readings, declamations, poetic recitations, songs, and general discussions.[66] Widespread observance of North Carolina Day continued until about 1927.[67] There was some attempt by the Association to revive the celebrations in 1947, but it apparently came to nothing.[68]

By 1905 the Association must have felt that one day a year devoted to North Carolina history was too niggardly an allotment, for in that year the Association successfully "lobbied" for the "History Text-book Act."[69] This bill provided funds "to promote the production and publication of school books relating to the history, literature, or government of North Carolina, for use in the public schools."[70]

In an effort to reach the adult population, the Association made one venture into the field of extension work. An Extension Committee under the chairmanship of Edwin Mims was hard at work on plans for this service early in 1911. Mims reported at the eleventh annual session that the colleges were unable to take up this work individually but that by working together through the Association a successful program might be evolved.[71] Accordingly, the colleges were sounded out and promised to cooperate. There was to be a series of lectures in each of the larger cities in the state given by two professors from each college. Although Chairman Mims was able to report the successful launching of the program in Winston-Salem in 1911 and plans for similar

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[64] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 6.
[65] *Public Laws of 1901*, ch. 164. *News and Observer*, October 24, 1900; *Fayetteville Observer*, October 24, 1900.
[66] *North Carolina Day*, published by Superintendent of Public Instruction as a pamphlet (unnumbered) up to 1925.
[67] The last published program that I have been able to find occurs in *State School Facts*, September 15, 1927. Publication of Superintendent of Public Instruction.
[68] Minutes of Business Meeting, December 5, 1947, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.
[69] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 25.
[70] *Public Laws of 1905*, ch. 707.
[71] *Proceedings*, eleventh session, 9-10.

programs in several other cities, the movement did not survive much beyond the first flush of enthusiasm.[72]

Thus in the work of collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of state history the Association has accomplished much by indirection through agencies it has sponsored and encouraged. In the case of projects directly administered by the Association, only the venture into extension work can be called a failure.

THE INCULCATION OF A LITERARY SPIRIT AMONG OUR PEOPLE

Throughout most of the Association's history, one or another of its members, and usually one of its most active and devoted members, found it necessary to remind the Association of, as one styled it, its "duplex title"—Literary and Historical.[73] Their complaints were not unfounded. Certainly it is difficult to find any achievement in the record of the Association for the cause of literature comparable to the sponsorship of the Historical Commission or the work on county history. Yet it is difficult to imagine any sort of a comparable project for literature. The secretaries of the Association have been acutely aware of this situation and have shown a willingness to cooperate with any member who would make a concrete suggestion for improvement. Unfortunately, when the ball has been tossed back to the critic there has usually been a great dearth of concrete suggestions.[74] Perhaps there is some validity in the idea that the best things one can do for a literary artist are: one, leave him alone, and two, buy his books. Fortunately the Association has not taken this attitude but, wisely recognizing those areas in which it is powerless to aid the literary artist, has abstained from getting in his way and has concentrated upon the areas in which its activity can be a genuine contribution.

Foremost among these has been the continued effort to offer the literary artist a commodity that he has always needed and not very often found in our American civilization—prestige. This

[72] *Proceedings*, twelfth session, 35.
[73] *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 10.
[74] A particularly good illustration of this criticism, the Association's feeling in the matter, and the inability on the part of the critics to make constructive suggestions occurs in an exchange of correspondence between secretary A. R. Newsome and Addison Hibbard. See Hibbard to Newsome, October 29, 1929; Newsome to Hibbard, November 13, 1929; and Hibbard to Newsome, November 18, 1929. Correspondence.

the Association has accomplished through an annual award for literary merit, highlighted at the annual sessions, presented by a distinguished citizen before an audience of distinguished citizens.

For all but thirteen years of its history, the Association has been able to present a trophy in annual recognition of outstanding literary achievement. The Patterson Cup was the first of these awards. In 1904 Mrs. J. Lindsay Patterson offered to present to the Association a gold, jeweled loving cup to be awarded annually, for a period of ten years, to the author of the best published work each year.[75] Mrs. Patterson designated the award as the William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup and set as conditions to the award that the author be a resident of North Carolina, that both prose and poetry be considered in the competition, and that a board of judges made up of college professors of English and history should determine the selection. Each year the winner's name was to be inscribed on the cup and he was to retain possession of it for that year. Mrs. Patterson stipulated that if anyone should win it three times, the cup would become his permanent possession. If at the end of ten years no one had won it three times, it was to continue to be awarded annually.[76] John Charles McNeill was the first winner in 1905 for his volume of poems, *Songs, Merry and Sad*.[77] By 1923, after seventeen years of service, all available space for inscribing the names had been filled and only Clarence Poe had won twice. The cup was then retired, taking its place in the Hall of History.[78]

After a lapse of six years, the Association took up the problem of replacement. A committee for this purpose was considered at the annual session in 1929[79] and appointed in 1930.[80] On August 1, 1930, Burnham S. Colburn, president of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, offered on behalf of the Society to institute a new award. This was the birth of the Mayflower Cup. The Society specified that the purpose of the award was to establish "a memorial to the passengers on the Mayflower" and "to stimulate interest in our own literature among the people

[75] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 24.
[76] *Minutes*, sixth session, 40.
[77] *Minutes*, sixth session, 40.
[78] Miss A. Fries to Mrs. J. L. Patterson, March 16, 1923, Correspondence.
[79] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 168-9.
[80] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (1931), 140.

of the State."[81] The award, a silver trophy, was an original creation of William Waldo Dodge, Jr., of Biltmore Forest.[82] The stipulations governing the award were similar to those for the Patterson Cup, with the additional attraction of providing for a presentation of a replica of the cup to remain the permanent possession of the winner each year. The Cup itself was to remain in the permanent possession of the Association.[83] The first award of the Mayflower Cup was made at the annual meeting in 1931. It went to M. C. S. Noble of Chapel Hill for his *A History of the Public Schools of North Carolina.*[84] By 1938 a feeling had grown up that something should be done to take the award out of "the academic cloisters where it has reposed for six out of the seven years in which it has been awarded." Accordingly, in that year the rules were changed to exclude scientific and technical works from the competition and two of the college faculty judges were replaced by two non-collegiate literary critics.[85] The cup was awarded to a Negro writer for the first time in 1943, when J. Saunders Redding of State Teachers College, Elizabeth City, won it for his *No Day of Triumph.*[86] Some indication of the proportions that the annual competition has reached can be gained from the fact that in 1949 forty-seven books were eligible for the award.[87]

This recognition for outstanding acheivement has been supplemented by the Association's taking official cognizance of all literary endeavor by North Carolinians every year in the form of a report. This attempt to afford both a recognition to the writers and an inventory of the state's literary accomplishments took the form of an annual bibliographical report of North Carolina writing from 1902 to 1934. When in 1935 the volume of annual literary production reached the point where its recital exceeded the limits of the patience of the members who were obliged to sit through it, the Association resorted to an annual book review of selected titles from the pens of North Carolinians.

This "inculcation of a literary spirit" was intended to apply not only to prospective writers of books but to readers as well.

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[81] Burnham S. Colburn to president and Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Association, August 1, 1930, Correspondence.
[82] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (1932), 111-112.
[83] Colburn to president and Executive Committee, August 1, 1930, Correspondence.
[84] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (1932), 111.
[85] Nell Battle Lewis, "Incidentally," in *News and Observer*, September 11, 1938.
[86] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXI (1944), 92.
[87] Secretary's Report, October 15, 1949, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

The Association has endeavored to promote interest in North Carolina literature by cooperation with other groups that share this interest. As early as 1909 the Executive Committee laid plans for cooperating with the State Women's Clubs in outlining courses of study and promoting interest in state literature.[88] In 1912 the Association resolved to appoint a delegate to meet with both the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly and the North Carolina Library Commission for the purpose of stimulating interest in North Carolina writing.[89] The Association even went on record in 1912 approving a resolution to establish literary clubs and to organize those already established through a general headquarters in Raleigh.[90] Apparently this project never progressed beyond the planning stage.

The Association's success in "inculcating a literary spirit" is difficult to measure. Certainly it would seem that its projects for arousing reader interest were ineffectual. On the other hand it is very probable that the annual awards have had a positive effect upon writers in North Carolina.

THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PUBLIC AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES

From the very beginning the Association has given its attention to this part of its program. The first Executive Committee meeting of the Association in 1901 laid plans for a movement to expand the state's library facilities. They urged the General Assembly to amend the existing state library law so as to permit the establishment of libraries in the public schools of rural districts.[91] The General Assembly complied with this request the same year, providing the necessary appropriation.[92] The Association has kept close watch over the administration of this Rural Library Act, as it came to be called. In 1903 it conducted a successful campaign for an enlargement of the provisions of the act.[93] When the legislature in 1931 proposed to cut out the annual appropriation for the rural libraries, the Association came to its defense.[94]

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[88] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 27, 1909, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917.
[89] *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 11.
[90] *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 10.
[91] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 8.
[92] *Public Laws of 1901*, ch. 662.
[93] Minutes, third session, MS. Minutes, 1900-1910.
[94] Executive Committee to Joint Appropriations Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, February 11, 1931, Correspondence.

While the Rural Library Act was its most direct contribution, the Association has lent its active support to the State Library Commission in a number of its projects, taking a special interest in the Commission's efforts to extend rural library facilities through "traveling" and "package" libraries.[95] The Association has also been an active champion of the movement for a thorough equipping of the State Library as a general and reference library for the state and a special reference bureau for the legislature.[96]

THE CORRECTION OF PRINTED MISREPRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE STATE

When the founders of the Association wrote this objective into the constitution in 1900, they were smoldering over repeated blows to their patriotic pride. They felt that North Carolina had been badly treated by historians. It is not the concern of this paper to discuss the justice or reasonableness of their feelings, other than to point out that they were in deadly earnest when they included this in their desired objectives. It was not added as an afterthought and no little attention was devoted to this matter in the first five years of the Association's existence. From the vantage point of the North Carolina of 1950, fully cognizant of its position as one of the most advanced states in the South, an objective view comes much easier and the Association can be awarded a much deserved plaudit for not allowing this business of righting historical wrongs to deflect its energies from the more constructive parts of its program. Indeed after 1905 there is hardly a mention of this objective. The one recorded instance when the Association went all out to fulfill its mission to correct misrepresentations about North Carolina occurred at the fifth annual meeting in 1904. At the meeting the year before, J. Bryan Grimes had called to the gathering's attention a speech given several weeks previously by one Judge George L. Christian before the Grand Camp of the Virginia Confederate Veterans. In this speech, declared Colonel Grimes, the judge had "surprised the country by questioning the claims made by North Carolina as to her record in the War for Southern Independence." Colonel

[95] *Proceedings*, eleventh session, 12; *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 9-10; minutes of thirty-eighth and fortieth sessions, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.
[96] *Proceedings*, thirteenth session, 9-10; *Proceedings*, eighteenth session, 11.

Grimes then called for the appointment of a committee to determine whether North Carolina was in truth "First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, Last at Appomattox."[97] The committee searched the records and reported at the 1904 meeting that, as a matter of fact, North Carolina *was* "First at Bethel, Farthest at Gettysburg and Chickamauga and Last at Appomattox." For the enlightenment of any future skeptics, the committee visited these battlefields and marked the position of the North Carolina troops with appropriate stone markers.[98]

TO ENGENDER AN INTELLIGENT, HEALTHY STATE PRIDE

In the early years of the Association, the constant injunction of addresses and the constant basis of appeals for support was that "a people who do not record their history shall soon cease to be capable of making history worth recording." This last enumerated purpose appears to have assumed the shape, in those early proceedings and addresses, of a statement of the end toward which the other purposes were working. A healthy state pride was to be nurtured upon an accurate knowledge of and realization of continuity with the past, supplied by a group who made it their business to collect and preserve the records of this past and to render them accessible to all. It was to be added to by the encouragement of literary values through libraries, literary groups, and the recognition of literary talent.

While these projects were working slowly but steadily among the people of North Carolina to produce a genuine appreciation of their inheritance upon which to build the future, the Association was also engaged in projects that aimed directly at stimulating a healthy state pride. Throughout most of its history, the Association has acted upon the belief that the erection of public monuments and the public celebration of important historical events is an effective stimulant for producing historical consciousness.

At the second annual meeting in 1901, General Julian S. Carr proposed that the Association sponsor the erection of a memorial

[97] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 22. Full reports by each member of the Committee are in *Literary and Historical Activities*, 416-499.
[98] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 23.

to Sir Walter Raleigh.[99] From this time until General Carr's death in 1924, the project had a series of enthusiastic promotions and periods of dormancy. From 1901 to 1907 it prospered, then, except for a momentary effort in 1914 to obtain Federal funds,[100] it lay dormant until 1922. That year upon the urging of General Carr the Association revived it and it persisted until 1924.[101] The life of the project seemed to run out with General Carr's own life; indeed, it had been largely through his efforts that the project had managed to survive at all.

Projects for the erection of other memorials have been more successful. In 1905 the Association began a campaign to have one of the two niches alloted to North Carolina in statuary Hall, Washington, D. C., filled with a statue of Zebulon Baird Vance.[102] Two years later the General Assembly, acting on a petition from the Association, made provision for the execution and placing of this statue.[103]

After a successful subscription campaign led by Archibald Henderson, the Association presented to the state in 1914 a bronze plaque as a memorial to William Sidney Porter, who under the pseudonym of O. Henry added to the literary laurels of North Carolina.[104]

In addition to sponsoring the erection of these memorials, the Association has lent its active assistance to the efforts of other North Carolina organizations engaged in similar undertakings. Among these may be noted: the Andrew Johnson Memorial in Raleigh, begun in 1915;[105] the project of the Virginia Dare Association to place a painting of the first baptism in America in the National Capitol in 1923;[106] and the project of the state's patriotic societies to fill the North Carolina Bay in the Cloister of the Colonies at Valley Forge, 1923-25.[107]

The public celebration of important historical events was begun just as early in the organization's history. The first of these

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[99] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 15.
[100] *Proceedings*, fifteenth session, 11.
[101] *Proceedings*, twenty-second session, 10-11. See also "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (1924), 72; II (1925), 112.
[102] *Minutes*, sixth session, 2.
[103] *Minutes*, eighth session, 21.
[104] *Proceedings*, fifteenth session, 13-14. See also *Proceedings*, fourteenth session, 13-14.
[105] *Proceedings*, sixteenth session, 10.
[106] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (1924), 73.
[107] "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, I (1924), 73. See also "Historical News," *North Carolina Historical Review*, III (1926), 159-160.

was undertaken in cooperation with Graham Daves and the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association in July, 1902. It was a very elaborate series of public exercises lasting over a period of several days in commemoration "of the landing of the first Anglo-Saxon colony in America" on Roanoke Island.[108] An even more elaborate celebration was planned for the tercentenary of the death of Sir Walter Raleigh. This celebration was scheduled for October 29, 1918, and was to be held contemporaneously with a similar celebration in England. There were even plans for the exchange of representatives of the two groups to participate in each other's exercises. Unfortunately an epidemic of influenza was then sweeping the country and reached its height in North Carolina just about the time the exercises were to be held. The most that was salvaged from the wreckage of its plans was an exchange of telegraphic greetings with the English celebrants and the publication of the addresses that had been prepared.[109]

Although the Association began a project for the marking of historic sites in 1910 and appointed a committee for that purpose,[110] its activities in this sphere until 1934 were limited to cooperation and encouragement of the work of the state patriotic societies and other organizations. In 1935 the climax of the Association's endeavors in this field came with the securing of an act by the General Assembly to provide state funds for the erection of markers at points of historic interest along the public highways. The act made the erection of markers the joint responsibility of the Department of Conservation and Development, the State Historical Commission, and the State Highway Commission. A group of historians from the several colleges of the state agreed to serve without compensation as a committee to designate points of historic interest to be marked and to pass upon inscriptions for the markers.[111] Since 1935 the state has undertaken a very intensive campaign to mark points of historic interest and as a result over 600 markers have been erected thus far.[112]

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[108] Moses, "The State Literary and Historical Association," 15, 17-20.

[109] *Proceedings* (no session, "Raleigh Tercentenary"), North Carolina Historical Commission, *Bulletin* 25, 1-146.

[110] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, November 27, 1909, MS. Minutes, 1900-1917, 65. For comment see *News and Observer*, March 19, 1910.

[111] *Public Laws of 1935*, ch. 197.

[112] A complete listing of these markers can be found in *Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers*, Raleigh, 1949 (a joint publication of The State Department of Archives and History and The Department of Conservation and Development).

The foregoing consideration of the achievements of the Association under the original objectives that it set for itself in 1900 and pursued until 1948 represents, of course, only those results of its labors that are measurable through the technique of historical research. What the organization has accomplished in the way of an inspirational character, in stimulating interest, in encouraging literary and historical endeavor and in arousing a state pride must remain largely conjecture. In contemplating its record, one might say that the "facts speak for themselves" but this has only limited validity. In many cases the facts do not speak loudly enough, and perhaps in a few instances they speak a bit more boisterously than they should.

To complete the record down to the present and incidentally to furnish a possible index of what the Association itself believes it has accomplished, some mention must be made of the changes in the objectives of the organization brought about by the new constitution in 1948. The new constitution was written by a committee under the chairmanship of Roger P. Marshall appointed at an Executive Committee meeting on April 12, 1948,[113] and adopted by the Association at the forty-eighth annual session. The new purposes are as follows:

To foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of North Carolina.

To encourage productive literary activity within the State, and to assist in bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers.

To promote broad and varied activity in the field of state and local history.

To serve as a medium for the constructive exchange of ideas among persons concerned for the permanent well-being of North Carolina.

To cooperate, so far as may be practicable, with other organizations in North Carolina whose purposes are similar to the purposes of this Association.[114]

The most significant thing about these new purposes is their more general character. The framers of the 1900 constitution had a number of very definite things in mind when they wrote

[113] Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, April 12, 1948, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948. The record of the adoption is in minutes of forty-eighth session, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

[114] The full text of the constitution may be found in the report of the committee appointed to draft it given at an Executive Committee Meeting, December 3, 1948, MS. Minutes, 1938-1948.

down their objectives. The framers of the 1948 constitution, surveying the cultural landscape of North Carolina, have not seen fit to define their field of endeavor with any degree of particularity. Rather than indicating complacency, this points up the fact that remarkable changes have come about in the last fifty years—changes that have brought not only a progress that has wiped out some of the ills that the men of 1900 sought to remedy but that has also brought a complexity that makes it virtually impossible to single out particular areas of attack. Thus the new objectives were purposely made very broad and general to give the Association a scope sufficient to enable it to act in a wide range of specific undertakings.[115]

If these changes in its objectives can be interpreted beyond this practical purpose, they would seem to indicate four distinct reactions to its history on the part of the Association: (1) That the organization has accomplished a number of its original purposes. Public and school libraries have been created and constantly improved. Historical collections have been well established and provisions made to preserve them permanently and to make them available to the public. A historical museum has been established and has grown greatly. True, there is no end to these projects, which do and should continue to demand attention. But special organizations have been created by the state, some at the Association's urging, to direct their progress. The Association can now best serve these projects by simply cooperating with the directing agencies. Hence the new purpose of "cooperation with other organizations" replaces several of the old specific objectives.
(2) That the passage of time has wrought a change in the outlook of the Association. Misrepresentations about the state no longer occupy the importance in 1948 that they did in 1900. "State pride" has remained an objective but the phrase has given way to "concern for the permanent well-being of North Carolina." This too is representative of the change in the trend of thought.
(3) That some of the original objectives of the Association continue to be worthy goals to work toward. To foster an interest in the literature and history of North Carolina is, of course, a

[115] There was of course the added realization that specific objectives do not ordinarily belong in a constitution.

general enough objective to cover all past and future activities of the Association. But where other purposes have been specified the 1948 constitution has stated them in conformity with the major trends that the Association's projects have evolved in its forty-eight years of experience. The provisions for bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers and the promotion of local history are cases in point, deriving their inspiration from the long established practice of the annual literary award and the county history movement respectively.

It has been only two years since the Association has functioned under its new set of objectives—too early perhaps to gauge the outcome of new projects or to begin to set up a new balance sheet. Yet there is already an indication of the new life that the Association had in mind when it expanded its scope. A vigorous campaign has been launched for the erection by the state of an archives-museum center in Raleigh to house several of the cultural organizations in the state and provide a place for the preservation and exhibition of their collections. The Association thrives in the midst of a vastly different North Carolina, embarking on the pursuit of its new objectives under tremendously improved facilities, under a sunnier cultural climate and with fifty years of experience behind it. The founders of the Association complained bitterly of an enemy that still defies extermination—indifference. If it has done nothing else, this "balance sheet" proves that progress can be made against this enemy. It remains for the Association to practice what it has preached for half a century and look into its own history for inspiration to build a better future.

APPENDIX

I. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript:

Papers of The State Literary and Historical Association, 1900-1949, in State Department Archives and History, Raleigh.

Consisting of:

Minute Book 1900-1910. 1 vol.

Minute Book 1900-1917. 1 vol.

Minutes 1938-1948. (unbound) 1 box.

Correspondence, 34 boxes covering period 1900-1949.

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Printed:

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North Carolina Historical Review, vols. I-XXVII (1924-1950) only printed source except the newspapers for the Association's proceedings from 1923 to date.

Programs of The State Literary and Historical Association, the combined resources of the Association's files and the University of North Carolina Library yield the following: 1900-1909, 1913-1917, 1919, 1922, 1924, 1926-1949.

News and Observer (Raleigh), 1900, 1910, 1938.

Fayetteville Observer, 1900.

Charlotte Daily Observer, 1900.

New Bern Daily Journal, 1900.

All the above newspapers in University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

North Carolina Day (25 unnumbered pamphlets issued by the Superintendent of Public Instruction), Raleigh, 1901-1925.

State School Facts, Sept. 15, 1927 (a periodical issued semi-monthly by the Superintendent of Public Instruction), Raleigh.

Public Laws of North Carolina, 1901, 1903, 1905, 1935.

II. PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

	Presidents	*Secretaries*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex J. Feild D. H. Hill*
1901-1903	Henry G. Connor	Alex J. Feild George S. Fraps
1903	William L. Poteat	Clarence Poe
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden**	Clarence Poe
1907	A. M. Scales	
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe
1909-1911	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe
1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe
1912-1913	William P. Few	R. D. W. Connor
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor
1914-1915	Clarence Poe	R. D. W. Connor
1915-1916	Howard E. Rondthaler	R. D. W. Connor
1916-1917	H. A. London	R. D. W. Connor
1917-1919	James Sprunt	R. D. W. Connor
1919-1920	J. G. deR. Hamilton	R. D. W. Connor
1920-1921	D. H. Hill	R. B. House
1921-1922	William K. Boyd	R. B. House
1922-1923	Adelaide L. Fries	R. B. House
1923-1924	W. C. Jackson	R. B. House
1924-1925	Frederick H. Koch	R. B. House
1925-1926	Thomas M. Pittman	R. B. House
1926-1927	Josephus Daniels	A. R. Newsome
1927-1928	James Boyd	A. R. Newsome
1928-1929	H. M. Wagstaff	A. R. Newsome
1929-1930	Horace Kephart	A. R. Newsome
1930-1931	Bishop Joseph Blount Cheshire	A. R. Newsome
1931-1932	George W. Paschal	A. R. Newsome
1932-1933	J. Fred Rippy	A. R. Newsome
1933-1934	Frank P. Graham	A. R. Newsome
1934-1935	Phillips Russell	A. R. Newsome
1935-1936	William T. Polk	Christopher Crittenden
1936-1937	William T. Laprade	Christopher Crittenden
1937-1938	Jonathan Daniels	Christopher Crittenden
1938-1939	A. R. Newsome	Christopher Crittenden
1939-1940	Struthers Burt	Christopher Crittenden
1940-1941	W. T. Couch	Christopher Crittenden

* Hill was Secretary-Treasurer (resigned 1901) and Feild was Corresponding Secretary.
** Died in office.

1941-1942	Hubert A. Royster	Christopher Crittenden
1942-1943	Paul Green	Christopher Crittenden
1943-1944	Hubert M. Poteat	Christopher Crittenden
1944-1945	Aubrey L. Brooks	Christopher Crittenden
1945-1946	Robert B. House	Christopher Crittenden
1946-1947	Carlyle Campbell	Christopher Crittenden
1947-1948	Alice M. Baldwin	Christopher Crittenden
1948-1949	W. T. Bost	Christopher Crittenden
1949-1950	Charles S. Sydnor	Christopher Crittenden

III. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1900

NAME

This Association shall be called The State Literary and Historical Association.

PURPOSES

The purposes of this Association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina, and the engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generation.

OFFICERS

The officers of this Association shall be a President and three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the Association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the Executive Committee until the meeting of the Association occurring next thereafter.

The duties of the President shall be to preside over all the meetings of the Association, to appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and to look after the general interest of the Association. In case of the death or resignation of the President, his successor shall be chosen from among the Vice-Presidents by the Executive Committee to fill the unexpired term. In the absence of the President, at any meeting, the Vice-President who may be selected by the Association shall preside.

The Secretary and Treasurer shall keep the books and the funds of the Association, and shall pay out money only upon the order of the Executive Committee and the warrant of its chairman and the President.

The Corresponding Secretary shall attend to the correspondence of the Association, and act under the general direction of the

Executive Committee, and, for cause, he may be removed by the Executive Committee, in its discretion.

COMMITTEES

The permanent standing committees of the Association shall be:

I. An Executive Committee, consisting of five members and the officers of the Association, who shall be *ex officio* members, except the Corresponding Secretary, any three of whom and an *ex officio* member shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The duties of this committee shall be to make programmes and arrangements for all meetings of the Association, to manage its business matters, to receive and acknowledge such donations in money, or its equivalent, as may be offered, and to endeavor specially to create a permanent fund of endowment by recommendation of its objects to our philanthropic citizens of means, to receive all reports of officers made when the Association is not in session, to make a report of its own actions and the affairs of the Association at the meetings thereof, and to perform the other duties herein prescribed for it.

This committee shall have power to determine the compensation of any paid officer or servant of the Association it may be necessary to employ, subject to the general supervision of the Association.

II. A committee on Literature and History, consisting of twelve members, to be appointed by the President, and such other members of the Association as they shall associate with themselves.

It shall be their duty to collect valuable material connected with the history of North Carolina and such of its literature as, in their judgement, is worthy to be preserved. They shall endeavor to secure the cooperation of local committees in the cities and towns of the State, and may appoint sub-committees wherever the same may be necessary for the prosecution of their work in any locality.

They shall examine and recommend for publication such of the manuscripts submitted to them as may be thought worthy, and they may require as a condition precedent to their taking any manuscript into consideration that its author first secure the endorsement of some local committee, and they shall have charge of any printing or publication ordered or authorized by the Association.

III. A committee on Libraries, consisting of twelve members, to be appointed by the President.

It shall be their duty to ascertain and report to the Association, as far as may be practicable, the number and condition of the public and school libraries in the State, and to devise and suggest plans for their establishment and promotion.

It shall be their special duty to suggest, promote, and encourage free libraries in connection with schools and factories.

This committee shall have power to associate with itself other members of the Association, and to appoint such sub-committees as it may deem requisite for its work in any locality.

IV. A committee on Membership and Local Organizations, consisting of twelve members.

It shall be their duty to find out by correspondence and otherwise persons in all parts of the State who are in sympathy with the objects of the Association and to bring the same to their attention as far as may be practicable. They shall promote and encourage local literary and historical organizations and endeavor to secure their cooperation with this Association by representation at its meetings and otherwise.

All applications for membership shall be made through this committee, and no person shall be elected, after the first meeting, except upon their recommendation.

V. A committee on an Historical Museum, consisting of seven members, to be appointed by the President, with power to associate with itself such other members of the Association as are interested in its special work.

It shall be the duty of this committee, by correspondence or otherwise, to collect and accept for the Association, and place in a museum or place of safe-keeping and exhibition, all valuable historical relics and original documents which may be donated or collected, and to endeavor to discover and collect them wherever they may be found: *Provided*, that the Historical Department of the State Museum, with the concurrence of its proper officers, be selected as the permanent place of deposit and safe-keeping for the Association.

MEMBERSHIP

Any white resident of the State, or North Carolinian residing out of the State, who subscribes to the purposes of the Association, is eligible to membership and may be elected by the Association, or by the Executive Committee when it is not in session, upon the recommendation of the Committee on Membership.

FEES

The initiation fee and the annual dues of each member of the Association shall be one dollar, to be paid to the Secretary and Treasurer.

MEETINGS

There shall be one regular general meeting in each year, the time and place thereof to be determined by the Executive Committee.*

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* This constitution was adopted at the first annual session of the Association, Raleigh, October 28, 1900.

IV. THE REVISED CONSTITUTION OF 1922

NAME

This Association shall be called the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina.

PURPOSES

The purposes of this association shall be the collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of our State literature and history; the encouragement of public and school libraries; the establishment of an historical museum; the inculcation of a literary spirit among our people; the correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and the engendering of a healthy State pride among the rising generation.

OFFICERS

The officers of the association shall be a president, first, second, and third vice-presidents, and a secretary, whose terms of office shall be for one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. They shall be elected by the association at its annual meetings, except that vacancies in any office may be filled by the executive committee until the meeting of the association next thereafter.

The president shall preside over all the meetings of the association, and appoint all members of committees, except where it is otherwise provided, and look after the general interest of the association. In case of the death or resignation of the president, his successor shall be selected by the executive committee from the vice-presidents.

The secretary shall be the administrative officer of the association. He shall keep the books and funds, receive money for the association, and disburse it for purposes authorized by the executive committee. He shall strive by all practical means to increase the membership and influence of the association.

COMMITTEES

There shall be an executive committee, composed of the president, the secretary, and six others, two of whom shall be appointed each year by the incoming president, to serve three years: *Provided,* that at the annual session, 1922, four members shall be elected by the association, as follows: two members to serve one year, and two to serve two years. The president, secretary, and any other three members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

The executive committee shall make programs and arrangements for all meetings of the association, supervise all business matters, receive all reports of officers, endeavor especially to secure from philanthropic citizens donations toward a permanent fund of endowment, and in general promote the purpose

of the association. The executive committee shall be subject to the general supervision of the association.

There shall be such other committees appointed by the president to serve during his term of office for such time and such purposes as he shall see fit.

MEMBERSHIP

All persons interested in its purposes and desiring to have a part in promoting them are eligible to membership in the association. They will duly be enrolled upon the receipt of the annual membership fee.

FEES

The annual membership fee shall be one dollar, to be paid to the secretary.

MEETINGS

There shall be one regular annual meeting, the time and place of which shall be determined by the executive committee. Other meetings may be arranged by the executive committee.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES

Auxiliary societies may be organized, with the advice of, and under the supervision of, the executive committee.[1]

V. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1948

ARTICLE I.—NAME AND PURPOSES

Section 1. This Association shall be called *The State Literary and Historical Association.*

Section 2. The purposes of this Association shall be as follows:

(1) To foster the interest of our people in the literature and history of North Carolina.

(2) To encourage productive literary activity within the State, and to assist in bringing to public attention meritorious works by North Carolina writers.

(3) To promote broad and varied activity in the field of state and local history.

(4) To serve as a medium for the constructive exchange of ideas among persons concerned for the permanent well-being of North Carolina.

(5) To cooperate, so far as may be practicable, with other organizations in North Carolina whose purposes are similar to the purposes of this Association.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer. Of the President and the three Vice-Presidents, no two shall be residents of the same county.

[1] This constitution was adopted by the Association at the twenty-second annual session, Raleigh, December 8, 1922.

Section 2. Officers shall be elected by the Association at its annual meetings for a term of one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 3. Any vacancy in office may be filled by the Executive Committee until the meeting of the Association next thereafter. In the event of the death or resignation of the President, his successor to serve during the unexpired term shall be chosen by the Executive Committee from among the Vice-Presidents. In the absence of the President at any meeting, the Vice-President who may be designated by the Association shall preside.

Section 4. The duties of the President shall be:

(1) To preside over all meetings of the Association.

(2) To appoint all committees, except where it is otherwise provided.

(3) To maintain the general interest of the Association, and to enlist the counsel and support of the membership in doing so.

(4) To lead in keeping constantly before the membership the stated purposes of the Association, and in formulating or furthering a program through which those purposes may be translated into effective activity both during and after his term of office.

Section 5. The Vice-Presidents shall be expected to attend meetings of the Executive Committee, and to serve when called upon in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 above.

Section 6. Acting under the general direction of the Executive Committee, the Secretary-Treasurer shall attend to the correspondence, and have charge of the funds and records of the Association. He shall be that officer chiefly responsible for promoting the free interchange of communication between membership and Executive Committee, and for submitting to the members, by mail or at meetings, timely reports upon matters of common interest.

ARTICLE III—COMMITTEES

Section 1. A permanent standing committee shall be the Executive Committee. This committee shall consist of six elected members, as prescribed in Section 2, below, and the officers of the Association.

Section 2. Two members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by the Association each year, for a term of three years. As of December 2, 1948, two members are serving the term to expire December 31, 1948; two members are serving the term to expire December 31, 1949; and two members are serving the term to expire December 31, 1950.

Section 3. Any six members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 4. (1) The Executive Committee shall supervise the business matters of the Association, and shall have power to de-

termine the compensation of any person employed by the Association. (2) This committee shall receive and acknowledge such gifts in money or its equivalent as may be offered; and shall especially endeavor to create and augment a permanent endowment for the more effectual promotion of the purposes of the Association. (3) The Executive Committee shall make plans and arrangements for all meetings of the Association; shall receive reports of officers when the Association is not in session; and shall make reports of its own at meetings of the Association. (4) Applications for membership shall be made to this committee, and persons shall be elected to membership only by its vote.

Section 5. A nominating committee of five members shall be elected at each annual business meeting. This committee shall nominate candidates for office and for membership on the Executive Committee, to be voted upon at the annual business meeting in the following year.

Section 6. An auditing committee of three members shall be appointed each year to audit the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 7. The Executive Committee is empowered to authorize other committees as needs for them may arise.

ARTICLE IV—MEMBERSHIP, DUES, MEETINGS

Section 1. Any person who subscribes to the purposes of the Association is eligible to membership, and may be admitted to membership by vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. Annual dues of each member of the Association shall be two dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 3. (1) There shall be one regular general meeting in each year. (2) Other meetings may be called by the Executive Committee in its discretion.

Section 4. A quorum for the transaction of business shall be those present and voting who have paid their dues for the current fiscal year.

ARTICLE V—CONSTITUTION: ADOPTION AND AMENDMENTS

Section 1. This constitution, having been approved by the Executive Committee, shall become effective upon approval by three-fourths of the members voting.

Section 2. For adoption of an amendment, approval of three-fourths of the members voting shall be required.

Section 3. Beginning with 1952, the constitution shall be published and sent to the members every fourth year, along with the annual published list of the Association membership.*

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* This constitution was adopted by the Association at the forty-eighth annual session, Raleigh, December 3, 1948.

VI. THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson.

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup, upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of the award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, hove won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture an Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session, the Association further provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communication regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

VII. AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

1905 John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as *Songs, Merry and Sad.*
1906 Edwin Mims, for *Life of Sidney Lanier.*
1907 Kemp Plummer Battle, for *History of the University of North Carolina.*
1908 Samuel A'Court Ashe, for *History of North Carolina.*
1909 Clarence Poe, for *A Southerner in Europe.*
1910 R. D. W. Connor, for *Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History.*
1911 Archibald Henderson, for *George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works.*
1912 Clarence Poe, for *Where Half the World is Waking Up.*
1913 Horace Kephart, for *Our Southern Highlanders.*
1914 J. G. deR. Hamilton, for *Reconstruction in North Carolina.*
1915 William Louis Poteat, for *The New Peace.*
1916 No award.
1917 Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, for *The Cycle's Rim.*
1918 No award.
1919 No award.
1920 Miss Winifred Kirkland, for *The New Death.*
1921 No award.
1922 Josephus Daniels, for *Our Navy at War.*

VIII. THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY CUP

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina.

As a memorial to the passengers on the Mayflower who landed at Plymouth Rock in the State of Massachusetts in the year 1620, and for the purpose of stimulating among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina desires to present to your Association a cup, together with a small replica, and to present each succeeding year another replica to be used by you as suggested in the following stipulations:

1. The cup will be known as the MAYFLOWER SOCIETY CUP. It will remain in the permanent possession of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association and be kept in a suitable place in the Hall of History at Raleigh.

2. The replica will be given, one each calendar year, to the resident of the State of North Carolina who, during the preceding twelve months ending November 1st, shall have published an original work of outstanding excellence, which in the opinion of the Board of Award, hereinafter specified, shall appear to have been the most deserving of recognition. The work may be either prose or poetry and will be judged without regard for length. In any year when the best work appears, in the judgment of the Board of Award, not to be worthy of recognition, no award will be made.

3. At the time of the award, the name of the author and the name of the work, together with the year of date, shall be engraved upon the cup for permanent record and upon the replica which shall then be presented to the author.

4. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association as Chairman, and the heads of the Departments of English and History at the University of North Carolina and Duke University.

5. The publication of a member of the Board of Award will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.[1]

Revision of the Conditions of Award.

The beginning of the award year was changed in 1933 from November 1 to September 1.[2]

In 1934 section 4 was revised to read: "The Board of Award each year shall consist of the President of the State Literary and Historical Association as chairman and the heads of the departments of English and History at two of the following institutions: University of North Carolina, Duke University, State College of A. and E., Wake Forest College, Davidson College, and the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. The Secretary of the Association shall arrange a schedule of rotation so that the two members from each institution shall serve for overlapping terms of two years.[3]

Section 4 was again changed in 1938 to read as follows: "The Board of Award shall consist of five persons to include the President of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, as chairman, the heads of the departments of English and History at one of the colleges enumerated below, and two literary critics from any one city in North Carolina. The Board of Award to be chosen each year by the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina:

Davidson College	University of North Carolina
Duke University	Wake Forest College
State College	Woman's College of the University of North Carolina"

[1] Burnham S. Colburn to the president and Executive Committee of the Association, August 1, 1930.
[2] A. R. Newsome to Board of Award, September 12, 1933.
[3] A. R. Newsome to Burnham S. Colburn, October 6, 1934.

At the same time the following stipulation was inserted before the last sentence in section 2: "Technical and scientific works are ineligible."[4]

In 1939 section 5 was made to read: "In case the publication of a member of the Board of Award shall be eligible for the competition, that member shall not serve, and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina and the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association shall select a substitute."

A new regulation was inserted as section 3 in 1941, while sections 3, 4, and 5 were changed to 4, 5, and 6 respectively. The new regulation follows: "To be eligible for the award, a person shall have maintained either legal residence or actual physical residence, or a combination of both, in the State of North Carolina for the three years immediately preceding the close of the contest period."

With these amendments in force, the Conditions of Award now read as follows:

As a memorial to the passengers on the Mayflower who landed at Plymouth Rock in the State of Massachusetts in the year 1620, and for the purpose of stimulating among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, the Society of the Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina has presented the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina a cup, together with a small replica, and presents each succeeding year another replica, to be used under the following stipulations.

1. The cup will be known as "The Mayflower Society Cup." It will remain in the permanent possession of the State Literary and Historical Association and be kept in a suitable place in the Hall of History at Raleigh.

2. The replica will be given, one each year, to the resident of State of North Carolina who, during the preceding twelve months ending August 31, shall have published an original work of outstanding excellence which, in the opinion of the Board of Award, hereinafter specified, shall appear to be the most deserving of recognition. The work may be either prose or poetry, and will be judged without regard to length. Technical and scientific works are ineligible. In any year when the best work appears, in the judgment of the Board of Award, not to be worthy of recognition, no award will be made.

3. To be eligible for the award, a person shall have maintained either legal residence or actual physical residence, or a combination of both, in the State of North Carolina for the three years immediately preceding the close of the contest period.

4. At the time of the award, the name of the author and the name of the work, together with the year of date, shall be en-

[4] Society of Mayflower Descendents in the State of North Carolina to the president and Executive Committee of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, May 20, 1938.

graved upon the cup for the permanent record, and upon the replica which shall then be presented to the author.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of five persons to include the President of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, the heads of the departments of English and History at one of the following Colleges enumerated below, and two literary critics chosen from one city in North Carolina. The Board of Award is to be chosen each year by the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina.

6. In the event the publication of a member of the Board of Award shall be eligible for the competition, that member shall not serve, and the Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina and the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association shall select a substitute.

IX. AWARDS OF THE MAYFLOWER SOCIETY CUP

1931 M. C. S. Noble, for *History of the Public Schools in North Carolina.*
1932 Archibald Henderson, for *Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet.*
1933 Rupert P. Vance, for *Human Geography of the South.*
1934 Erich W. Zimmerman, for *World Resources and Industries.*
1935 James Boyd, for *Roll River.*
1936 Mitchell B. Garrett, for *The Estates General of 1789.*
1937 Richard H. Shryock, for *The Development of Modern Medicine.*
1938 Jonathan Daniels, for *A Southerner Discovers the South.*
1939 Bernice Kelly Harris, for *Purslane.*
1940 David L. Cohn, for *The Good Old Days.*
1941 Wilbur J. Cash, for *The Mind of the South.*
1942 Elbert Russell, for *The History of Quakerism.*
1943 J. Saunders Redding, for *No Day of Triumph.*
1944 Adelaide L. Fries, for *The Road to Salem.*
1945 Josephus Daniels, for *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 1910-1917.*
1946 Josephina Niggli, for *Mexican Village.*
1947 Robert E. Coker, for *The Great Wide Sea.*
1948 Charles S. Sydnor, for *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848.*
1949 Phillips Russell, for *The Woman Who Rang the Bell.*
1950 Max Steele, for *Debby.*

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS FOR 1950

By Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert

I bring you no profound treatment of the literary life and the level of culture in North Carolina at mid-century, no close analysis of the principles which guide North Carolina writers, no infallible index to thought, but rather a brief survey of what North Carolina writers have done during the year. My point of view is that of the general reader—rather more general than usual—and not that of the professional critic.

While I read these books with increasing interest, for I was seeking all the while for the one which would outshine myriads though bright and so receive the award, I experienced the pleasures of serendipity; that is, I sought for something and found something else. There appeared ten books or so which I felt I could describe without great exaggeration as being excellent. I will comment briefly on them. On my first round through these books, I endeavored to describe them all; but the further I went, the more it seemed to me that my talk bore more than a passing resemblance to the progress of a bookmobile careening down a narrow road at the rate of one book a minute. Therefore, I have amended my plan, lined up these books according to library classification and will proceed down the Carolina shelf for 1950, commenting on some and doing little more than calling the roll on others.

First these few observations:

Scientific and technical works are excluded from the contest, so that the total output of North Carolina is not represented; yet one trend does appear—that toward biographical writing. Of course within the past ten or twenty years there has been a great resurgence of interest in biography on the part of author and reader; yet the fact that at least eleven out of forty-two books of the year are biographical reflects more than the usual biographical interest. Last year North Carolina writers discovered the tobacco industry, this year the great men.

It is interesting to observe that North Carolina publishers and printers have collaborated on twenty-two of these books; five were published at Chapel Hill and the other seventeen here and

there over the state, rarely more than two from the same press. This interest within the state is balanced by the support given North Carolina scholarly works by national foundations. Frances Acomb held a fellowship from the American Association of University Women. Edward Guerrant, John Hallowell, Harriet Herring, and Chalmers G. Davidson had grants made jointly by the Carnegie Corporation and their own institutions. Chalmers Davidson also had assistance from the Medical Association of South Carolina; and Stuart Noblin was aided by *The Progressive Farmer,* whose founder he made the subject of his biography. The most magnificently supported work was *Debby.* Its author, Max Steele, held a fellowship awarded by the Eugene F. Saxton Memorial Trust while he was writing it and won the Harpers $10,000 prize with it.

Now for the bookshelf—beginning with religion, the 200's. Two of these books are by members of the faculty of the Divinity School at Duke, *A Firm Faith for Today* by Harold Bosley and *Preaching in the Great Tradition* by Ray C. Petry. *Parables of Crisis* is by Edwin McNeill Poteat, well-known in Raleigh, and *Rise Up and Walk* by Percy E. Lindley, Dean of High Point College for many years. Many sections of these books had their origins in lectures, addresses, sermons, or inspirational talks, and the reader feels the presence of the speaker: Dr. Poteat tosses questions at his audience rather frequently; even Dr. Petry, dealing with the preaching of the Middle Ages, gives way to a little modern story—the four-year-old who wouldn't go down to the missionary tea because as she told Grandmother, "The preacher is there and you know I just can't take a chance of going down there and getting baptized." Of course the professor balances this incident immediately with a quotation from the venerable Bede to the effect that the teacher ought sometimes to preach and sometimes attend to his own concerns. Dr. Lindley uses illustration upon illustration and story upon story to prove his points, the principal one being that life offers great opportunity to each young person, who needs only to rise up and walk the right paths to make his life happy and successful.

To give the briefest suggestion of the content of the others: Dr. Bosley examines each article in the creed, affirming modern

man's faith in God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible, the Church, man, forgiveness of sin, reconciliation, the Kingdom of God, salvation, and immortality. The book is written in a clear, transparent style; each word says what it is intended to say; and through the sentences, which seem effortless, speaks the deeply sincere, the deeply thoughtful man who is here setting down the principles of his faith. I commend to you the last chapter, "We Believe in Immortality."

Dr. Petry in his book, *Preaching in the Great Tradition,* brings in the great preachers of the Middle Ages and lets them preach (never at any great length), tell off the doubters or their fellow churchmen, and discuss their problems. Dr. Petry wears his learning lightly; he knows his preachers so well that he doesn't have to treat them solemnly—after all they are but older members of the same conference or synod. It is pleasant to see Saint Francis, Wulfstan, De Vitry, Bernard of Clairvaux face to face rather than through a stained glass window darkly. Dr. Petry has a nice turn of phrase: "So Meister Eckhart dropped people's jaws and dried up their tongues so they forgot to misunderstand what he meant."

Dr. Poteat in his *Parables of Crisis* discusses sixteen of the last parables of Jesus, stressing the tensions of the time in which they were spoken and the comparable tensions of today. The emphasis is often skeptical; for example, the Prodical Son gets a prodical brother who "suffers the dead weight of morose self-pity" and a prodigal father "who suffers the spiritual disabilities of moral shallowness. He indulged in an emotional spree when his boy came home. No wonder, who wouldn't. But it could easily have had a deleterious effect on both the sons. The elder son's sense of estrangement from the family was apparently exacerbated by it."

Dr. Poteat makes many such observations: shrewd, interesting, sound psychologically, worded with a nice adjustment of sound and sense, enlivened by the word or the imagination that sparkles; but the ancient simplicity has departed.

The 300's are represented by an excellent text, a series of lectures, and an extended case history—all on important subjects.

The text, *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought,* was

written by Dr. John H. Hallowell of Duke and was done not only for students who have difficulty in escaping textbook English but also for their elders, who can and do. It is clear, comprehensive, and interesting. If the word *challenging* were not so well worn, I'd use it. There is a theory behind it that makes it differ from most volumes on political theory. Dr. Hallowell believes "that there is both an intimate and logically necessary connection between one's metaphysical and theological presuppositions and his political theory," and he shows that connection.

The lectures are entitled *Area and Administration* and deal with the problems of government in relation to their geographical setting. Dr. Fesler opens a great field for study in these lectures and suggests that area and function will be reciprocally adjusted not by a single solution but by many and that the adjustment is a continuous process.

Harriet Herring has made a thorough investigation of the sale of mill villages, interviewing hundreds of people in the process. The method gives validity to her book, *The Passing of the Mill Village*. An appendix explains the method; another lists forty-one corporations which have already sold their mill villages and from whom Miss Herring obtained information. I am no sociologist, but even so untechnical a reader as I am can see the importance of this work in relation to southern life and industry.

We'll take down three of the books of poetry and try their quality: Helen Bevington's book *Nineteen Million Elephants* has a wider range than any of the others: fine ironies, clever and unexpected literary allusions to delight the pedant's heart wrapped in the teacher's hide, expert poetry of nature, of childhood, of travel by air—all done in the modern idiom. As Helen Bevington says in the poem, "Words are Anybody's," "Anything I say belongs to me." How right she is! I want to read two poems, "Return from Summer," which illustrates the Bevington manner as usually seen, and "Refugee 1944," which shows a totally different technique use, that of implying profound meaning with a few closely guarded, well-trimmed words.

RETURN FROM SUMMER

Like Thoreau, I hate the sound
Of my own footsteps.
He would travel
The grass, the woods, the leafy ground,
Unsettled by the grit of gravel,
Deserting pebbled roads for fear
Of any scuffle he might hear.

Infinities of goldenrod
And huckleberry
Kept him free
Of needless racket where he trod,
And, in the soft upholstery
Of moss, of pine straw, as he went
The quiet was magnificent.

And since the summer fields are wide
And carpeted
Where I have been,
Well-padded is the countryside
To make an expedition in,
I hate to walk this city street,
Accompanied always by my feet.

REFUGEE, 1944

So lately has he come, there lies
About his guarded tale surprise
That words are speakable, that he
May try them. Even openly.

And of the world where he has been,
His thought is cautious still, and thin,
Lest to his listeners it give
Precision to the narrative.

Yet is his meaning never blurred
By loss, the canceling of a word,
When to his listeners the place
Is too apparent in his face.

Two other books of verse are good: Andrew Hewitt's *Traveler to April* and Merle Price's *The Heart Has Its Daybreak.* Andrew Hewitt's themes are the small melancholy pleasures in nature, the thin boundaries that divide this world and the world of spectres, the shortness of time. There is a twilight atmosphere in his poems, and winter is always coming on, for April is still far,

far ahead. Nearly all are done with the light and delicate touch shown in this one entitled "Evening Bell."

EVENING BELL

It is a heavy-tongued bell
With neither faint nor swell
Nor tremble, but that is well.

The bell that strikes one tone
Has a story of its own
It tells to me, alive and alone:

In the sad and grey churchyard
By the yew, under the sward
Every man is sleeping hard.

Merle Price writes of love. It is easy to compare her best poems with Emily Dickinson's in subject and with Sara Teasdale's in form; yet perhaps the most valid comparison is simply that her accents, like theirs, are valid, and nearly all that she writes is poetry. Both Andrew Hewitt and Merle Price write in a more conventional manner than Helen Bevington does.

MY TRUE LOVE

My halo is slightly tilted.
Quite rakish, I'll admit,
For I've just kissed my own true love
And that's the cause of it.

Considering present fashions,
I'm dressed with quite a flair;
There's dew-drops for my ear-rings,
Star bangles for my hair.

Beyond a casual incidence
My face is shining, truly,
For I've just been with my true love.
My heart is most unruly.

If my radiance should blind you,
Admit you'd like to be
In the wild and tender atmosphere
Of my true love and me.

Russell Dicks in *My Faith Looks Up* sometimes catches the beautiful rhythms of the King James Version in his poems. Barbara (Mrs. Archibald) Henderson includes an excellent son-

net "Calling All Stations" in her collection, *Wars and Rumors of War*. The volumes, *A Nightingale Singing, Zither of Many Strings,* and *Street Lights,* are not what you would call selected poetry. There are lines as good as "We'll pluck no more the bittersweet nor asters in the fall" and as bad as

> Your presence is electric, uncanny,
> Psychic, charming, obtrusive, masculine
>
> I know when I'm mad I'm a dreadful sight,
> But I've got to stand up for what I think is right.

This line would have delighted Pope, for it has twelve, not ten, low "words that creep in one dull line." As you may judge, these are casual writings, but on the whole they are not without their appeal, especially to those acquainted with the author. The same is true of Mr. Cline's poetry, *The Heights of Home,* most of which has appeared in his Sunday church bulletins in Carthage.

From the 800's we move to the 900's—the histories. Seven titles are listed; some are books, some booklets—some written by practicing historians, some not. Those by historians are *Anglophobia in France, 1763-1789,* by Frances Acomb, assistant professor of history at Duke; *Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy* by Edward O. Guerrant, associate professor of international relations at Davidson; and *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943* by David Leroy Corbitt, of the State Department of Archives and History. All are important books, the first because it confirms a long suspected fact that French thought in the age of revolution was strongly influenced by English liberalism. Incidentally, to her exact and exhaustive research Miss Acomb has added the grace of a fine prose style so clear and disciplined that the eighteenth century would be happy to claim it. The second book performs a fine service for students of Latin American policy, as Dr. Guerrant gathers and clarifies the vast amount of material bearing on Roosevelt's good neighbor policy. The third, Mr. Corbitt's book, straightens out the tangled history of the formation of North Carolina counties, once and for all. He sets the 116 counties which have existed in alphabetical order and deals with each by a formula which nearly always begins thus: "Wake was formed in 1770 from Johnston, Cumber-

land and Orange. The act was to become effective March 12, 1771. It was named in honor of Margaret Wake, wife of William Tryon." The appendix reprints documents bearing on organization and a good series of maps illustrates the boundaries. It must be a pleasure to Mr. Corbitt to reflect that he has given students of North Carolina history an instrument as precise and useful as the slide rule.

The other entries deal with informal or local aspects of history. Mary Moore Allen's *North Carolina Sketches* is part handbook, part guidebook, containing as it does a list of places of historical interest, among its other details. Mason Crum's book, *The Story of Lake Junaluska,* contains official papers as well as information on the history, traditions and usefulness of that center. Mildred and Edward Edmundson have issued two booklets under the title "Dramatizing Democracy." They contain short plays suitable for use in grade school history classes. John Parris in *The Cherokee Story* presents a rapidly moving, well illustrated account of the Cherokees and the region in which they live. The book does credit to the Stephens Press, which issued it.

Four of the seven historical works belong in the Carolina collection, but every one of the eleven biographical writings deals with a Carolinian, albeit three of them lived in South Carolina: Wade Hampton, John Christopher, and Peter Fayssoux.

Manly Wade Wellman has written a fine and moving biography of Wade Hampton, calling it *Giant in Gray.* I believe that my admiration for the book is quite objective; a Quaker born in Indiana does not have an inbred veneration for a military man from South Carolina. The book is the result of many years of study and research. It has the careful documentation that a good historical study requires, and it comes alive as successfully as the best historical novels do. The greatness of Wade Hampton increased with the years, and the characterization of the steadfast, toiling governor and the senator struggling to bring his state and the South through the disasters following the war is of greater significance than that of the general, important as he was. The book is highly detailed, and this plethora of detail is so well controlled that the reader is never overwhelmed by it. Mr. Wellman gives him the past, and he feels that he has seen another world as it really was. Historically minded reviewers object that

the Giant in Gray did not tower so high above his fellows as Mr. Wellman thinks, and these critics say that the author should have respected the stature of other generals; the reader with his eyes on the indomitable figure of Wade Hampton does not miss the others.

Chalmers G. Davidson and Dorothy Fremont Grant have presented the careers of two important citizens of Charleston: Peter Fayssoux, about whom Dr. Davidson writes, is considered to be the father of South Carolina medicine; John England, Mrs. Grant's subject, was the first Catholic bishop to be sent to Charleston. Each of these books gives an adequate account of a career; each of them uses the subject's writing effectively. Dr. Fayssoux's letters to Dr. Benjamin Rush are especially interesting.

The North Carolina biographies bring together an unusual quartet: Thomas Wolfe, William Henry Belk, Leonidas Lafayette Polk, and Allen Jay Maxwell. Only 1950's strange literary harvest unites them in a common bond. Yet all do share one trait, the love of North Carolina, and all have contributed to the life and progress of the state.

I am especially impressed by Agatha Boyd Adams's brief, objective biography, *Thomas Wolfe: Carolina Student.* One of my students by way of suggestion and flattery once said to me, "Anybody can make out a hard examination on Shakespeare, but only a really good teacher can make a good, easy, sensible examination." By paraphrase, any biographer finds it easier to deal with Wolfe at length than to reduce his massive personality and equally massive production to a ninety-page essay—clear, comprehensive, unhurried, and appreciative. The emphasis is placed upon the university days, and the new material on Wolfe is in that part of the essay. It is extremely interesting to see the forms in which Wolfe's genius first expressed itself and the influences which acted upon Tom of the Mountains, the awkward, gangling youngster fifteen years old when he came down to the university. When he was editor of the *Daily Tar Heel,* an irate father stormed in to see him threatening to sue him because he had printed a picture of his daughter in a student's embrace. "Sir, you can't do that," said Wolfe calmly. "Why not?" shouted the

father. "Because, sir, I am a minor," Wolfe answered, unfolding his full height of six feet, three inches.

Mrs. Adams did not close her book with the university days, in spite of its title. It gives family background, teaching experience and all, carrying his career to its conclusion. This is her final paragraph:

"The mountains were his masters. 'They rimmed in life,' he had written. And now they rimmed his death with stately beauty and that magic sense of distance which had always kindled his spirit. The mountains held him fast in death, but beyond their outermost horizons roamed free the far-ranging creative spirit that could not die."

LeGette Blythe's book on William Henry Belk and Stuart Noblin's on L. L. Polk are competent and interesting biographies. They are, at the same time, fine illustrations of the growth and development of North Carolina since the Civil War, for both of them show the career of the man in terms of progress in the South.

William Henry Belk's story begins with the departure of his young father as the Yankees came nearer, with capture, and with death. Eighty-three years later the merchant of the South returned to the spot where his mother, her three little boys about her, had watched her husband out of sight. William Henry came back in a fine automobile to see the land owned and lost by his family but now his again; and times had surely changed! Mr. Blythe follows his career faithfully and well. He never loses sight of young Mrs. Belk's heroism, the great hardships of the early years, the steady toil that continued year by year without haste, without rest, the faith the Belks had in the men and women who worked for and with them, the emergence of a business as it typified the emergence of the new South. These give meaning to the story. The book is lavishly illustrated, and seventeen pictures of Belk stores really seem like a luxury, not a necessity!

Dr. Noblin's book opens in the middle of things with L. L. Polk making one of his great orations in behalf of the Farmers' Alliance to Kansas farmers in 1890, and the reader sees the subject of the biography at the height of his powers. The scene is dramatic, the audience attentive, the orator eloquent: "There

shall be no Mason and Dixon line on the Alliance maps of the future. It shall be one nation and one flag. (applause)." L. L. Polk could carry the audience with him; he did it many times in life, and Dr. Noblin wisely lets him talk again: short, pithy sentences from letters, the ringing climax of the oration, the telling satire from the editorials and articles of *The Progressive Farmer*—all are used to advantage. The chapter on the founding of State College is particularly interesting, but with time so short, I cannot pause to quote.

The Life and Works of Allen Jay Maxwell was written by Raymond C. Maxwell, son of Allen Jay. This book, in a concise and matter-of-fact way, traces the long career of A. J. Maxwell and reprints sixteen of his articles and addresses.

There are three autobiographies: that charming volume, *The Southern Part of Heaven* by William Meade Prince, *The Disadvantages of Being a Preacher's Son* by E. P. Holmes, and *Nightfall* by Lura Jimison Hampton. Mrs. Hampton writes simply and courageously of the vicissitudes of her life—she has been blind since she was seven years old. E. P. Holmes sets down scores of small incidents he has enjoyed, interspersing his own verses here and there and including his collection of epitaphs for good measure.

Perhaps what *The Southern Part of Heaven* does for nearly every reader is to carry him back into his own childhood. You know you can't go home again, but *mirabile dictu,* William Meade Prince does it and takes you along into his own lost world. Suddenly it becomes yours as well as his! Do you remember the grave responsibility of investing ten cents all at one time in candy, "marshmellers" among other things, the moral dilemma in deciding whether to return the extra piece surely included by mistake or of enjoying it in guilt; the incomprehensible adult—Mr. Prince's is the professor who always refused to buy one *Post* for the unfunny reason that he would buy six dozen or none; Ernest Thompson Seton and the wobbling wigwams *Two Little Savages* inspired; the animal circus enjoyed by complacent pets and boys alike; football heroes; early adorations; the good dog Duke drunk on snake bite medicine—the list could go on and on. Of course Mr. Prince had one advantage—he lived in Chapel Hill,

enchanted ground to be sure. But the setting doesn't really matter except that it does give opportunity for some very candid pictures of professors caught without their halos, as Horace Williams is. Much of the reader's delight in the book is due to the candor shown everywhere, and the author's ability to use that candor without seeming to stand back and say, "Now, isn't that cunning!"

The one volume of collected biography is Lou Rogers's *Tarheel Women,* which contains brief sketches of thirty-nine women. Eleanor Dare is the first; Jane Simpson McKimmon, who is still living, is the last. The selections show good judgment, and the book is interesting and useful, valuable not only for the essays but for the bibliographies which are appended to each. The Woman's Club style of writing, easily identified by loose generalizations, pleasant exaggerations, and a touch of the sentimental or the coy, crops up now and then, but Miss Rogers is to be congratulated on having undertaken such a fine project as this and having produced a useful book well grounded in sound and careful study and investigation.

There are three books all by a single author, J. Ray Shute of Monroe, which have an autobiographical tone—perhaps they belong in this group. *His Honor the Heretic* consists of papers dealing with the mayor's defeat caused, he says, by objections to Unitarian beliefs. *The Golden Dawn* contains speeches made during the year following his "conversion" to Unitarianism. *Twilight in the Temple* is composed of four addresses made to fellow Masons. They are described on a book jacket as "great little books from a swift-moving pen," and their fluency is to be admired.

There are five books of fiction, including one for children. *Pawnee,* written by Thelma Bell, illustrated by Coryden Bell, is a lively story of an eight-inch Indian doll, who in the manner of storybook dolls the world over assumes life, speech, and motion, gets into mischief, runs away from home, and goes to live with the Indians. *Pawnee* makes an attractive book: text, illustrations, format, and all; I believe the younger circle will enjoy it.

Dog on the Sun, Paul Green's collection of short stories, takes its place among the best of his works. The language as always is

beautifully accurate, no matter whether it is that of the character shown in the story or that of the poet who is writing the stories. This is the conclusion of *"Sun Go Down"*:

> Now the father looked down at his son and his eyes were bright and stern. "You done seen what it is to be a poor nigger. Hear me." And turning, he strode out of the stable, forgetting to close the door. So fast he went that the cobweb hanging down from a crack in the loft swayed in the wind. The boy stood watching him go.
>
> And loud like thunder he had heard him.

The stories show a wide range, but whether they deal with matters of legend, with life which is brutal or drab and horrible, or with the university town, they bring the eternal note of sadness in. They are compassionate, ironic, angry that men must suffer as these do—and have their suffering disregarded. What Paul Green thinks of the professor who deals abstractly with the Negro problem or who collects a new folk song at the funeral of a promising young Negro ought to cause discomfort in academic circles.

Max Steele has written a surprising first novel; there was never before such a heroine as Debby. Wordsworth always believed that the simple person had an innate goodness and wisdom proceeding from his closeness to nature, and he yearned to prove that a person without much intellect could still have significance and could by nature speak the language of poetry. But even Coleridge wasn't impressed by the poem about the idiot boy. Debby has more understanding than Wordsworth's boy had but not much. Her instinctive goodness, her devotion, her reaction to troubled children, and her one and only perception that love and tranquility make the only basis for satisfactory human relationships go a long way toward proving Wordsworth's theory—waiting these one hundred and fifty years for just one good example—but even now Debby doesn't speak the pure poetry Wordsworth hoped for.

Max Steele doesn't moralize over Debby; he tells the story straight. That fact and his fine simplicity are the bases of his artistry. The simplicity is in style and in plot as well; the story can't be highly complicated—Debby wouldn't be equal to com-

plexities. Her joys and sorrows must be small even as her world is limited to one house and its occupants. Tragedy could come to her very quickly. Even in a small world, she is constantly in danger of losing her sense of reality and must touch herself again and again to make sure that she exists. Her anchor is Mrs. Merrill—she wants to dress like her, to help her forever—she can't live after Mrs. Merrill dies. The humor which helps to carry the books lies frequently in Debby's solemn, naive words and in the incongruity of situations she can create. Absorbed in her task, Debby followed the bride down the aisle and fixed the folds of the veil at the moment when the bride spoke her vows.

James Street this year added another book to the Dabney series. This one leaves the Mississippi setting and moves to Havana. The time is 1895-96. Mingo Dabney meets a wide variety of undesirables; he becomes involved in revolution and intrigue, plot and counterplot. Added to these complications there is another; he is in love with a gorgeous Cuban patriot. Joan of Arc and Mary of Scotland are pale beside her. Now that is Mingo Dabney's situation!

The setting of Peter Taylor's first novel is St. Louis in the 1920's. He chooses to tell the story through a narrator who is the twelve-year-old stepson of the *Woman of Means*. This boy, Quintus Dudley, is quite a good character and he becomes the center; however, his lack of understanding keeps the story from being fully realized by a casual reader. The book is very nicely written and its subtlety gives it the charm by thought supplied.

Here then are our forty-two books for the year, viewed, I hope, somewhat in the spirit in which they were written.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HISTORICAL DRAMA "UNTO THESE HILLS"

By George Myers Stephens

As a special courtesy to the vice president from over the Blue Ridge, your good secretary has allowed me to tell you something about the beginnings of the historical drama at Cherokee, "Unto These Hills." I begin by stating that this outdoor theatre at the foot of the Smokies had the best fortune it will ever have on weather—fifty-four evening performances without one cancellation on account of rain, albeit some of you who attended may remember some heavy dew. If I tell a few things which many of you know already, you must forgive it. Many Americans don't know as much as you do. I am thinking of the experience of George Owl of Cherokee, a member of a remarkable family of preachers and educators. George had just returned from the University of Oklahoma where his wife is professor of French. He was strolling about the village and chatting (doubtless in Cherokee) with some of his boyhood friends. A tourist with candid camera warily circled the group of chatting Cherokees to get an angle for a picture. Then he cautiously advanced with right hand upraised in signal of peace and said "how," much to the amusement of the group.

One thing most North Carolinians now know is that "Unto These Hills" marked a new view ahead on the long trail for the Eastern Cherokees. These mountaineers of the South once held the highlands from Kentucky to mid-Georgia. Known as one of the Five Civilized Tribes, they lived in houses and were developing a town life. Thus they were ready to adopt the tools and looms of the white pioneer, and even his ideas of representative government. Numbers of explorers settled and married among the Cherokees giving their good Scottish names to sons who became chiefs. When the white settlements pushed westward the Cherokee withdrew behind two mountain ranges around the Great Smokies.

As Kermit Hunter's drama of their contact with the white man shows, Cherokee leaders counseled moderation instead of mas-

sacre after their first few years of desperate resistance. In the impressive council in the second scene of the play, Sequoyah calls for patience, returning good for evil, and fitting the red man's life into the future pattern of America.

And for this steadfastness of character, history has bestowed upon them one of its peculiar rewards. Of the great body of Cherokees who moved west by voluntary and later forced migration, many found themselves two generations later holding oil lands in the new state of Oklahoma. And the handful of refugees who clung tightly as lichens to the cliffs of the Great Smokies found themselves three generations later astride the eastern gateway to America's most visited national park. Col. William Holland Thomas had found this land for his Cherokee friends along the beautiful valley of the Oconaluftee, after the grim days of the Trail of Tears.

Here on Soco Creek and in Big Cove the thousand refugees from General Winfield Scott's removal round-up had lived quietly for a hundred years. From the steep mountain fields they got their varicolored Indian corn for bread, together with beans and squash. From the streams roaring out of the Smokies they caught trout, and in the forest they killed groundhog and turkey.

By the time of the opening of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in 1940 the Eastern Cherokees had increased to more than 3,000. Their land was intact, for the title was held by the tribal council. By a wise law, this land could not be sold to a white man. And the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians was a corporation under the friendly protection of the state of North Carolina. Meanwhile the United States government through the Indian Service had built up at Cherokee a health center and high school with strong vocational training in homemaking, farming, and handicrafts, and the Indians had continued on friendly terms with their white neighbors. Thus it was natural in 1946, when the eleven westernmost counties organized Western North Carolina Associated Communities, that a plan to develop the resources of the Cherokees should be among the first recommended by the project committee.

The first step was, of course, to get the best advice available. Our thoughts turned toward the people who had created "The

Lost Colony." Paul Green was generous in discussing the idea. This was followed by a visit to Cherokee by Samuel Selden. Many think this visit marked the turning point in a series of connections with good fortune and good people. Meeting with the tribal representatives and with the project committee of the Associated Communities, Mr. Selden gave some idea of the cost involved and of the physical requirements for an outdoor theatre. Then the party strolled out to the well-known Indian Fairground on Highway 107 entering the Park. In his quiet way, Mr. Selden suggested that a search up the nearby ravine might be worthwhile. After a few hundred yards up a winding path, the ravine abruptly opened into the form of a natural amphitheatre. "This is the place," said Mr. Selden, and so it was. The preliminary tests on acoustics were confirmed later when the 2,800-seat theatre proved to be almost perfect acoustically. Spectators on the back row can hear every word from the stage. No amplifiers have been used except for the narrator and organ.

The requirements outlined by Mr. Selden seemed staggering to a group of mountain communities. However, the ablest business leaders in each county went to work, and soon more than $20,000 had been subscribed. Mr. Selden found the playwright and the director in the happy choices of Kermit Hunter and Harry Davis of Chapel Hill, and Albert Bell of Manteo for theatre designer. Foster Fitzsimmons of Chapel Hill began plans for the dancing.

The Cherokee Historical Association was chartered as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of North Carolina, with a board of twenty-one trustees including the governor, Mr. Selden, representatives from the Cherokee Tribal Council, and citizens from several western counties.

Here again the Cherokee Association was favored with good fortune in the people who were willing to work for it. The chairman was Mr. Harry Buchanan of Hendersonville, born and reared in Jackson County a few miles from the Cherokee Indians and with a career of practical theatre experience. The vice-chairman was Mr. Percy Ferebee of Andrews, president of the Associated Communities organization, and well known in banking circles and public life. Mrs. Molly Arneach, a Cherokee Indian, served as secretary, and the treasurer was Mr. Joseph E. Jen-

nings, superintendent of the Indian Agency at Cherokee. In the Cherokee community itself the theatre construction had Ross Caldwell, a landscape architect and engineer, with not only the ideal technical knowledge but such a love for nature that the original forest trees grow on the stage itself and a brook tinkles behind the backdrop. For the grading and approach road construction the Indian Service made a gifted engineer available in Col. Milletts. Mr. Buchanan's theatre operating company granted his plea for loan of its pioneer drive-in theatre manager, Mr. Carol White, for general manager. The all-important money raising was directed by the Associated Communities project committee chairman, Mr. Francis J. Heazel of Asheville. Public relations and other functions were divided on a voluntary basis until general manager White could take charge and promotion director Edward Carl Sink could begin work.

The genius of the Cherokee Indians themselves contributed in a large way. A composer of Cherokee descent was found—Jack Frederick Kilpatrick of the music faculty at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. The Indian School at Cherokee had in its homemaking department the teachers and the students to help with making costumes, while the manual arts department was able to make many of the stage properties, including the wonderful shiny armor worn by De Soto's soldiers. With this help Suzanne (Mrs. Harry) Davis of Chapel Hill was able to do a superb work of costume designing and making with a modest budget.

When, in the fall of 1948, it appeared that the Western North Carolina money was assured, Chairman Buchanan was authorized to ask the General Assembly to support this act of faith with an appropriation to cover theatre equipment and production. He came away with the only unanimously voted appropriation item during the session—$35,000. Generous extensions of credit, goods, and services somehow kept theatre construction and stage production work going, so that the miracle really happened—the play opened on the first day of July, 1950.

With a fanfare for distinguished official visitors and a sprinkle of rain, the first performance went through beautifully. As the theatre went dark and the walls of mountains showed against the sky, Kilpatrick's organ and choral prelude filled the quiet crowd with the mood of the Indian past. It gave much the same

feeling of the "Woodland Sketches" of America's composer, Edward McDowell, at whose colony Kilpatrick had studied. Then the words of the narrator set the background of the drama and the action began. People of a Cherokee village burst into ecstatic dance, to be interrupted by the marching song of De Soto's armored men.

After the calm of the opening is broken by the Spaniards, a council of chiefs nearly 300 years later makes the fateful decision for the Cherokees which sets the theme of the play. Wise old Sequoyah tells his people to look at a future in which they must work with the white man and on occasion even to return good for evil. Though the war chiefs attempt to follow the lead of Tecumseh from the North, Sequoyah's advice prevails.

Through the agony of the next generation the chiefs see selfish white men abuse and dispossess their people, and, after their old friend Andrew Jackson fails them, they are driven westward by the soldiers. The incident of Tsali's escape and dramatic return for execution before a firing squad is already widely known. It forms the high point of emotion in the play.

Then follow scenes which show the gradual reward of the Cherokees for their belief in moderation and peace. The play closes with a triumphant choral passage and the lights come on. As one rises to leave, the sights about him form an impressive epilogue to this drama of the Cherokees.

The play's dramatic but well-balanced picturing of Cherokee history has made a schoolbook subject come alive for the American people. Among the Cherokees it has reawakened an interest in their language and their culture. There is talk of reviving publication of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a newspaper printed in the remarkable syllabary of eighty-five characters devised by Sequoyah.

A museum of Indian life has opened with a Cherokee collection not equaled outside the Smithsonian. Librarians in the western counties sponsor Cherokee reading clubs for young people. Several books and pamphlets have been published or are in preparation, including the play itself. Among the actors in the play are three Cherokees with leading parts, while more are in group scenes. Altogether, 114 Indians were on the production's payroll

and drew more than $20,000 in salaries the first season. Building of the theatre was done almost wholly by Cherokee masons, carpenters, and laborers who earned $25,000 in this work. The Tribal Council, which invested $5,000 by securing rights to the site for the theatre, brought back to Cherokees in the community payroll about ten dollars for every dollar invested.

Overnight a larger demand has come for Indian handicrafts and for visitor accommodations. In this growth the surrounding communities share. A night's audience finds good tourist accommodations within an hour and a half's drive of the theatre—Andrews on the west, Franklin on the south, and Waynesville and Asheville on the east. Sylva and Bryson City are only a few minutes' drive from Cherokee. Across the Smokies, Gatlinburg also helps to care for the theatre crowds.

Nearly every state and several foreign countries were represented in the 107,140 persons who paid to see the play. The revenue enabled the Association to clear its debts. A rain shelter behind the rear seats was built, so that few spectators asked for refund when they had this protection during the brief showers. All seats are to be reserved and have chair backs next season. Improvements are planned in walkways, stages, costumes, and size of cast. Through help of the Indian Service and the State Highway Commission, the approach roads are already paved and there is a large parking area near the box office. Reserves are waiting to cover production costs when the play rehearsals begin, with the opening date scheduled for June 23. Shows are to be Tuesdays through Sundays until Labor Day. Virtually the same staff is to carry on for 1951, except for the new public relations director. He is John Parris, author and foreign correspondent, who returns to his native hills after war duty with the Associated Press.

These facts themselves are a part of the Cherokee story, the reward for the character and tolerance of a people who preserved the white man of Western North Carolina as their friend.

Perhaps it was musing on this long contact with white people which stirred the humor of a Cherokee mother. As she sat through the play with her 'teen-age youngsters, her conversation made it clear that the father of the family, who was not at the

play, was a white man. Her final remark to the children was, "I just didn't know till now how mean these white people can be. When I get home I am going to beat the tar out of my old man."

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

From Kenneth Rayner

Raleigh – N°. C.ª
April 6th–1866–

Confidential
My dear Sir

Through the kind interposition of a friend– Mr. Warall O. Roberts of New York– the Mess: Appleton agreed to undertake the publication of the *work*, which I casually mentioned to you last Fall– and about which Judge Patterson and myself have been corresponding. I requested the Mess: Appleton, to forward the advance proof sheets to Judge Patterson, every two or three days; that he might read them, and make such corrections, as in his judgment, he may think proper.[60] If it is worth publishing at all, why then, it is necessary, it shall be all *right*. Owing to the circumstances of the case, the book will probably be very extensively read.[61] There is at this time, a morbid anxiety, to know all about your character, your antecedents &c– If I known myself, my object was to do good– to prove, that the interests of the North and the South were identified – and that, through the force of circumstances, you occupied the position of mediator, to bring about harmony and concord between the sections.

I felt it was to be regretted, that owing to the pressure on your time, you could not possibly look over the manuscript, before it went to press– I was particularly anxious to say nothing, that might be imprudent for, of course any thing said in your vindication or advocacy, will be closely criticised, in certain quarters.

In regard to that position, referring to the events of your personal life– and also that, referring to your Congressional life– I hope you will see but little to disapprove of. It is mostly narrative, followed by such comments as the occasion called for. A large part of the work is a *disquisition* , on your scheme of policy for the restoration of the union. I have discussed it from the stand-point of your own argument – and have been very cautious to try and avoid all inadvertence or imprudence , which might

[60] David Trotter Patterson (1818-1891) was educated in the common schools of Tennessee and Greeneville College; was admitted to the bar; practiced law in Greeneville; engaged in manufacturing; was judge of the first circuit court of Tennessee, 1854-1863; was Senator from Tennessee from July 24, 1866, to March 3, 1869; and engaged in agricultural pursuits. In 1855 he married Martha Johnson, daughter of Andrew Johnson. *Biographical Director of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1389.

[61] Kenneth Rayner's *Life and Times of Andrew Johnson* . . . was published by Appleton and Company. The first edition sold rapidly and a second edition was printed.

possibly compromise your position before the country. I have urged upon Judge Patterson, to modify, amend, or leave out, any portion, that he may think good policy would require, should be done. This I hope he will not fail to do; and when his own Judgment is at fault, I hope he will request your opinion.

I have endeavored to avoid harshness, bitterness, and severity. 'Tis true, I have been severe on the originall plotters and conspirators of Disunion and secession – also on Prest. Buchanan's shortcomings in 1860-'61 – and on the London Quarterly review, for its Jesuitical article in regard to the war, and its ungenerous assault on yourself.– In the main I have consulted a feeling of conciliation, between the North & the south – and between your friends and the republicans, who are disposed to find fault with you.–

The style of the composition in regard to yourself personally – is that of high paregyric, of course. No one is expected to write a memoir of any distinguished man, unless he has something good to say of him – In this regard, I must beg your pardon – one thing is certain, I have said nothing more, than what I believed and felt, under the circumstances, to be just and true.

I am almost afraid I have made the work too large. It will make 500 pages of large duodecimo size. I sent on to the publishers, two days since, some 60 pages of additional manuscript – but owing to my fears, that the book might be too large, I had to leave it to the discretion of the publishers, as to whether they would include it in the book. This last is a calm and unprejudiced view, of the influences acting on the minds of the Southern people, through which they blundered into that most woful and tragical of all mistakes (to call it by no more names) that a sane people ever committed. I shall regret it, if this last cannot appear in the body of the work; for I am rather pleased with the exposition I have presented – and I believe, it will find an approving response from the great conservative body of the Southern people, themselves.

Of course, I feel a deep interest in the fate of my book. I expect nothing else, than to be roundly abused by the extreme and radical men, both North and South. The work is written from a high national stand-point. If it meets with the approval of moderate, conservative, and rational men, in both sections– I shall have an assurance, that its tone, temper, and style are what they ought to be.

I can only repeat, what I stated to you, last Fall– that if ever there was a people, who looked up to any man, as their friend and father–as their only hope in their day of despondency and gloom, such is the Southern people, at the present time, and you are the man. It is not, that they regard you as *Southern* in your proclivities and feelings– but as a *National* man, and as a *National President*, and yet, the Southern people feel, that it would not be prudent, to give expression to any thing like jubilation and triumph. With calm and quiet hope and resignation, they await the developments of the future. I really wish the ultra radical element

of the North, could see the Southern people, Just as they are, ruined, crushed , and broken-spirited. As I told many Northern men, in the late trip to the North -- if they could see the real and true condition of the South, as it is – their resentments would be disavowed – there would be nothing to feed resentment on – sympathy would take the place of every thing like unkindness. I wish the day could arrive, when the Southern people could give expression, through the ballot-box, to those feelings of unalloyed confidence and hope, which they entertain for yourself.

I beg pardon, Mr. President, for annoying you with this long letter. I have duly appreciated the constant engagements on your time. I am aware, that your onerous duties monopolise all your time. I have abstained from troubling you– anxious as I was , to secure an interest by you, in this forthcoming work. If I shall have done any thing, towards promoting harmony between the two sections– if I shall have done any thing, towards awakening the public mind, to a proper appreciation of your sacrifices, your trials, difficulties and labors, in your embarrasing position – I shall be more than gratified at the reflection, that I have effected some little of good, for my country.–

With most profound respect.
Your obedient serv.[t]

His Excellency Andrew Johnson
President &C

April 10–

Your second veto has been received and read by our people –followed by depressing news, that the bill had passed the Senate, by a majority of more than two thirds, on the question of reconsideration. The state of feeling among our people is difficult to describe. It is not excitement – not at all. The days of *excitement* are at an end in the South. The predominant feeling is one of deep and despondent anxiety. There is nothing seen or heard, of any thing like a definite hope or prospect of our future. You and you alone are on every lip, and in every heart. We feel that our destiny, is , under providential dispensation, in your hands; and that all we can do, in our present, poor, unfortunate, and powerless condition, is to wait calmly and resignedly; and to pray that you may be sustained, by a Higher Power, in your efforts to preserve the constitution, and save the institutions of our fathers, from overthrow and ruin. This point, I have constantly in view throughout the work I have written – viz: that your efforts to restore and preserve the union, were in perfect consistency and harmony with the views you had enunciated, from the beginning of the struggle – that you had been governed *by system,* perfectly in accord with the recorded sentiments of your past life. The portion of the work, I indulge the hope, will meet with your approbation. And herein is the great moral strength of our position.

Your enemies can not charge you with inconsistency –or with having misled any one, in regard to your course.

There is one feeling, that seems to prevail, with almost entire unanimity, among the Southern people. And that is a strong and abiding *faith* , in your ultimate triumph and success. This is all that sustains them against almost absolute despair. They have no defined plans, purposes, or calculations, as to the future "President Johnson is our only hope" – is the only comment indulged in , in reference to the startling events , developed from day to day.

Unless there is some *special* cause for the influences operating on public opinion, in Connecticut – the result of the election in that state is most cheering. If we are allowed to hope, that a similar condition of affairs prevails in the other Northern states, there is great chance for the success of constitutional principles, when the people shall have reflected, and spoke through the ballot-box. If there be any men of *national* views and feelings, I know I belong to that class. And yet when I reflect on the sad, and suffering, and disconsolate condition of the South, wrong and misguided as it has been I can only exclaim – "May God in his mercy save my poor native land from ruin!" – very respectfully– K.R.

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina,
Executive Department,
Raleigh, April 17th 1866.

To His Excellency,
Andrew Johnson,
President of the U.S.–
Sir:–

I herewith enclose a copy of a communication addressed to me by the Hon. Daniel G. Fowle, one of the Judges of the Superior Court of Law of this State.[62] I enclose it to you for the purpose of soliciting your views in relation to the matters therein contained.

You will perceive that an early answer is very desirable.

I avail myself of the occasion to assure you of the universal desire of the authorities and people of this State to sustain you in carrying out your plans of restoration, from a firm conviction that they tend to the best interests of the *whole* nation.

I have the honor to be, Very Respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,
Govr of N C

[62] Civil court action was subject to review by the military authorities. Being opposed to the enforcement of military orders that were contrary to the state laws, Judge Fowle resigned. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 238.

From David F. Caldwell

Greensboro N C May 12 [18]66

His Exelency
Andrew Johnston President of The United States of America

Will you pardon your old *Bank Correspondent* to say one word to your exelency I have ever been an ultra union man, and for opposing secession *was maled* before the war and twice since Have been shot at wounded & beten with clubs & I blush to say it pelted by a crowd of boys and *ladies* with rotten eggs for my union principals &C– Yet I am no black Republican & never shall be I will add I was held up in the papers as the *"Andy Johnston of N C"* I want nor ask for no office– and when I say I sup[p]ort your administration policy I assure you I do so because I think it best for our country– And for this reason I desire to see you sustained & will do all I can to secure it success– I have been 18 years a member of our stat[e] Legislature twice Presidential elector & am now a member of our state convention and have some little influence– I have had three especal correspondents of the fanatical press to call upon me, who have indeavored to persuad[e] me to take sides against your policy I have been assured if I would do so I would be genaly the gainer in a politicians point of view– And as an old line Whig I should not hesitate for a moment, when Holden a secession Democrat was doing all he could for them &C &C These gentel hints I treated in the way I thought they deserved.

Now in 1848 Van Buren & Adams run on a platform in which was the resolution of 98-99 so Fremont[63] & Daton[64] run on a Platform in which was the same Resolution of 98, 99 All the anti-slavery resolutions of the free states has been based on States Rights doctrine–First acted up by the Hartford Convention &C &C So New England is the author of Secession The Author of slave importation & exportation Author of Abolition & insurrection & extreminity 2112 & colonisation sosity in the South– & consequently all our rigorous laws on the subject of slavery– Also authors of *Anti Masonry* But the point I wish to bring to your notice & press upon you is this– Sumner, Wilson, Banks, Stephens &C– are all , not only op[p]osed to the Union now, but have always been ready to *let it slide*.[65] They were united on the No Nothing Anti Catholic platform But now go for Negroes

[63] John Charles Fremont (1813-1890), explorer, soldier, and politician, married Jessie Benton, daughter of Senator Thomas Hart Benton who was born in Orange County, North Carolina. Fremont played a leading role in the conquest of California. In 1856 Fremont was defeated for President of the United States by James Buchanan by an electoral vote of 174 to 114 and by a popular vote of 1,838,169 to 1,341,264, which was in part due to the fear of southern secession and to insufficient campaign funds. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 19-23.

[64] William Lewis Dayton, United States Senator and attorney general of New Jersey, was a candidate for Vice President in 1856 with Fremont and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1860. The next year he was appointed as Minister from the United States to France. Through his influence France did not permit the Confederate government to use French ports. Likewise he succeeded in preventing the construction of six southern war vessels in France. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 166-167.

[65] Undoubtedly reference is to Thaddeus Stevens rather than to Alexander H. Stephens.

suffrage & equality *in statutes* whether the states will permit or not– Now it seems to me of all your friends would but post themselves thoroughly as to the past Anti Masons No Nothing Record of thes[e] Ultras – And simultaneously in Congress & through the press open upon them & keep up the fires upon them, we could do much to sustain your administration & policy and perpetuate our form of Government & free institutions – These men are for pushing up the negroes at once & forever above the poor union white men of the South– who are now degraded and oppressed by their poverty– In short I assure you that the ultra course taken by Sumner– Wilson Stevens & others is fast rendering the *Union men odious* instead of *Traitors Odious* – For the reason that these Northeners are taking precisely the course the disunionist predicted they would if they conquered or we submitted– while the union men declared we would welcome back and the fated calf would be killed– Had we all gone back at once Republicans & the party would have been enthroned in power & the hearts of the people– But Alas this was not done And if mat[t]ers progress in the way proposed I know that masses will become confused in their prejudices Pardon all I may have said amiss & believe me to [be] your sincere friend & well wisher

Truly

A Johnston
President U States

From James H. Fry

Headquarters War Department
The following Telegram received 11 A. M. May 24th 1866
From Raleigh N.C. May 24, 1866
His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
Prest U.S.

Sir, I am here as a delegate to the state convention Am I permitted to take my seat: Please answer immediately[66]

From David L. Swain

University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, June 9th. 1866.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you, that at the annual Commence-

[66] On May 22, 1866, Governor Worth telegraphed President Johnson that Governor Holden had on October 20, 1865, recommended the pardon of James H. Fry of Onslow County, and soon thereafter stated that his pardon had been granted. As Fry had never received his pardon, it was necessary to get a duplicate. Hamilton, *Correspondence of Johnathan Worth*, I, 595-596.

ment of this Institution on the 7th inst., the Academic Senate, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to our native State and our common country in the performance of the most important and arduous duties, in great emergences and under the most trying circumstances, have conferred upon you the highest literary distinction which it is in their power to bestow– the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

It affords me pleasure to add, that the vote on the part of the Faculty as well as the Trustee, was entirely and heartily unanimous.

I am very sincerely & truly,
Your friend & Servt.,

To Andrews Johnston
President of the United States.

From William W. Holden

Headquarters War Dept
The following Telegram received 7 P.M., June 21st 1866
From Raleigh N.C. June 21st 1866.
The President
of the U.S.
Sir:

Many thanks for your kindness in making nomination I hope to be in Washington soon

Very Respectfully

From Kenneth Rayner

New York, July 2–d 1866.
His Excellency Andrew Johnson,
President D.–
Dear Sir,

I forward to you, by to-day's mail two copies of "The Life and times of Andrew Johnson." One of them you will please accept, as an humble testimonial of my high appreciation of your public character as a Statesman and Patriot, and of your private virtues as a man. The other you will present to Mrs. Johnson, in my name. I hope she will pardon the liberty I thus take. I have not the honor of personally knowing her, but, having made a most respectful mention of her name in the book, I wish to offer this humble tribute to the virtues of her character, as wife, mother, and friend.–

It is the impression here, that the work will be in demand and have a wide circulation, as soon as the political canvasses of the

Fall are opened. In the mean time, it is to be hoped, your friends will use the necessary appliances, in having the book brought favorably, to the notice of the reading public.–

I leave here in a day or two, for my home in Raleigh, there to make arrangements for finally leaving the state, and taking up by abode in the South –West – probably in Mississippi.

May our all-wise and merciful Providence protect and bless you, in your efforts to save the constitutional rights and liberties of your country, is the prayer of

Your friend, and obed^{nt}. Servant

P.S. My friend, Mr. Thos. McEbrath has at my suggestion, forwarded to you divers testimonials in his behalf, in reference to the appointment of "Naval officer", of this Port.–

K.R.

From L. S. Ruggles

Statesville, N.C. July 9th 1866.

Andrew Johnston
President of the U. States,

Pardon the presumption of one who though personally a stranger, addresses you to day upon a subject near to her own heart. Thrice have I taken my pen, and as many times laid it aside, despairingly, as the suggestive thought intruded. How can he, who now sits in the chair of Washington, surrounded by almost or equally as many dangers and difficulties as threatened the infant Republic whose wisdom and patience are hourly tried while he boldly, calmly and fearlessly guides the helm of State over yawning gulfs and dangerous breakers, unmoved by entreaties undaunted by angry, howling storms– how can he interest himself in you or what concerns yours: But, Sir, my heart whispers write I will, write I must; and may God bless the effort.

I have a brother, noble, generous, brave, He was an officer in the U.S. Army– he *has been* an officer in the rebellion. I have faith to believe, that when the war began he loved the North, he loved the South. His home his family, his friends, his interests South, bitterly opposed in principle to the agitations of what was then styled the abolition party, and yet obliged to fight, he like many others, chose the South, perilled all, and lost.

These however are but the ideas of a woman, of a sister who loves him, but who has never heard him speak upon the subject, nor has she even seen him or received a letter from him for many months.

Without means, and a large family to provide for, as a paroled soldier, he has not the unrestrained and unembarrassed freedom, which interest and pleasure may sometimes demand.

He is one of the class, you will perceive that falls without the

prescribed limits of the "Amnesty Proclamation;" through you only therefore, can I hope for him a speedy pardon. Can you not– will you not grant it?

Let his deeds of daring, and the victories he helped win in the war with Mexico, rise in bold relief over thoughts which may be suggested by later and darker days, and let these latter days, I pray you, be covered with the vestment of pardon and of peace, even though some, perchance, would fain tear it aside, to stab afresh the unresisting nerveless ghost.

As a woman, I meddle not with war or politics. As a woman, I would fain relieve the suffering of friend or foe. As a woman, I would cheer and solace the sorrowing. As a woman, I can but receive at your hands, a free and generous pardon for my brother, it will be to me, a moment of great happiness and joy.

Ten years of my life have been spent in your native State, Tennessee. I was a teacher in the Female College at Rogersville seven years, where I became acquainted with your son-in-law, David Patterson whose sister was a pupil of my class. I once met your daughter, his wife, at an evening party given by Mrs. Simpson in Rogersville. I was in Knoxville, Tenn. when the war broke out, and left there for the North in 1864. I have been here in Statesville but a short time.

I beg you will do me the favor to *answer this letter* in *your own* handwriting if possible, – I desire to have your autograph and if it declare my brother's pardon, it will be doubly prised and cherished. To your son-in-law I would tender my respects.

Forgive whatever my seem obstructive and believe me

Very respectfully & sincerely
your friend

Address Miss L.S. Ruggles
Concord Female College
Statesville
N.C.
Care of Rev. J.M.M. Caldwell

From William W. Holden

Ebbitt House,
Washington, July 11, 1866.

To the President of the United States.

Sir: You were kind enough to intimate, in the conversation I had the honor to have with you this morning, that if I would reduce the substance of what I had said to writing, you would put your reply in the same shape.

I beg leave to repeat, that under your order I reorganized the government of North Carolina on a thoroughly loyal basis, with men in office who had been opposed to the rebellion, who were

devoted to the Union, and who were co-operating cheerfully and heartily with you in the work of restoration. At that time loyalty to the national Union was respectable, and treason and disloyalty were odious. I was relieved of office on the 28th December, 1865, and since that period, under the administration of my successor, a marked change has taken place. Loyal men have been turned out of office, and disloyal men put in, for no other reason than that the latter are the special friends and partizans of the present Governor. The original Union men like yourself, and those who were for peace on the basis of the restoration of the Union before the close of the rebellion, are almost entirely excluded from office by my successor, and are thereby deprived of the opportunity and the pleasure of aiding you, as they desire to do, in the work of restoration; while unpardoned rebels are honored, and places of trust and confidence are filled by leading war men and rebels, who have not, in the opinion of our Union people, sincerely or duly repented of their great crime of seeking deliberately and from choice to destroy the national government.

This has been done, Sir, under the lead and direction of the present Governor of the State. The Union men have appealed to him in vain for consideration and protection. They have even offered to forget and forgive his defection from the Union cause last October, and support him for re-election, provided he would cast off the influences by which he was elected, would appoint only true Union men to office, and would co-operate with you in good faith in carrying out the work of restoration. But he has rejected this offer, and is now engaged, as he has been from the first, in undoing the work of restoration in our State, in proscribing Union men, and thus obstructing the return of the State to the Union.

Our Union people look to you for sympathy and succor. They are supporting you in good faith, and they are attached to your administration. They cannot forget your sufferings and sacrifices for the Union, at a time when it required extraordinary moral and physical courage to be a Union man, as you were in Tennessee; and this, joined to the fact that you are a native of our State, disposes our people to look to you with peculiar confidence and affection.

Our Union people believe that loyalty will not be exterminated as it should, now your plan for restoring the States be placed on the high ground it deserves to occupy, until the means and instrumentalities which you put in operation in 1865 shall have been restored. They feel that in no other way can the State be made to appear in a truly loyal garb, and thus enforce its claims on Congress and the country for admission into the Union, without further changes in the Constitution until all the States are again represented.

Those public men who have control of affairs in our State, insist that you are opposed to the present Congressional test oath; and that you are in favor of the immediate admission of *all*

the members of Congress from the recently insurgent States. When we deny this, and insist that the oath, or some similar oath is necessary, and that the oath is a matter specially with the Congress, they declare it to be unconstitutional; that they do not respect it; and that, if it is to be maintained, it will amount, as recently declared by my successor in his message to the Convention, to the perpetual practical disfranchisement of the State. They thus defiantly set themselves up against one of the laws of the land, and take refuge under your shadow to protect and justify themselves.

The Unionists of our State, so far from desiring to proscribe their fellow-citizens, are ready to receive into their ranks all who sincerely repent that they deliberately sought to destroy the government, and who give unmistakable proof of their thorough submission to the national authority; but they still think, as they did in 1865, that justice and sound policy require that such persons should take no active or conspicuous part in the work of restoration, but leave it where it was placed by you in the outset, to wit, in the hands of the loyal Union men.

In conclusion, allow me to say that the cause of restoration is obstructed in our State by those in power; the truly loyal people are depressed and mortified; malcontents and rebels are extaltant and defiant; ill feeling is engendered; injustice is perpetrated through the Courts by means of disloyal prosecuting officers, and Juries, and some magistrates, though our Judges are loyal, yet not always able to withstand the pressure of public opinion; treason and disloyalty are promoted and honored, while loyalty is evinced at the hazard of political, social, and pecuniary proscription.

All we ask is, that the truly loyal of our people shall govern until the State is restored to the Union. This is the best, if not the only assurance we can have of Justice to both races, white and black, And in no other way can good feeling, and harmony, and security to life, liberty, and prosperity be secured, and the State be put upon the clear, open road to the completion of the great work of restoration, so auspiciously commenced by you, Sir, in May, 1865.

I have the honor to be, with very high respect,

Your obt Servant,
Late Prov. Gov. N.C.

From William W. Holden

Ebbit House [Washington,D.C.],July 11,1866.

My dear Mr. President.

I have written hurriedly what you will find enclosed. Please read it carefully, and answer accordingly. I will not presume to

say what your reply should be, but I trust you will make it a direct and pointed as you can. You can form no idea of the depression among your real friends in our state, or of the exultant, overbearing manner of our enemies and masters.

If you can enable us to carry the State we can help you, and help the Union cause, now in so much peril. Our friends in the Convention postponed the elections until October so as to secure a chance of success. This was all they could do. If you will help us, we will make a united, determination, at successful fight.

I should like much to leave for home to-morrow evening. I would be glad if you could have your reply ready by to-morrow twelve M. I would like to take the correspondence home, and have it appear first in the Standard, if you have no objection.

Very truly yours.

I have heard with concern of the conditions of Things in North-Carolina.[67]

Your administration as Provisional Governor has my entire approval. I so telegraphed you last November. I regret that you were defeated. It was, and is my wish that the same means and instrumentalities that commenced, should complete the work of restoration. The machinery of restoration has been changed and improved, but it will not work acceptably unless it is managed by the same sort of men whom I at first employed.

I am laboring to restore the Union on the basis of the Constitution. I am doing this, not for section merely, or for a season, but for the whole country and for all time. Those who profess to sustain me should do so practically. They cannot do this by prescribing my friends, or by any policy which tends to make disloyalty respectable, and loyalty odious. Those who stood by the Union ought to be proud of it, and should be respected for it. The flag of the country should command the respect and homage of all.

While I would not persecute any citizens of the country, but will take by the hand and greet cordially all who submit in good faith to the authority of the government, and who show by their acts that they are loyal and well disposed, yet my sympathies are warmly with such Union men as sustained you at the polls; and I deem it highly important that such, and only such should take an active and leading part in the work of restoration. If there be but five thousand loyal men in a State, to them should be entrusted the control of affairs, at least until the State is restored. There are more than five thousand persons in your State.

It is for Congress to say who shall be admitted to seats. The States, in my judgment, are entitled to be represented. But Congress has prescribed a rule, and it is the duty of those seeking admission to comply with it. Unpardoned persons, and persons who cannot take the prescribed oath, cannot expect to be admitted. This may seem hard to some, but it cannot be objection-

[67] This was enclosed in Holden's letter to President Johnson, July 11, 1866.

able to those whose paramount wish is to see the Union restored.

I would not advise the States to make any more concession. They are entitled to representation; but in order to secure it, and to retain my plan of restoration, they should send men who can successfully stand any existing Constitutional or legal test.

I ardently trust that the people of my beloved native State will so act as to secure their return to the Union at the earliest possible period; and that the time is not distant when we shall have again a united, contented, prosperous, and happy country.

From Benjamin S. Hedrick

Washington, D.C.
July , 25, 1866.

To the President:

The inclosed is a copy of a petition from citizens of Stokes and Forsyth Cos. N.C. sent to me with a request that it be laid before you. Some of the signers I know, and many I do not know. But I have every reason to believe that the signers are honest and true men, and if any fault attaches to them it is more to be charged to the violence of the times than anything else.

Respectfully
Your obt Ser[t]

From Citizens of Stokes and Forsyth Counties

"Memorial,

To the President , and Congress, of the U.S. We the undersigned, loyal citizens, of Stokes, and Forsyth Counties, of N.C., and Patrick County Va; do sincerely pray, that some protection, or leniency be shown us, from the U.S. Government, We who have been, inhumanly persecuted, for three or four years, of the most infamous, and cruel rebellion, We say cruel, because the most Tyrannical, acts of atrocity, were perpetrated, on every advocate of loyalty: consequently, we or part of us, were compelled, to seek refuge, in holes, and dens in the woods, leaving our wives, and little *ones* , to the mercy of the most fiendish, traitors. Our homes have been visited, every few days, and locks broken, and plundered, of the contents. In many instances, our houses have been burnt, our provision taken, our horses, cattle, hogs, and in a word, every thing, on which to subsist, have been wrested from our hands, as punishment, of our disobedience to the Rebel Government. Our wives have, been insulted, and maltreated, robbed of even their wearing apparel; their finger-rings, torn from their fingers, and bestowed upon the wives, and daugh-

ters, of rebel traitors. Some of our wives, have been torn from their suckling -babes, and thrown into camp, guarded by rebel ruffians, from two, to three weeks duration, and subjected to the most, insulting, and cruel tortueres: to wit, their hands have been put under , fence-rails, and hung up,by their thumbs, in order , to extort from them the hiding places, of their husbands, and sons. When ourselves, and sons were taken by them, we were tied with ropes, our shoes taken off, robbed of our money and clothing,compelled to walk, from 25 to 60 miles, barefooted through the snow, and cold thence carried, to Castle-Thunder, and punished beyond the power of a[ccoun]t to describe. They tried to perish us out, by taking our provision: some of us living in caves, and some over the lines, members of the U.S. army. A few of us obliged to keep from starving, were compelled to treat them likewise, to keep soul and body together. In this critical condition, did Gen Stoneman's Raiders, find us, and some of them remained behind, and proffered to us that protection, collected up, some of these cruelly treated men, from their hiding places, went around, and made a few of the rebel traitors, give up a portion of their property, they had taken. It was then, that they appeared seemingly, penitent, and asked for letters of protection, which were granted. During the rebellion, they were the most influential, part of the community now they are still in the ascendency. Our civil tribunals, seem to be governed, and ruled by them, and our destinies, as it were, are in the palms of their hands. In every instance where any property was taken, we have been indicted, and our property taken to pay the cost, while our cases are thrown out of court, with the plea, that they were authorized by the Rebel Government while we have no authority under which to act. We who have fled our homes, crossed the lines,joined the U.S. army, and lend every assistance in the preservation, and extinuation, of our glorious old Union, are now oppressed, by these hated traitors. We assert that the great mass of the Secesh rebels, in this country are not loyal. It is an every day occurrence, that they speak hard things, of the U.S. Government, and say, that they would rather be under the protection of England, and France, than the U.S. And are we still to be persecuted. No; we appeal to the President, and Congress for redress of our grievances. With the faith of God, we look to thee, with a certainty of success.

W. B. Stipe	W A Shafer	M Smith
E. L. Amos	E H Amus	Levi Mathews
S W Amos	J A Amos	E Mathews
G W Shafer	J. Smith	E Benbo M. D
Geo Wilkins	F Roberns	S. M. Hansen
W J Wilkins	R Robbens	Henry Scott
Tho Wilkins	Jef Smith	J North
Floyd Wilkins	John Halder	F. W. Hall
John Okley	Jas. T. Halder	Martin Armfield
R. D. Griffith	H Fry	J. W. Williams

Isaac Huchens
H Huchens
J.H. Norman
G. Z. Powders
Mark Taylor
N H Potts
E A Brown
E. B Prone
John Casper
R.G. Amos
J S Amos
W Caswell
E L Beasley
B J Martin
W H Spencer
Jas. M Spencer
R F Amos
T D Watkins
Sam[l] Carson
James Fane
James Parkerston
Jesse A Corne
J B Hodgey
S J Coon
J M Brown
J J Brown
Winston Eades
J J Cunningham
J A Coon
Joseph Coon
N V Shelton
Landeau Nelson
James E Smith
Wm Nelson
Leroy Nelson
Marston Mabe
T Nelson
Wm Mabe
Lewis Mabe, Sr
Geo W Manning
N R Shelton
Leo Smith
John Smith
John Hix
Noah Smitt
R W Flinch
Jonathan Flinch
Wm Fagg
W L Albery
Lewis Mabe

Braxton Langford
B F Simmons
E P Simmons
N S Simmons
Joel A Tucker
J F Simmons
C P Simmons
G J Simmons
Flint Lawson
W W Lawson
Wiat Lawson
Woody Langford
Joseph Langford
F A Smith
Christian Mauring
J A Martin
Peter Owens
J L Hall
J H Starlin
D.S.Hobson U.S.Sold
Zebe Hall
N W Glenn
John Spear
J. V. Mathews
J. S. Kittle
F F Adams U S Sold
W J Colhard
A Z Joyner
Joseph Patterson
John Norme
J H Speed
T J Herming
J A Poindexter
J. T. S Mathews
Jesse Headir
D. T. Allgood
J W Heiston
D J Adams
John Shore
Giles Hutchens
W A Bolin
Alx. Hutchens
B C Myers
Ben McKey
J M Reece
W R Vertel
J F Reave
Asia Reaves
John Cooley

J P Reavis
J Vestal
Leonard Shegart
Isaac M Calvord
M F Farington
Ben Shore
D Zalkel
B N Willard
R M Willard
David Reavis
James Reavis
F H Willard
L D Willard
El Willard
Samuel Adams
A. G. Adams
H Cordal
James Sizemore
Harder Morgan
Joseph Reavis
David Hutcheson
F H Hobson
A G Bruce
S H Harding
Eugene Carter
Geo. Cordel
James Brown
M F Cooper
John Patterson
Samuel Scott
John Law
W F Kirk
J W Cornnelias
W H Spilman
Wm Doalan
J R Hutchens
J. V. Bender
A A Starlin
T. F. Mathews
A. Spease
E Cox
Pla. Cordel
Thos Davis
Ben.[t] Creed
Joel Lakey
Chas. Price
Ellis Norman
A. T. Davis
Wm D. Spencer
F Evins

W.A. Poindexter
John Worning
Geo. Pitts
A. A. Wining
C H Adams U S Col
W. R. Allgood
A. H. Vestel
J W Allgood
Wm W Reives
Dan Reaves
Wm Steelman
A H Reavis
John H Reaves
Henry P Allgood
Isaac Hutchens
Geo. Reavis
John Gaugh
James Shars
A Crakam
B Sismore
J . C. Wisbon
J A Wisbon
Geo Adams
A. J. Bovender
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Jo. B. Steelman U. S. Sol
T M Vestal
A J Wisbon
J D Sugurts
W D Vestal
Eli Stimson
G W Tucker
B Tucker
G B Simmons
W L Simmons
M E Simmons
M J Simmons
Sam Simmons
D J Simmons
J Fagg
J H Fagg
C W Mauring
W A Smith
Peter Smith
W S Hill
H. H. Fagg
Wiat Lankford
La. Smith
J L Johnson
John R Jewel J. P.
S M. Shelton
W A. Shephard
James Sheperd
Sanford Barns
Charles R Griffine
Nelson Shelton
John Arnol
G H Shelton
W. Y. Shelton
Jam. Hall
C. L. Shepherd
Ben Pike
James Hickes
Buryille Hickes
John Woods
Floyd Woods
Wm. Woods
Wm. H. Hall
B. J. New
John Aron
Levi Smith
Henry Hall
Joseph Hall
James Sands
James Flinch
James Rierson
T. R. Lawson
J Rierson
James Shelton
Ed Mabe
Alx. Mabe
Joshua Freman
Gidian George
Wm Freman
J W Eaton
W C Johnston
J P Bennett
G Bennett
J F Lakery
M C Bruce
R M Logan
John W Carson
F W Lakey
E C Bruce
Z J Adams
Edward Sink
W. Rowland
Wm. B. Shields
R. A. Stewart
A. C. Patterson
Isaac Prinn
A. Poindexter
Wm. Phillips
Eli Wooten U S Sold
W. A. Neding
J. M. Shelton
A J Holt
W. R. Aron
W M New
J. T. Martin
J. W. New
B. A Overby
J. Holt
Geo. W. Gunter
Wm A Martin
T. F. Overby
Oliver Priatt
Wm. Joyce
Joseph Atkinson
J W Collins
Peter Slate
T. M. Slate
A J Slate
T E Slate
T H Slate
John Vamten
J. T. Flint
J. K Carter
J Smithers
Henry Warner
Jesse Wooten U.S. Sold
J L Rask
H. C. Felts
Elbert Wells
S N Godfrey
J W Parden
A C. Johnston
Enoch Coffin
Dan[i]el Gerlt
B R Berber
A. D. Gentry
C S Nicks
James M York
W. W. Patterson
J Stevens
Anderson Davis
Henry Steelman
J Shores
A Shores
D Shores
W Lynch

W. A. Andrews
A Lang
W P Lang
J A Lang
A Johnson
R Johnson
E Lenge
Wm.Smith
W Weaveal
W T Surgut
T O Stoppard
W H Slate
Giles F Shelton
L.R. Ringman
Wm T Jessup
John Jessup
John Slate
G. W. Slate
Caleb Jessup
Jas. A Jessup
Wm. C. Martin
Samuel D. Martin
R. B. Overby
J W Forrest
H H Brow
John Gann
Samuel Gann
Wm Shaffer
W Gann
John Wilkerson
James Wilkerson
James Humes
J W Humes
F G Gray
S N Stafford
S T Hines
Geo Hines
J Matsinger
H. Bodenhamer
J Bodenhamer
W Bodenhamer
A. Phillips
J.F.L. Tusk
S Livengood
J W Browning
S. V. O. Perry
El Perry
E Elles
J Thornbury
S Cruse
S. C. Bennett
W. Y. Bennett
Ross Johnson
J. J. Robberns
G W Mills
W H Redwell
S C Welch
T.E. North
W Cruse
T M Varst
T O Wilson
John Rodgers
E. L. T. Brown
H Gray

This letter was enclosed by Governor Worth in his letter of April 17, 1866.
(Copy)

Raleigh, April 14th 1866.

To His Excellency
Jonathan Worth,
Governor of North Carolina:–
Governor:

On the tenth of April 1866, John H. Gee, a citizen of the State of Florida, filed a petition before me, as one of the Judges of the Superior Court of North Carolina, alleging that he was imprisoned and held in close confinement in the city of Raleigh by Brevet Major General Thomas H. Ruger, U.S.A.,commanding the Department of North Carolina, and that by his order a Military Commission had been convened and organized in said city for the trial of said petitioner, under certain charges and specifications, which were full set forth and annexed, consisting in part of offences against the laws of nations in the cruel treatment of prisoners of war, taken and held as such from the armies of the United States of America by the late rebel government or military authorities thereof at Salisbury, North Carolina, and in part of surrender in violation of the laws of war; all of which offences are alleged to have been committed during the existence of the late rebellion, to wit, in the months of October, November

and December, 1864; and setting forth the Proclamation of his Excellency, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, issued on the 2d day of April, 1866, and claiming that, by virtue of said Proclamation, he was entitled to be discharged from the military authorities of the United States government, and praying that the writ of *Habeas Corpus* be issued, &c., So that the cause of his capture and detention might be inquired into, &c.

Believing that the President, by his Proclamation, intended to restore to the people of North Carolina the privileges of the writ of *Habeas Corpus,* and that there was no warrant in the constitution of the United States for the existence of military tribunals in time of peace for the "land or naval service," I issued the writ prayed for on the 11th instant, making it returnable on the 14th instant,at which time, Brevet Major General Ruger made return that the said John H. Gee was detained by him "as a prisoner under authority of the President of the United States."

The body of the petitioner not being produced, his counsel moved for an attachment to issue against Brevet Major General Ruger, on account of his non-compliance with the mandate of the writ.

After consideration, and for the purpose, if possible, of avoiding a conflict with the military authorities of the United States Government, the Court announced its determination as follows:

"According to the construction which the Court is disposed to give to the recent Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated April 2d, 1866, the Court has inferred that it was the purpose of the President to restore to the people of North Carolina *all* the benefits of civil law in times of peace– one consequence of which is "that no person could be subject to trial by martial law, unless he was in the land or naval service of the United States." '

It is taken for granted that the petitioner has never been in either service.

The court has always been inclined to believe that in times of peace the Civil law of North Carolina, consistent with the civil law of the United States and not in conflict therewith, was supreme, and martial or military law was subordinate thereto.

It may be however that the Court has misconstrued the intent of the President's Proclamation, that it was not his purpose to suppress the exercise of Martial law as to military commissions in actual session for trial of offenders, at the time the Proclamation was promulgated.

The Court being desirous of avoiding all conflict between the Civil authorities of the State and the Military authorities of the United States Government, deems it advisable to take further time for consideration, until it may have an opportunity of ascertaining the precise meaning of the Proclamation in this respect.

The motion will, therefore, be continued until 10 O'clock A. M. of the 28th of April."

As it is my desire, Governor, – before making a final decision– to have all possible information in regard to the true intent of the President's Proclamation, I have transmitted to you a statement of the case, for the purpose of requesting that you will furnish me with all the information which you may have received in relation thereto.

Yours Very Respectfully,
Dan.[1] G. Fowle, Jr. S.C.

[To Be Continued]

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By Mary Lindsay Thornton

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TAYLOR, WALTER P. Land wildlife resources of the South. Richmond, Dietz Press, Inc., 1949. (North Carolina University. Institute for Research in Social Science. Studies of southern resources no. 4) 97 p. il. $3.00, pa. Order from H. M. Conway, Jr., 5009 Peachtree Road, Atlanta, Ga.

Applied Science and Useful Arts

CALHOON, RICHARD PERCIVAL. Problems in personnel administration. New York, Harper [1949] xii, 540 p. $4.00.

EMMERSON, JOHN CLOYD. Steam navigation in Virginia and northeastern North Carolina waters . . . compiled from the files of the Norfolk & Portsmouth herald and the American beacon, 1949. [Portsmouth? Va., 1950] xi, 453 p. il. $6.00 pa.

FRANKLIN COUNTY, N. C. HOME DEMONSTRATION CLUBS. Federation of Home Demonstration Clubs favorite recipes. [Louisburg, 1950] 181 p. Apply the County Agent.

FULMER, JOHN LEONARD. Agricultural progress in the Cotton Belt since 1920. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1950] xiv, 236 p. il. $3.50.

HERRING, HARRIET LAURA. Southern resources for industrial development. Richmond, Dietz Press, 1948. (North Carolina University. Institute for Research in Social Science. Studies of southern resources no. 2) 31 p. il. $1.50, pa.

KEPLER, HAZEL CLOUGHLEY. Food for little people, by

Hazel Kepler and Elizabeth Hesser. Sketches by Hazel Kepler. New York, Funk & Wagnalls [1950] 276 p. il. $3.75.

McLAUGHLIN, GLENN EVERETT. Why industry moves south; a study of factors influencing the recent location of manufacturing plants in the South, by Glenn E. McLaughlin [and] Stefan Robock. [Washington] Committee of the South, National Planning Association [1949] (NPA Committee of the South. Report no. 3) xxi, 148 p. $2.50.

MARSHALL, RACHELLE. College wife. [Yellow Springs, Ohio] Antioch Press [1950] 62 p. il. $.50 pa.

WOODSIDE, MOYA. Sterilization in North Carolina; a sociological and psychological study. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950. xv, 219 p. map. $2.50.

Fine Arts

HARWELL, RICHARD BARKSDALE. Confederate music. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1950] viii, 184 p. il. $3.50.

NEWMAN, WILLIAM S. The pianist's problems . . . with a preface by Arthur Loesser; illustrated by John V. Allcott. New York, Harper [1950] xiv, 134 p. il., music. $2.50.

Poetry

BEVINGTON, HELEN SMITH. Nineteen million elephants and other poems. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1950. xi, 115 p. $2.50.

COOPER, LUCY (PARHAM) A nightingale singing. Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company [c. 1949] 81 p. il. $1.75.

CRAVNER, MARIE. Zither of many strings. [Asheville, Stephens Press] privately printed, 1949. 59 p. il. $2.00. Order from Mrs. W. E. Cravner, Gastonia, N. C.

CREEL, MRS. HENRY. White pussy cat and little gray mouse . . . illustrated by Mildred Creel Benfield. New York, The Poetry Digest, 1950. 23 p. il. Order from Mrs. Henry Creel, 304 E. King Street, Kinston, N. C. Juvenile.

CULBRETH, JAMES MARVIN. Thoughts out of the heart and life of James Marvin Culbreth, January 13, 1880—March 29, 1949. No place, privately printed, [1949] 45 p. il. Order from Mrs. J. M. Culbreth, Rt. 2, Brentwood, Tennessee.

DAVIDSON, CHALMERS GASTON, editor. A collection of verse on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. [Charlotte, N. C., Dowd Press, 1950] 17 p. Apply American Trust Company, Charlotte, N. C.

HAMPTON, LURA JIMISON. Nightfall. Winston-Salem, N. C. Clay Printing Company, 1950. 87 p. $2.00.

HENDERSON, BARBARA. Of wars and rumors of war. [Charlotte, N. C., Conrad Advertising Company, 1950] [21] p. $2.00 pa.

HEWITT, ANDREW. Traveller to April. Charlotte, N. C., Blue Ridge Press, [1949] [51] p. $1.55.
HUTCHINS, W. L. Withered weeds. Winston-Salem, N. C., Clay Printing Company, 1950. 81 p. il. $2.00.
MEADOWS, LEON RENFROE. Reveries. New York, Exposition Press [1949] 125 p. $2.75.
ROYSTER, NAT. L. Once to every heart. New York, Exposition Press, [1947] 95 p. $2.00.
STEM, THAD. Picture poem. Branson, Mo., New Athenaeum Press, 1950. 64 p. Apply Author, Oxford, N. C.
WADDELL, MAUDE. Southern poems. No place, privately printed, [1950?] 14 p. il.

Fiction[2]

BELL, THELMA HARRINGTON. Pawnee; with drawings by Corydon Bell. New York, Viking Press, 1950. 60 p. il. $2.00. Juvenile.
BROWN, JOE DAVID. The freeholder. New York, Morrow, 1949. 203 p. $3.00.
CHAPMAN, MARISTAN. pseud. Rogue's March. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., [1949] 384 p. il. $3.00.
CREDLE, ELLIS. The adventures of Tittletom. New York, Oxford University Press, 1949. 79 p. il. $1.75. Juvenile.
CREDLE, ELLIS. Here comes the showboat! Written and illustrated by Ellis Credle. New York, Nelson [1949] 95 p. il. music. $2.50.
GOULD, MAGGY. The dowry, a novel. New York, W. Morrow, 1949. 244 p. $2.75.
GREEN, PAUL. Dog on the sun, a volume of stories. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1949] ix, 178 p. $3.00.
HEAGNEY, ANNE. The magic pen. Milwaukee, Bruce [1949] v, 168 p. $2.50.
POLSKY, THOMAS, The cudgel. New York, Dutton, 1950. 223 p. $2.50.
RUARK, ROBERT CHESTER. One for the road, illustrated by R. Taylor. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1949. 253 p. il. $2.50.
SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. Divine mistress. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1949. 340 p. $3.00.
SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. The stubborn heart. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1950. 307 p. $3.00.
STEELE, MAX. Debby.[3] New York, Harper, [1950] 304 p. $3.00.
STREET, JAMES HOWELL. Mingo Dabney. New York, Dial Press, 1950. 383 p. $3.00.
TAYLOR, PETER. A woman of means. New York, Harcourt, Brace [1950] 160 p. il. $2.75.
WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. The raiders of Beaver Lake. New York, Nelson [1950] 160 p. $2.00. Juvenile.

[2] With a North Carolina setting or by a North Carolinian.
[3] Winner of Mayflower award, 1950.

WOLFE, THOMAS. . . . the years of wandering in many lands and cities. New York, C. S. Boesen [1949] [10] p. 6 mounted facsims. Edition limited to 600 copies. $10.00.

Literature Other Than Poetry, Drama, or Fiction

ADAMS, GEORGE C. S. Words and descriptive terms for 'woman' and 'girl' in French and Provencal and border dialects. Chapel Hill, Department of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, 1949. 99 p. (Studies in Romance languages and literatures, no. 11) $1.50 pa.

BOWIE, THEDORE ROBERT. The painter in French fiction, a critical essay. [Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1950] 60 p. (Studies in Romance languages and literatures, no. 15) $1.50 pa.

HOLMES, URBAN TIGNER, editor. Romance studies presented to William Morton Dey on the occasion of his seventieth birthday by his colleagues and former students; edited by Urban T. Holmes, Jr., Alfred G. Engstrom and Sturgis E. Leavitt. Chapel Hill [University of North Carolina] 1950. 196 p. port. (Studies in the Romance Languages and literatures, no. 12.) $1.50 pa.

MEEKINS, VICTOR. The old sea captain and the drummer; salty dialogue from the land of wind and water as written years ago for *The coastline times*. Manteo [The Times Printing Company, c. 1950] 120 p. il. Apply.

[PASCHAL, MRS. FRANCIS] A literary map of North Carolina. Designed by Primrose [pseud] Prepared by the Literature Committee, North Carolina English Teachers Association, Mary Wyche Mintz, chairman. Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Company, c. 1950. col. map 52 x 84 cm. with illus. and list of authors. $1.50.

POTEAT, HUBERT M., translator of Cicero. Brutus; On the nature of the Gods; On divination; On duties; with an introduction by Richard McKeon. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950. v, 660 p. $6.00.

REICHERT, HERBERT WILLIAM. Basic concepts in the philosophy of Gottfried Keller. Chapel Hill, 1949. 164 p. (North Carolina. University. Studies in the Germanic languages and literatures, no. 1) $3.20 pa.

SHINE, HILL, editor. Booker memorial studies; eight essays on Victorian literature in memory of John Manning Booker, 1881-1948. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1950] xiv, 183 p. port. $4.00.

SHINE, HILL. The Quarterly review under Gifford; identification of contributors, 1809-1824, by Hill Shine and Helen Chadwick Shine. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949. xx, 108 p. $3.00.

History and Travel

ACOMB, FRANCES. Anglophobia in France, 1763-1789; an essay in the history of constitutionalism and nationalism. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1950. xii, 167 p.

COLLINS' tourist handbook of North Carolina. Winston-Salem, N. C., The Collins Company, 1950. 90 p. $.25 pa.

CORBITT, DAVID LEROY. The formation of the North Carolina counties, 1663-1943. Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1950. xix, 323 p. maps. Apply. Mailing fee of $.50.

COULTER, ELLIS MERTON. The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865. [Baton Rouge] Louisiana State University Press, 1950. x, 644 p. il. (A History of the South, v. 7) $7.00.

COULTER, ELLIS MERTON, editor. A list of the early settlers of Georgia edited by E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye. Athens, The University of Georgia Press, [c. 1949] xiv, 103 p. $4.00.

CRUM, MASON. The story of Lake Junaluska. Greensboro, N. C., The Piedmont Press, 1950. 117 p. il. Order from Lake Junaluska Assembly. $2.00.

EATON, CLEMENT. A history of the Old South. New York, Macmillan, 1949. ix, 636 p. il. $4.50.

JOHNSON, GERALD WHITE. Incredible tale; the odyssey of the average American in the last half century. New York, Harper [1950] viii, 301 p. $3.50.

NORTH CAROLINA almanac and state industrial guide, 1950-1951, [edited by] Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Mrs. Carl Goerch. Raleigh, Almanac Publishing Company, c. 1950. 652 p. il. $1.50 pa.

NORTH CAROLINA. UNIVERSITY. Essays in southern history presented to Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D., LL.D., by his former students at the University of North Carolina, edited by Fletcher Green. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949. vii, 156 p. (The James Sprunt studies in history and political science, v. 31) $2.50, $1.50 pa.

PARRIS, JOHN. The Cherokee story. Asheville, N. C., Stephens Press, 1950. 122 p. il. $1.00 pa.

Autobiography and Biography

ADAMS, AGATHA (BOYD) Thomas Wolfe, Carolina student; a brief biography. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1950. 91 [1] p. (Library extension publication, v. 15, no. 2) $1.25, $.50 pa.

BARRINGER, PAUL BRANDON. The natural bent; the memoirs of Dr. Paul B. Barringer. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1949] viii, 280 p. $3.50.

BLYTHE, LEGETTE. William Henry Belk, merchant of the South. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [1950] xiv, 225 p. il. $2.75.

BRODIN, PIERRE. Thomas Wolfe; translation by Imogene Riddick; preface by Richard Walser. Asheville, N. C., Stephens Press, [c. 1949] 41 p. port. $1.50.

BRYAN, FERREBEE CATHERINE. At the gates; life story of Matthew Tyson and Eliza Moring Yates of China. Nashville, Tennessee, Broadman Press, 1950. xii, 374 p. il. $3.75.

BUMGARDNER, EDWARD. Life of Edmund Ross, the man whose vote saved a president. Kansas City, Mo., Fielding-Turner Press, 1950. $2.50. The president was Andrew Johnson.

CLARK, WALTER. The papers of Walter Clark, edited by Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1950. v. 2. 1902-1924. $6.00.

DAVIDSON, CHALMERS GASTON. Friend of the people; the life of Dr. Peter Fayssoux of Charleston, South Carolina. Columbia, Medical Association of South Carolina, 1950. vii, 151 p. $2.62. Order from R. M. Fechter, 1420 Lady St., Columbia, S. C.

HARDRE, JACQUES, editor. Letters of Louvois, edited with introduction and notes by Jacques Hardré. Chapel Hill, [University of North Carolina] 1949. 518, [1] p. (Studies in Romance languages and literatures, no. 10) $6.00, pa.

HOLMES, EDISON PARKER. The disadvantages of being a preacher's son. Illustrations and book cover by Carl Spencer. Winston-Salem, N. C., Printed by Clay Printing Company, 1950. 167 p. il. $2.75.

LONG, EUGENE HUDSON. O. Henry, the man and his work. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xi, 158 p. port. $2.75.

LONG, MARY ALVES. High time to tell it. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1950. xi, 314 p. il. $3.50.

MAXWELL, RAYMOND C. Life and works of Allen Jay Maxwell, 1873-1946. [Raleigh, N. C., privately printed] 1949. 213 p. ports.

NOBLIN, STUART. Leonidas La Fayette Polk, agrarian crusader. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949. ix, 325 p. il. $5.00.

PERKINS, MAXWELL E. Editor to author, the letters of Maxwell E. Perkins, selected and edited with commentary and an introduction by John Hall Wheelock. New York, Charles Scribners Sons, 1950. xiii, 315 p. port. $3.75. For Thomas Wolfe material.

PRINCE, WILLIAM MEADE. The southern part of heaven, with illustrations by the author. New York, Rinehart [1950] 314 p. il. $3.50.

ROGERS, LOU. Tar Heel women. Raleigh, N. C., Warren Publishing Company, [1949] xiv, 284 p. ports. $3.50.

SHUTE, JOHN RAYMOND, His Honor, the heretic. Monroe, N. C., Nocalore Press, 1950. 76 p. $1.50.

WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. Giant in Gray; a biography of

Wade Hampton of South Carolina. New York, C. Scribners Sons, 1949. xv, 387 p. ports. $5.00.

New Editions and Reprints

ALLEN, MARY MOORE. North Carolina sketches and places. Goldsboro, N. C., Author, 1949. $.50 pa.

BOYD, WILLIAM KENNETH. The story of Durham, city of the new South. Durham, N. C., Duke University Press, 1949. 345 p. il. $3.00.

BRIGGS, THOMAS HENRY. Secondary education. New York, MacMillan, 1950. 477 p. il. $4.00.

COKER, ROBERT ERVIN. This great and wide sea. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, [1949] xvii, 325 p. il. $5.00.

DAVIS, EUGENE C., editor. 8 popular plays for amateurs in prompt book style; a practical production anthology. New York, Greenberg, [1948] x, 258 p. il. Includes Paul Green's The last of the Lowries.

DOUGLAS, MARY TERESA (PEACOCK) The teacher-librarian's handbook. 2d ed. Chicago, American Library Association, 1949. 166 p. il. $2.75.

HEDDEN, WORTH TUTTLE. The other room. New York, Bantam Books, 1950. $.25 pa.

HELPER, HINTON ROWAN. Dreadful California. . . . Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill [1948] 162 p. il. Published in 1855 under title: The land of gold. $2.50.

HENRY, O., pseud. of WILLIAM SYDNEY PORTER. The gift of the Magi and An unfinished Christmas story. Garden City, N. Y., Country Life Press Corporation, 1949, 21 p.

KENAN, WILLIAM RAND. History of Randleigh Farm, Sixth edition. Lockport, N. Y., Author, c. 1950. 377 p. il. Apply.

KENAN, WILLIAM RAND. Incidents by the way; more recollections. Second edition. [Lockport, N. Y., Author, 1949.] 105 p. il. Apply.

McREE, GRIFFITH JOHN. Life and correspondence of James Iredell, one of the associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States . . . New York, Peter Smith, 1949. Micro-Offset. 2v. in one. Limited edition, 200 copies. $10.00.

NORTH CAROLINA (COLONY) GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HOUSE OF BURGESSES. The journal of the House of Burgesses of the Province of North-Carolina, 1749. Reproduced in facsimile in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of the printing press in North Carolina; with an introduction by William S. Powell. Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1949. xvii p. facsim.: 14 p. Apply State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N. C.

SEPARK, JOSEPH HENRY. Gastonia and Gaston County, North Carolina, 1846-1949. Gastonia, [1950?] 237 p.

SMITH, BETTY. Tomorrow will be better. Garden City, N. Y., Sun Dial Press, c. 1948. $1.00.

WOLFE, THOMAS. Look homeward, angel: II. The adventures of young Gant, with an introduction by Edward C. Aswell. [New York] New American Library [1948] 192 p. $.25 pa. This edition contains most of Part II of Look homeward, angel.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trinity College, 1839-1892: The Beginnings of Duke University. By Nora Campbell Chaffin. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 584. $5.00.)

This volume relates the history of what was later to become Duke University, from its ante-bellum origin in Randolph County to its removal to Durham near the end of the nineteenth century. The arrangement is chronological, following the progress of the institution through Brown's Schoolhouse, an elementary subscription school (. . . ?-1839) ; Union Institute, a private academy (1839-1851) ; Normal College, a state-affiliated training school for teachers (1851-1856) ; and Trinity College, a liberal arts college controlled by the North Carolina conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1856-1892). Originally projected as a centennial history of Trinity College by Professor William K. Boyd, the manuscript was only partly written at the time of his death and was subsequently placed in the hands of Miss Chaffin. She has leaned heavily, and with due acknowledgment, upon Professor Boyd's work and has included one of his chapters, briefly summarizing the educational history of North Carolina prior to 1860, as an introduction.

From its remote beginnings, Trinity College was designed to provide better educational advantages for the plain people of North Carolina. Prominent among the expressed aims of its leaders were those of "reaching the common walks of life with a more thorough education than had been previously afforded them" and of promoting "the interest of the great middle class of people." Generally Methodists, these leaders were drawn from the people whom the school sought to serve and were committed to the ideal of "a democratic Christian college." This was in sharp contrast to the early history of the University of North Carolina, whose governing board represented the ruling class and great landowners, where the first building was denounced as "a palace-like erection" maintained as a resort for the sons of the rich at the expense of the poor, where professors were criticized as aliens who threatened to introduce monarchical principles and students were said to be addicts of vice and immorality.

But piety and democracy did not always receive adequate financial support. Meager as were its needs, the college's debts

were often pressing, and efforts to raise funds frequently met with insufficient response. On January 14, 1886, the treasurer paid one member of the faculty the last dollar of his salary for 1885, this being the first time a professor had been paid his salary in full since the Civil War. At times there was conflict with Randolph-Macon College regarding the extent to which that institution was entitled to support by North Carolina Methodists. Nevertheless, Trinity survived these and other obstacles and succeeded in making a substantial contribution to the educational life of the state. In 1887 all but four of its graduates were living in North Carolina, among these being sixteen teachers, nine lawyers, seven clergymen, and four physicians.

An especially important factor contributing to the success of Trinity was the work of a number of earnest and energetic leaders associated with it, in particular Brantley York, Braxton Craven, and John F. Crowell. Convenient summaries of the careers of these men are included by Miss Chaffin, along with careful appraisals of their accomplishments. Other topics accorded more or less extended treatment are the curriculum at various stages in the school's history, student and faculty life and activities, and the various efforts of the trustees to keep the college in operation, especially during the dark days of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The successive relations between the college and the Methodist Church are well described, as are the factors and deliberations resulting in the removal of the institution to Durham.

Superior to most college histories, Miss Chaffin's work is based upon extensive research not confined to annual catalogues and faculty and trustee minutes. Elaborate footnotes and a lengthy bibliography testify to the immense amount of source material, both manuscript and printed, that was read and digested in the preparation of the volume.

James W. Patton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Impressions of Men and Movements at the University of North Carolina. By Henry McGilbert Wagstaff. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 110. $2.00.)

To men and women connected with colleges elsewhere and especially to the thousands of present and former students and teachers of the University of North Carolina, this volume by Henry McGilbert Wagstaff could well be a source of information, a reminder of the past, and cause for pride in an institution which has come a long way since 1789.

This brief volume was never intended to be a history of the University. The sketches resulted from President Frank P. Graham's request in 1941 that Dr. Wagstaff from his store of information, thoughts, ideas, and memories set down in permanent form his impressions of men and movements from the beginning to 1930. At the time of his unexpected death in 1945, Dr. Wagstaff had prepared a first draft treating the historical background, establishment, and progress of the University through the period of Reconstruction and the reopening until the end of the service of Francis Preston Venable as president.

The author discusses the almost desperate problem of finance, the bitter opposition to state-supported higher education from denominational forces, and the part played by political parties in the fortunes (or misfortunes) of the institution.

Dr. Wagstaff (at the time affectionately nicknamed "Dr. Wigglestick" by the students) was this reviewer's first teacher at Carolina. The sound scholarship and dry wit which characterized him in the classroom are also evident throughout the book. He was well qualified for the task assigned. Himself an alumnus, he was for thirty-eight years a member of the faculty, and, judging by his kindly, yet penetrating, characterizations, a keen analyst of human nature. It is a great pity that he was not destined to complete a work so well begun.

After the death of the author, Dr. Louis R. Wilson edited the notes and arranged the chapters in chronological order according to administrations of the chief officials. In a prefatory note, the editor explains how the project was initiated and what disposition was made of the manuscript.

Gardner-Webb College,
Boiling Springs, N. C.

Nell Hines Harris.

William Henry Belk: Merchant of the South. By LeGette Blythe. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 225. $2.75.)

Throughout dozens of southern communities from northern Virginia to Florida and westward to Arkansas the name "Belk Store" is a household term. Even "the foreigner" traveling through the South is wont to wonder at what is apparently the remarkable extent of the Belk clan, for in almost every good-sized town is seen prominent evidence of the mercantile union of Belk-Jones or Belk-Brown or the like.

LeGette Blythe, experienced biographer and former literary editor of the *Charlotte Observer*, has produced a most interesting biography of William Henry Belk who opened his first store in 1888 in Monroe, North Carolina, and proceeded to link his name with those of scores of southern merchants and to build a huge group of nearly 300 retail establishments doing an annual business is excess of $100,000,000.

Biographer Blythe relates how W. H. Belk and his brother Dr. John Belk (1865-1928) recognized early the value of such innovations as an all-cash business, clearly marked retail prices with no haggling at the counter, and a "satisfaction or your money back" policy. Building upon the success of their Monroe beginnings, the Belks extended their interests by training young, promising men to be merchants, setting them up in a store in a southern town, allowing the new managers complete freedom but extending to the new stores the benefits of mass purchasing. The result has been the erection of not a chain system (in fact the Belks deplore the term "system") but rather a family of stores in which each store retains its individuality while the group as a whole works for its common benefit.

This biography, which offers "indisputable proof" of the value of American free enterprize, is the result of a close study of Belk the man and the merchant and of the Belk mercantile group. The volume is well-illustrated and indexed and contains, in addition, a chronological list of all the Belk stores. The author has obtained his information not from archival sources and secondary works but from extensive interviews with his subject and with Belk associates throughout the South.

Mr. Blythe reveals that he is not only an ardent admirer of his subject but also a good judge of human character and a skillful selector of the pertinent and interesting raw material which goes into the making of an attractive biography.

Robert M. Langdon.

United States Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Md.

The Church in the Wilderness: North Carolina Quakerism as Seen by Visitors. By Henry J. Cadbury. The Historical Lecture delivered at the Two Hundred and Fifty-First Session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Eighth Month, the Fourth, 1948. Second Publication of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. (No date. Pp. 14.)

Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History. By Adelaide L. Fries. The Historical Lecture delivered at the Two Hundred and Fifty-Second Session of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Eighth Month, the Third, 1949. (No date. Pp. 16.)

These pamphlets were made possible by the remarkable care with which Friends and Moravians have preserved the records of their activities. The facts presented are not merely authentic in the usual sense of historical jargon. They convey to the reader a distinct impression of having been derived from a great body of valid historical materials outside the usual range of historians. Members of the craft generally will profit by the generosity of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society in publishing these lectures.

The lecture of 1948 presents a series of impressions of visitors to North Carolina Friends and Friends Meetings. These visitors, the author explains, were the nearest approach the Friends ever made to a central bureaucracy with responsibility for maintaining administrative connection or doctrinal conformity among the autonomous Yearly Meetings. Visitors, hosts, and groups of believers are presented in successive stages of the transition from the frontier faith of seventeenth century Albemarle to late nineteenth century Quakerism centering in the neighborhood of High Point and Greensboro. Antislavery and antiwar sentiments are emphasized as the chief factors of continuity in Quaker history.

In the lecture of 1949, the late Adelaide L. Fries discounts rather heavily some of the assumptions of earlier historians concerning Moravians and Quakers. She intimates that the two

groups were most alike in being different from the accepted standards in worship and attitude to the civil authorities. The practice of joining them in special acts of the General Assembly and their geographic proximity seem to have been the main factors in associating them in the minds of contemporaries and historians alike. This essay is a closely reasoned argument that this association is unwarranted from every standpoint except that of doctrinal agreement on military service and the taking of oaths.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina Teachers College,
Greenville, N. C.

Catawba Frontier, 1775-1781: Memories of Pensioners. By Mary Elinor Lazenby. (Washington, D. C.; published by the compiler, 2333 Nebraska Ave. $2.00.)

A few statements of the Revolutionary pensioners were published in the *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina,* edited by Saunders and Clark fifty years ago, but the majority of these uneven recollections have been known only to professional historians and DAR genealogists. Many are worthless for serious research but a number contain invaluable hints and side lights for the local military and social historian. The best of these have been culled by Miss Lazenby and given for the first time to the general public.

The majority of the pension papers quoted in *Catawba Frontier* come from the 1830's at which time most of the writers had passed their alloted three score and ten years. Discrepancies with respect to dates and chronology are not difficult to find and have in many instances been pointed out by the compiler. But there is a wealth of local information not easily available elsewhere. Particularly interesting are the revelations of informality during the Revolution. Volunteers appeared for a battle when one seemed imminent in their section and disappeared without leave-taking of their officers when the fighting was over. It was possible to hire substitutes if drafted and several of the pensioners were in the employ of others who for one reason or another did not choose to fight.

It would appear that, with few exceptions, veterans of ample means in the 1820's and 30's did not apply for pensions. As a result there are no statements from such prominent Catawba River soldiers as General Joseph Graham, Major John Davidson, Captain James Connor, Captain John Reid, and the Polks, who are known to have survived well into the period when pensions were easy and free. The services of many of these and of others of prominence who were already dead, however, are frequently referred to by privates and subalterns who served under them.

The booklet is well printed, paper-bound, and carefully though not exhaustively indexed. The reviewer regrets that there was not an introductory chapter on pension laws, giving dates and conditions under which soldiers of the Revolution might draw relief from their government. Miss Lazenby has performed a valuable service to Piedmont historians, to the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and to all lovers of Catawba River lore.

Chalmers G. Davidson.

Davidson College,
Davidson, N. C.

Aerial Gunner from Virginia: the Letters of Don Moody to his Family during 1944. Edited by William Edwin Hemphill. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1950. Pp. xxx, 366.)

This collection of letters was chosen by the director of the World War II History Division of the Virginia State Library because it contains an account in many ways representative of the experiences undergone by the approximately 300,000 Virginians in uniform.

Don Moody's army career, from his induction at the age of eighteen until his death in a crash in the South Pacific, lasted but ten months, and his actual overseas experience only three weeks. Yet throughout the entire period he wrote nearly every day to members of his family, and thus the nearly 200 letters in the collection provide a detailed record of daily army routine, matter-of fact, limited in perspective, and devoid of harrowing exploits or dramatic events. Don was most concerned with matters of family interest and with his own personal failures and

triumphs. The possibility of a furlough and the dread of a dental appointment loomed far larger than the general course of world events.

Despite the repetitiousness and the stock expressions with which Don conveyed his feelings and attitudes, one gains a clear impression not only of his reactions to army life but also of his close and affectionate relationship with his family. The letters would probably have retained more of their authentic flavor if the original spelling and grammar had not been corrected by the editor. It is also difficult to see the necessity for deleting the very mild sprinkling of profanity, which Don obviously thought inoffensive to his mother and sister. The editor has done a commendable job, however, in the insertion of material necessary for a full understanding of various references in the letters.

Howard Braverman.

1620 St. John's Place,
Brooklyn, New York.

The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke. A Preliminary Checklist of his Surviving Texts in Manuscript and in Print. By William E. Stokes, Jr., and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library. 1950. Pp. 170.)

Because of his long public service, his eccentric character and his numerous controversies, John Randolph of Roanoke invariably offers continued interest to students of history, nor is this interest confined solely to the subject of history since even majors in the subject of speech have written doctoral dissertations on the effectiveness of the oratory of the caustic Virginian. Consequently a guide to his writings and speeches, published and unpublished, even though admitted by the compilers to be incomplete, is most welcome.

This volume, attractively bound with the Randolph coat of arms on the cover and a Gilbert Stuart portrait in the front, is the ninth in the *Virginia Bibliographical Studies* published by the University of Virginia Library. Arranged chronologically a total of 2,762 items is listed including writings and speeches to be found in more than twenty published sources and in various manuscript collections throughout the country. These range

from letters written by Randolph in 1781 at the age of eight to his stepfather, St. George Tucker, through his lengthy public career and end on a lugubrious note in 1833 with Randolph's measurements supplied by Robert R. Bringhurst, undertaker. For the year 1807 there are listed 136 items and for the next year 145. The writings of this period have a special interest for North Carolina because of Randolph's relations, friendly or otherwise, with her Congressmen such an Nathaniel Macon, Richard Stanford, Willis Alston, and Lemuel Sawyer.

In their foreword the compilers state that the list is "preliminary and incomplete" and an explanation is given for the failure to include items from the House of Representative Papers in the National Archives. A mimeographed addendum accompanying the volume notes three manuscripts subsequently called to their attention by the Research Office of Colonial Williamsburg. The inadvertent omission of certain items contained in the Henry Adams biography of Randolph is also noted. In spite of these acknowledged omissions, however, the checklist cannot fail to be of value to those who are interested in various phases of Randolph's career. It is hoped by the compilers that the publication of the checklist "in its present state" will "draw the fire of numerous critics" so that with "corrections and additions" a more complete knowledge of this important figure from the Old Dominion will be available.

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,
Greenville, S. C.

State Papers and Public Addresses: Clarence W. Meadows, Twenty-second Governor of West Virginia, 1945-1949. (Charleston, West Virginia. 1950. Pp. xiii, 432.)

In 1933 the state of West Virginia belatedly began to publish the official papers of its governors, and the present volume is the fourth in the series. The general nature of its contents does not, of course, differ from that of similar collections put out by other states; it consists chiefly of legislative messages, routine addresses to various groups and organizations, politcial speeches, and some official correspondence.

During the immediate postwar period West Virginia made considerable progress in the direction of educational reform, and documents dealing with this movement are among the more interesting in the compilation. Meadows was active in initiating legislation which provided for a survey of the state school system by Dr. George D. Strayer of Columbia University and in urging the adoption of the major recommendations of the Strayer report.

The papers are introduced by an anonymous biographical sketch, written in the eulogistic style of a campaign biography; the information provided about Meadows' career and personality is superficial and uncritical. The papers show few signs of editing: although called for on numerous occasions, almost no explanatory notes appear, and the lack of an index considerably lessens the value of the volume.

Howard Braverman.

1620 St. John's Place,
Brooklyn, New York.

And the War Came. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 331. Illustrations, bibliography and index, $4.50.)

This is a study of the development of public opinion in the North from the election of Lincoln until the surrender of Fort Sumter. During the campaign this opinion quite generally was that the threats of secession were mere gasconade against which it was unnecessary to take any provision. But after the election of Lincoln as secession changed from a threat to a reality it became necessary for the northern people to determine their attitude toward disunion. From the beginning they had no thought of acquiescence; they thought only of preventing it by conciliation or coercion. But of the conciliators only Crittenden offered to the South such concessions as would enable it to remain in the Union without continued subservience to a dominant and antagonistic North. For the most part the compromises proposed were merely for the purpose of dividing the upper and lower South and of keeping the Southern people bemused until a Unionist reaction should set in among them. As neither of these things came to pass northern opinion solidified behind a policy of coercion thinly dis-

guised as law enforcement, any southern resistance to which was to be considered as aggression justifying a war of defense. This policy Lincoln adopted, announced in his inaugural address, and brought to fruition by engineering the Fort Sumter episode. Possessed then of their anticipated pretext the North united in a holy crusade to save the Union and thereby to destroy slavery, insure the dominance of northern business interests, civilize the southern people, and make the South worthy of its northern associates.

The greatest contribution of this book is in its exposure of the hypocrisy of the northern conciliators; otherwise its findings have been anticipated by Randall, Craven, and many other writers. The author has drawn his material chiefly from contemporary newspapers and private correspondence and has thus been able to make his study both accurate and full. The tone is caustic and the criticisms are often scathing. Throughout his book he refers to the northern people by the opprobrious term "Yankees." It cannot be said, however, that he shows partisanship and one has the feeling that if he were writing of southern opinion instead of northern he would be equally vitriolic.

R. S. Cotterill.

Florida State University,
Tallassee, Fla.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume XVII. The Territory of Illinois, 1814-1818 . . . (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. v, 750. $4.00.)

Records in federal archives relating to the administration of Illinois Territory are printed in volumes XVI (1809-1813) and XVII (1814-1818), of *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. An attempt was made to include every hitherto unpublished relevant document in the State and Post Office departments archives, also the legislative memorials and petitions from Illinois. Selected documents only on lands and Indian affairs are included.

That rare first Illinois imprint, the Supreme Court Law of 1814, is reproduced in facsimile and the Executive Register for

Illinois Territory in the Illinois State Archives has been re-edited and reprinted here. (The latter was first printed in *Illinois State Historical Library Publications*, volume III.) Since this Supreme Court Law volume is of interest to bibliographers as well as to historians, one regrets, but does not quibble over, the omission of those pages containing the Memorial to Congress which Dr. Carter chose to print instead from the original manuscript in the Congressional files. It is unfortunate that the reproduction was not made from the better copy in the Illinois State Historical Library.

The high standards of selection and editing which have characterized all this series of Territorial Papers of the United States have been continued in this volume.

Those who will be using this compilation for source material will regret that time, space, and money precluded the inclusion of a bibliography of additional cognate documents to be found in the federal and Illinois State archives and also of documents printed elsewhere. While Dr. Carter expresses the opinion that nothing significant has been omitted in specified fields, any selection is necessarily selective. Such a list of documents omitted here would prevent duplication of effort in checking sources.

The unpublished calendars of federal archives relating to the Mississippi Valley made some years ago by Dr. Newton Mereness, though incomplete, can be used as a checklist of sorts. The cards on Illinois are in the Illinois Historical Survey of the University of Illinois.

The Illinois Archives contain the executive file of documents from which the Executive Register was compiled, records of the territorial treasurer and of the Territorial General Assembly but no further governor's correspondence.

Margaret C. Norton.

Illinois State Library,
Springfield, Ill.

Fifteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, for the Year Ending June 30, 1949. National Archives Publication No. 50-5. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. vi, 57.)

Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the United States Senate. Compiled by Harold E. Hufford and Watson G. Caudill. National Archives Publication No. 50-8; Preliminary Inventory No. 23. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1950. Pp. x, 284.)

When the United States established the National Archives in 1935 to serve as the official depository for such records of its agencies as are worthy of preservation, a North Carolinian, R. D. W. Connor, became the first Archivist of the United States. Hence it is natural that readers of this journal feel a special and continuing interest in the progress of the National Archives, even though that institution has been administered for a decade by others.

Evidences of progress fill the pages of the Archivist's latest annual report. There has been improvement in the ways the government's records are currently created and filed, in the methods by which the less significant, duplicating, and meaningless records are screened for destruction, and in the preservation and accessibility for research of the 894,857 cubic feet of noncurrent records which were in the Archivist's custody at the end of the year. Proof of the value of the whole effort is to be found in the twin facts that nearly 193,000 reference services were performed within the year for other agencies of the federal government and that about 172,000 such services were rendered to the public. Such statistics may seem dull, but the opposite is true of the ingenious uses to which this amazing collection of manuscripts, maps, photographs, motion pictures, and sound recordings was put by inquirers into widely varied facets of American life. Weather Bureau records were utilized to determine the date of the burial of Edgar Allan Poe, to mention as an example just one of the least surprising and least important "finds" of the year.

This fifteenth annual report of the Archivist is the last which will be published separately. On July 1, 1949, in a reorganization of the federal government's agencies, the National Archives became subordinate to the General Services Admisistration. The Administrator of General Services will report to Congress, and

it is not certain that what he reports will be published. Thus endeth a series of fifteen instructive booklets which have much greater value than run-of-the-mill governmental reports.

The records of the United States Senate have survived rather completely two transfers (from New York City to Philadelphia to Washington), the British sacking of the Capitol in 1814, and various other perils. They amount to 6,558 cubic feet. They concern executive and judicial functions as well as legislative matters. An indication of the scope of their contents can be found in the fact that the published inventory of these records covering the years 1789-1946 includes an index of more than fifty pages. The materials in the National Archives are not placed there for dead storage; they should be more accessible than the gold at Fort Knox. Such guides to these records as the helpful inventory of Senate records should be issued in redoubled volume during the National Archives' second fifteen years.

W. Edwin Hemphill.

Virginia State Library,
Richmond, Va.

Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780. By Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff. (Williamsburg: The Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1950. Volume I, pp. ix, 1-646; volume II, pp. 647-1314. $60.00.)

It would be superfluous to expound the historical value of the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg, one of the oldest newspapers in the southern colonies. This index is intended to be "a historical work of reference rather than an alphabetical list of names and places"; subjects, therefore, are given precedence over geographical places and names. Cross references, however, render the index useful (to a limited extent) to persons with a geographical approach, or to that larger group interested primarily in names. A typical subject reference is Alexandria, Virginia. Some of the subordinate references are "army supplies bought at," "committees of inspection," "defense of," and "settlement encouraged by General Assembly."

This index will be of value to students of North Carolina history. The North Carolina Department of Archives and History already has 265 typed pages of North Carolina items from the *Virginia Gazette,* January 10, 1771, to December 20, 1776. One

may expect, therefore, that a great many such items appeared during a period of 44 years.

Lester J. Cappon, editor of publications, and Stella F. Duff, senior indexer, are to be congratulated upon the completion of a project which required some eight years and the screening of 1,703 newspaper issues. It is to be hoped that other states will find it possible to undertake similar projects.

It is interesting to note that a microfilm file of the newspapers here indexed has been prepared from original issues and from photocopies. Unfortunately, the reviewer has not seen the microfilm file, but he, along with many others, will look forward to its appearance. It may be expected, therefore, that when the file is distributed, this index, a monumental work, will be widely used.

W. Frank Burton.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

A copy of an article, "The Scotch-Irish and the Coming of the Revolution in North Carolina," by E. R. R. Green, reprinted from *Irish Historical Studies,* vol. VII, no. 261 (September 1950), has been received. This article resulted from a seminar conducted by professor R. L. Meriwether at the University of South Carolina, 1947-1948.

Mr. W. Frank Burton, head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History, has been appointed a member of the committee on buildings and equipment of the Society of American Archivists for the current year.

The State Department of Archives and History announces that the following publications are ready for distribution: *Addresses, Letters and Papers of John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus Governor of North Carolina, 1933-1937,* edited by David Leroy Corbitt (1950), pp. 509, illustrated, free upon application to the Division of Publications of the Department; and *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum,* edited by Henry Thomas Shanks, volume I, 1807-1832 (1950), pp. 613, maps and illustrations. Requests for copies of the latter publication should be sent to the Division of Publications of the Department together with a wrapping and mailing fee of 50 cents.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden has spoken on the State Department of Archives and History and its program to groups on the following dates and in the following towns: December 20, Kinston and New Bern; December 21, Jacksonville; December 22, Lumberton; January 3, Durham; January 19, Chapel Hill; and January 23, Raleigh.

On February 7 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, head of the Division of Museums of the State Department of Archives and History, and Dr. Crittenden met with a group at Pembroke State Teachers College to discuss plans for establishing a historical museum at the college.

In Rocky Mount on February 27 Dr. Crittenden addressed a joint meeting of the Daughters of the American Colonists, the Daughters of Colonial Wars, and the United States Daughters of 1812. He spoke on the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, for the meeting occurred on the 175th anniversary of that battle.

Dr. A. R. Newsome has resigned as head of the history department at the University of North Carolina, but will continue to teach. Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell has been appointed to fill the vacancy.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, delivered an address before the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on March 21 on "The Formation of the North Carolina Counties."

On February 13 six juniors and seniors of Meredith College began the internship course offered by the Department of Archives and History in cooperation with the college.

The following will teach during the first summer term in the graduate school of Appalachian State Teachers College: Dr. Philip J. Green, professor of history at Queens College, Charlotte; Dr. James W. Moffitt, professor of history at Furman University, Greenville, S. C.; and Dr. Harry E. Dickinson, head, department of social studies, Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. Homer R. Greenholt, professor of history at Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory, will teach during the second summer term.

Professor John M. Justice, member of the social studies department of Appalachian State Teachers College, will do research at the University of North Carolina during the summer of 1951.

Professor E. C. Duggins, member of the social studies department of Appalachian State Teachers College, has been granted a leave of absence to return to the Navy.

Mr. Kenneth E. Crouch, journalist and historian of Bedford, Virginia, has made a collection of the state songs of all the states in the United States and has presented them to the Library of the University of Virginia. Not only has Mr. Crouch collected copies of the original songs, but he has collected more than 1,300 letters and 100 pictures of composers, sheet music, and clippings dealing with such songs.

On January 12 the Directors of the Roanoke Island Historical Association met in the Hall of History of the State Department of Archives and History and made plans for the eleventh annual presentation of Paul Green's "The Lost Colony." At this meeting Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton, on behalf of the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, offered a sum up to $2,500 for renovating and remodeling some of the stage settings in order to make them historically more authentic. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord proposed that the Garden Clubs of North Carolina be invited to sponsor a Shakespearian garden at Fort Raleigh. Mr. Guy Lemmon suggested that some land near the theatre, now held by the North Carolina Seashore Commission, might be turned over to the Association. Mr. Bill Sharpe of Raleigh was elected chairman succeeding Mrs. Charles A. Cannon. Later in January the governor and council of state allotted from the Contingency and Emergency Fund $7,228.40 to make up the operating deficit for the 1950 season.

Mr. Henry Chafetz, 84th Avenue, New York 3, New York, is preparing a book and would like to have information concerning gambling incidents that have taken place in North Carolina in which large sums of money, the lives of persons or animals, and other unusual stakes have depended on the turning of a card, the rolling of dice, the running of horses, or other gambling procedures.

A copy of *The Charlestown Directory for 1782 and The Charleston Directory for 1785* with a foreword by Mary A. Sparkman has been received. It is published by the Historical Commission of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.

The United States Naval Academy announces fellowships for research in naval history. Eligible are candidates with or without advanced degrees who have shown interest in naval and military history and have demonstrated ability in research. Appointments are made for one year on a renewable basis. Stipends will be adjusted to the needs of the individual fellows and are expected to vary between $3,000 and $8,000 per annum. Fellows are selected by a committee consisting of naval officers and civilian historians. Applications must be received not later than May 15, 1951. Choice of fellows will be made not later than July 1, 1951. Forms of application will be mailed on request addressed to the Superintendent, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

Books received include B. A. Botkin, *A Treasury of Southern Folklore* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949); Henry McGilbert Wagstaff, *Impressions of Men and Movements at the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1950); William Edwin Hemphill, *Aerial Gunner from Virginia: The Letters of Don Moody to his Family During 1944* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1950); *State Papers and Addresses, Clarence W. Meadows Twenty-Second Governor of West Virginia, 1945-1949* (Charleston: West Virginia, 1950); Charles Edward Cauthen, *South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865*, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Kenneth M. Stampp, *And The War Came: The North and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); William E. Stokes, Jr., and Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., *The Papers of Randolph of Roanoke, A Preliminary Checklist of his Surviving Texts in Manuscript and in Print* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, with assistance from the Research Council of the Richmond Area University Center, 1950); Garland A. Hendricks, *Biography of a Country Church* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1950); W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Aubrey Lee Brooks, *A Southern Lawyer: Fifty Years at the Bar* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950); Alexander

Crosby Brown, *The Sheet Iron Steamboat Codorus; John Elgar and the First Metal Hull Vessel Built in the United States* (Newport News, Virginia: The Mariners' Museum, 1950); William B. Hesseltine, *Confederate Leaders in the New South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Francis S. Philbrick, *The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809-1818* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1950); Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1950); Archibald Henderson, *Forty-Sixth Annual Phi Beta Kappa Address, Alpha Chapter of North Carolina. The Undying Flame, the Story of its Lighting* (1950); J. H. Easterby, *Guide to the Study and Reading of South Carolina History. South Carolina Bibliographies* no. 2 (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1950); John A. Oates, *The Story of Fayetteville and the Upper Cape Fear* (Fayetteville, N. C.: John A. Oates, 1950); Walter Whitaker, in collaboration with Staley A. Cook and A. Howard White, *Centennial History of Alamance County, 1849-1949* (Burlington, N. C.: Burlington Chamber of Commerce, 1950); C. A. McMahan, *The People of Atlanta, A Demographic Study of Georgia's Capital City* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1950); Lucille Griffith, *Yours Til Death, Civil War Letters of John W. Cotton* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1951); Albert D. Kirwan, *Revolt of the Rednecks, Mississippi Politics: 1876-1925* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951); Harden F. Taylor, *Survey of the Marine Fisheries of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951).

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVIII JULY, 1951 NUMBER 3

LEGAL EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1820-1860

BY FANNIE MEMORY FARMER

The matter of getting a legal education in the years prior to the Civil War was not as difficult as it is today. That is, there was no requirement of any particular time of study; and there were no prerequisite courses. A young man could study alone for a few months and then try the bar examination; he could arrange to read law with some established practitioner; he might prefer to attend one of the so-called law schools in North Carolina; or he might go out of his home state to one of the northern schools.[1] Legal education was more practical and less theoretical than it is today. The student generally watched the lawyer perform the routine tasks in his office, went with him into the courtroom, and picked up bits of information from older men and from books which the teacher owned. Several of the lawers who formed or organized schools began putting the instruction on a more systematic basis than had been the case at first, yet the law teacher continued to practice his profession first and to teach second.

Law was a popular profession in the ante-bellum years. The editor of the *North Carolina University Magazine* wrote in 1857, "Law stands first in respectability in the eyes of the young man, and consequently the greater number must choose that. . . ."[2] A goodly number did choose the law: the 1850 census, the first to list the professions, gave the number of lawyers in North Carolina as 399.[3] The census of 1860 listed the number as 500.[4]

[1] After 1800 few men studied law in England; before that date, however, a goodly number of North Carolinians were admitted to the English Inns of Court. See Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, "Southern Members of the Inns of Court," *North Carolina Historical Review*, X (October, 1933), 274, 279.

[2] "Editorial Table," *North Carolina University Magazine*, VII (November, 1857), 187.

[3] *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, 318.

[4] *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, 363.

While the law had a high standing in the eyes of the public, some young men had a difficult time in making up their minds to pursue such a vocation. Victor M. Murphey, son of Archibald D. Murphey, wrote to Thomas Ruffin in 1828 stating that he would rather be an able advocate than be a member of any other profession, because "the brightest ornaments of the Bar are the brightest ornaments of Human Nature." But, he added, he sought a more lucrative profession than law; even though his father wanted him to become a lawyer, he believed his prospects in medicine were better. He wrote that "The study of Medicine is generally considered the dernier resort of all Blockheads"; nevertheless, he decided to be a doctor.[5]

William K. Ruffin, son of Judge Thomas Ruffin, in discussing a similar problem, wrote that medicine was distasteful to him; if a mistake should be made by a physician, he might easily "deprive a fellow-being of his existence." He did not think he was suited to law because he could not express himself easily; neither could he wrap himself around an abstruse point of law, nor did he believe he could "ever become skilled in the arts of chicanery." Judge Ruffin evidently encouraged his son to pursue a legal career, for a few days later William wrote that he wished as much as his father did that he possessed the talents for the legal profession. He suggested the idea of reading law for a year or two in order to determine whether or not he was legally inclined,[6] a plan which he carried out.[7]

After the decision to study law was made, a young man had to decide where he would study. The relatively few who decided to read law alone sometimes found the ordeal very trying. They had to use any books they could borrow or buy. They often had to work while they were studying; and, of course, this activity sometimes interfered with the legal studies. Edwin Godwin Reade, who began to read law by himself in 1833, was licensed to practice two years after he began his reading course.[8] William Garnett wrote to Thomas Ruffin in 1824 saying that he had been reading law by himself and was considering practicing

[5] Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, editor, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh, 1920), I, 439-440.
[6] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 514-515, 520-521.
[7] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 36-37.
[8] Albert Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 315.

in Virginia, but that the prospects were discouraging there. He wanted to know whether the opportunities were better in North Carolina than in Virginia.[9] Edward J. Warren taught school, studied law in his spare moments, and was admitted to the bar in 1848.[10] George Vaughan Strong, born in 1827, was graduated from the University of North Carolina at the age of eighteen. He worked for a brief period, and finally moved to Goldsboro to become the owner and editor of the Goldsboro *Telegraph*. While editing the paper he studied law alone.[11] The men who read law by themselves and who had to use the books they were able to borrow were under a handicap in that they could not select the books they would like to read, but had to use and study whatever was available for a short time. Those who worked and studied at the same time must have been extremely busy; most of them learned enough law to pass the bar examination within a two-year period.

Though a moderate number of young men read law alone, most law students studied at one of the so-called law schools or under the tutelage of an experienced practitioner. Many of the best-known lawyers of North Carolina taught a few pupils as a side line to their primary vocation. The most successful of these teachers soon found themselves with so many pupils that they became conductors of schools. Thomas Ruffin was one of the few exceptions.

The prospective pupil who wanted training under a practitioner had to make his own arrangements with some lawyer who he felt would undertake his legal education. The transactions between the two were often on a very personal basis. Captain Herndon Haralson wrote to Archibald D. Murphey in 1820 asking that lawyer to help his son by allowing him to read in Murphey's library or by giving him counsel.[12] William H. Ruffin wrote to Thomas Ruffin telling him that his nephew, John Haywood, was going to Hillsboro to study either law or medicine. If he decided on law, the writer hoped that Thomas Ruffin would direct the boy; if he decided in favor of medicine,

[9] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 316-317.
[10] Lindsay C. Warren, *Beaufort County's Contribution to a Notable Era of North Carolina* (Washington, 1930), 4.
[11] Frank A. Daniels, "Address by Hon. Frank A. Daniels on Presentation of a Portrait of the late George Vaughan Strong to the Supreme Court of North Carolina . . . ," 206 *North Carolina Supreme Court Reports*, 930-931. The *North Carolina Supreme Court Reports* are hereinafter cited as *N. C.*, preceded by the number of the report.
[12] William Henry Hoyt, editor, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh, 1914), I, 176.

he wanted Ruffin to see that his nephew was placed with a certain doctor for the study of that profession.[13] The lawyer who engaged in teaching as an avocation was expected to be a friend in more ways than one!

Kenneth Rayner wrote from Tarboro on April 27, 1830, asking if he could study law under Ruffin's guidance. He said:

> You will recollect that during the session of the Legislature, my friend Louis D. Wilson spoke to you relative to your intentions with regard to taking law-students, and proposed to you my name as one wishing to pursue the study of law under your observation. He informed me that your reply was you were willing to take a few Law students, and I now repeat to you my wish to become your student. I have been reading with Mr. Lloyd about six months, and have nearly completed Blackstone and Cruise, and wishing to finish my studies with you, I request that you will immediately inform me by mail what may be your present intentions as to taking students, and whether or not you accede to my proposal of becoming one. You will also please inform me upon what terms I can read with you, that I may make my arrangements for paying you in due time.
>
> Should you conclude to receive me, I expect to go up and commence some time in June. You will please inform me immediately what may be your conclusion with regard to my proposition, that I may take measures accordingly.[14]

Henry S. Clark wrote to Ruffin that if he "could but have the benefit of your tuition and direction, it would afford [me], no inconsiderable degree of pleasure and satisfaction." He asked that Ruffin tell him about boarding places with respectable families.[15] Robert W. Brown wrote in 1829 requesting that Ruffin take his son, John Potts Brown, as a pupil. He, too, inquired about board and asked if his son could live with Ruffin's family.[16] Occasionally a student did live with the lawyer's family while he studied. For example, James C. Dobbin lived with Judge Robert Strange and his family during part of the time that he studied law under that gentleman.[17]

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[13] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 235.

[14] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 10. This letter was the beginning of a close friendship between Ruffin and Rayner. See footnote, Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 10. John Hill Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851* (Philadelphia, 1851), II, 209, reveals that Rayner did study law, but the name of his instructor is not given.

[15] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 426-427. Clark did become a lawyer. See Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851*, II, 29.

[16] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 475-476. In a postscript, Brown told Ruffin that he had a vessel just in from Liverpool and that he was sending an English cheese to him.

[17] James Banks, "A Biographical Sketch of the Late James C. Dobbin," *North Carolina University Magazine*, IX (February, 1860), 322.

H. P. Poindexter inquired in January, 1832, if his nephew, Thomas L. Clingman, could begin studying law under Ruffin the next summer. He said that he was writing early so as to have time to apply elsewhere if Ruffin could not take the boy. In July the same man wrote saying that evidently Ruffin had not received his letter since he had had no reply. He reiterated his inquiry and said his nephew would like to begin in the fall.[18] Ruffin either failed to reply to the letters or responded negatively, because Clingman studied law under William A. Graham of Hillsboro.[19]

In 1832 Giles Mebane wrote saying that he understood that Ruffin had all the students he could take, but he wondered if he could make an occasional visit to Ruffin's library to get books and to be examined. But of course, since he preferred being under direct supervision, he applied to spend half of his time under Ruffin's direction.[20] Evidently Ruffin replied favorably because Mebane did receive his legal education under that noted lawyer.[21]

It is obvious that the arrangements which were made were adapted to individual needs. In studying under a practitioner, a student began when he wished, studied as little or as much as he pleased, and was more or less on his own so far as learning law was concerned. There were neither grades nor definite requirements. The lawyer who engaged in teaching might be conscientious and try to educate his students to the best of his ability, or he might let them shift for themselves in any way that they could. The system was deficient in many ways, but no one can deny the fact that some of the best known lawyers in all of North Carolina's history were produced by this method of instruction.

Nearly all of the leaders of the bar and bench were teachers of aspiring students of the law. The student in the private office received little formal instruction. He read his preceptor's books, assisted in the office work, learned to prepare legal instruments, and became acquainted with the process of handling cases in

[18] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 55, 60.
[19] Clingman lost his eyesight for several months, during which time his sister read law to him. He studied under Graham after his sight was restored. See Jane P. Kerr, "Brigadier-General Thomas L. Clingman, *The Trinity Archive*, XII (March, 1899), 390.
[20] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 60.
[21] Samuel A'Court Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905-1917), VII, 335.

their entirety. He learned how to gather evidence, investigate authorities, draw pleadings, try a case in court, and appeal his case. The law office and the courtroom gave him a practical education.[22] The student in the law office was grounded in the actual practice of law during the early years of this period. About the middle of the nineteenth century the emphasis began to shift and the history of law and jurisprudence was presented to the pupils. During the early years, however, theory was not stressed; students read with experienced lawyers and acted as assistants throughout the period of training. The relationship more nearly resembled that of apprentice and master than pupil and teacher. Law students watched their teachers in court and then held moot courts for their own benefit. For example, in 1825 William A. Graham, while a student under Ruffin,[23] wrote to his teacher who was away, saying that the law class had instituted a moot court, he believed before Ruffin went away. The meetings were held weekly; and Graham thought that they would prove to be of value "if properly attended to."[24]

George Sharswood, writing on legal ethics, stated as his thesis the necessity of frequent examinations by lawyers who undertook to do any teaching so that they might be able to ascertain the types of minds which the students had. Sharswood deemed it a great advantage to a young man to have a "judicious and experienced friend . . ." watching his progress.[25] The student was fortunate indeed if his teacher measured up to the principles as they were laid down by Sharswood.

As has been indicated, Ruffin was one of the most popular of the office teachers, but David L. Swain, Robert Strange, William Gaston, David F. Caldwell, and Archibald D. Murphey were among the many lawyers who instructed students in their offices.[26] Some of the latter became important leaders in law and statecraft in the state.

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[22] Albert Coates, *A Task of Legal Education in North Carolina* (n. p., n. d.), 14.

[23] Robert Digges Wimberly Connor and others, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* (Chicago, 1928), III, 534.

[24] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, I, 331-332.

[25] George Sharswood, *An Essay on Professional Ethics* (Philadelphia, 1884), 197-198.

[26] For example, Caldwell taught Burton Craige. See Archibald Henderson, "Burton Craige Was Powerful Leader in Western North Carolina," *News and Observer*, January 30, 1927. He also taught Burgess Sidney Gaither. Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 94. James C. Dobbin studied under Robert Strange. Banks, "A Biographical Sketch of the Late James C. Dobbin," *North Carolina University Magazine*, IX (February, 1860), 322. Nicholas Washington Woodfin was one of Swain's pupils. Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 481-482. William Gaston taught, among others, Thomas Sparrow, William Blount Rodman, Sr., William Waightstill Avery,

Representatives of the bench who taught included Judges Robert B. Gilliam, Thomas Settle,[27] John Hall[28] and Augustus Moore.[29] Not only judges, but lesser lights among the legal profession engaged in teaching a pupil or two now and then. For example, Thomas N. Mann, a member of the Nash County bar, taught Bartholomew F. Moore;[30] Augustus Moore read law with Charles R. Kinney of Elizabeth City;[31] Louis D. Henry studied under Edward Graham of New Bern.[32] These and numerous other lawyers helped educate young men for their profession. Without this private instruction, North Carolina would have been far poorer than it was in the number and quality of its lawyers. These men who allowed young students to use their libraries and to observe them in action as practicing lawyers rendered an important service to the state in the years when law schools were small and not firmly established.

Not infrequently a student was fortunate enough to have a lawyer relative under whom he could study. Robert P. Dick read law under his father;[33] Thomas Ruffin, Jr., studied under his father and under his brother William;[34] Willie P. Mangum, Jr., began his studies with his father, but his father died and he had to complete them elsewhere;[35] Rufus Barringer studied with his brother, D. M. Barringer, and later with Richmond M. Pearson at Richmond Hill.[36] Still others studied in offices outside of North Carolina. James Johnston Pettigrew read law in Baltimore and Charleston offices;[37] and Michael Hoke had part of his legal training in a Virginia office,[38] to mention but two examples.

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and Hamilton Chamberlain Jones. See Warren, *Beaufort County's Contribution to a Notable Era of North Carolina*, 5; Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, III, 346-347, and VII, 9, 268. Willie P. Mangum, Jr., Peter Mallett Hale, and Sion Hart Rogers were taught by Judge George Edmund Badger. See Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 259, and VIII, 186, 436. A few of Archibald Murphey's outstanding pupils were Thomas Ruffin, Bartlett Yancey, James T. Morehead, and William J. Bingham. See William A. Graham, "Memorial of Hon. Archibald D. Murphey, Late a Judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina," in Hoyt, *The Papers of Archibald Murphey*, I, xxv.

[27] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 442-443, 109.

[28] W. J. Peele (ed.), *Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians* (Raleigh, 1898), 306.

[29] Pulaski Cowper, "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of the North Carolina Bar," *North Carolina University Magazine*, XIV (April, 1895), 347-350.

[30] Peele (ed.), *Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians*, 378.

[31] Cowper, "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of the North Carolina Bar," *North Carolina University Magazine*, XIV (April, 1895), 347.

[32] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 163.

[33] Walter Clark, "History of the Superior and Supreme Courts of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XVIII (October, 1918), 91.

[34] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 360.

[35] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 259.

[36] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, I, 116.

[37] Peele (ed.), *Lives of Distinguished North Carolinians*, 415.

[38] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, I, 309-310.

Study in a law office was far more haphazard than it was systematic. The student picked up what law he could from being around the practicing attorney and reading his books. But when the lawyer went out on the circuit, the student was left to study alone—as little or as much as he wished. It soon became apparent that systematic instruction would be of greater advantage to a student than the scattered comments of a lawyer who was busy in court most of the time. The lawyer found that teaching was a good way both to supplement his income and, after retiring, to add to his savings.[39] Several of the most successful teachers organized "schools" and put the instruction on a more satisfactory basis than it had been. Even so, teaching was often secondary to practicing. John L. Bailey in 1845 gave notice to young men desiring to study law that he would instruct them "during the time he is not necessarily attending his Courts."[40] William H. Battle arranged for David L. Swain to "attend" to his private school in Chapel Hill while he was on the circuits.[41]

The first school to be advertised in the newspapers of North Carolina was that of John Louis Taylor. Taylor had been teaching students for a number of years, but he did not formally open a school until 1822.[42] He advertised:

> The Subscriber having lately, at the request of some of his old friends and pupils, undertaken the professional tuition of an additional number of Students, to whose improvement his constant residence at home enables him to pay more attention than heretofore, is encouraged to believe that his mode of instruction may be rendered more extensively useful by being made public.
>
> He is desirous of affording to the youth of the country an opportunity of acquiring a scientific knowledge of their own Laws without the inconvenience and expense of seeking it in other States, and of assisting them in a course of studies which even to those who are not destined to the profession, is of great importance in the ordinary affairs of social life and seems necessary to the completion of an education adapted to the duties imposed by our free institutions.[43]

This institution, located in Raleigh, was the first place for legal education in North Carolina which could be called a school.[44]

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[39] Coates, *A Task of Legal Education in North Carolina*, 7.
[40] *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, May 30, 1845. Hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*.
[41] *Raleigh Register*, July 7, 1843.
[42] Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 288.
[43] *Raleigh Register*, February 15, 1822.
[44] Charles L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies: 1790-1840* (Raleigh, 1915), xliv.

Taylor himself was the first Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court after its reorganization in 1818; he had studied law alone but had made such remarkable progress that he was licensed before coming of age.[45] Taylor taught throughout the 1820's;[46] one of his most noted pupils was David L. Swain.[47]

One of the outstanding early schools was conducted by Leonard Henderson. In 1826 Henderson inserted a notice in the *Raleigh Register* that he had four offices for law students and would have a fifth ready in a short time.[48] For several years he advertised his school, which was located near Williamsboro.[49] From 1820 to 1828 Henderson was teaching law, first in his office, then in his school.[50] William Horn Battle and Richmond M. Pearson, both of whom were destined to become well-known law teachers, were pupils of this early scholar.[51]

Richard T. Brumby, who was unable to attend court because of feeble health, decided to start a school in Lincoln County. Little is known about this man. From contemporary newspapers one learns that he and his brother comprised the faculty of his school; they had a large house and erected cabins which were comfortable, though small; the curriculum included Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Brumby advertised that he had one law student but that he wanted more. He felt that he could devote more time to the school than could most instructors and that students would be able to proceed with greater ease than under most lawyers, for "it is a notorious fact, that practicing lawyers have neither time nor inclination to direct the studies of their students, and that they do not examine them as often as once a month. Under such circumstances, a young man must pursue his studies to great disadvantage. . . ." As to his qualifications, Brumby referred to "Judge Badger of Raleigh" and to "Major Henderson of Lincolnton." The notice appeared in the *Raleigh*

[45] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 403.
[46] Taylor died in 1829. One of his pupils, John Hill Wheeler, was licensed in 1827. See Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 406, and VII, 473.
[47] Zebulon Baird Vance, "The Life and Character of Hon. David L. Swain," *North Carolina University Magazine*, I (May, 1878), 76.
[48] *Raleigh Register*, March 3, 1826.
[49] See *Raleigh Register*, March 2, 1827, and March 4 and June 10, 1828.
[50] Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New* (Chicago, 1941), II, 648. See Marshall De Lancey Haywood, "The Officers of the Court, 1819-1919," 176 *N. C.* 800. Haywood says that William Robards of Williamsborough was associated with Henderson in conducting his school. None of Henderson's newspaper notices mention Robards, and no other information could be located as to the correctness of this assertion.
[51] Walter Clark, "The Supreme Court of North Carolina," *The Green Bag*, IV (October, 1892), 463-464.

Register in December, 1829, and January and February, 1830.[52]

Archibald D. Murphey, noted for his work in the field of education, was one of the most popular lawyers under whom a young man could study. His first notice of an organized school, which appeared a few months before his death, stated that he had settled in Hillsboro and would receive a few law students.[53] When one remembers how many matters of public concern interested Murphey, one may doubt that his law students received much attention!

John L. Bailey, a law teacher from 1835 to 1861,[54] instructed students in his office in Elizabeth City before he opened a law school.[55] From Elizabeth City he moved to Hillsboro;[56] and in May, 1845, he announced that he would open a law school the first of July.[57] He and Frederick Nash, justice of the state Supreme Court, later combined forces and conducted a law school. They were evidently great believers in advertising; their notice appeared in one of the newspapers of Raleigh at the beginning of every session for several years.[58] In 1851 they wrote that young men would profit by being in Hillsboro at the beginning of the session so that classes could be formed. They insisted that promptness would be of benefit to the teachers and to the pupils.[59] One of the instructors would be there nearly all the year and part of the time both would be in attendance.[60] After Nash's death, Bailey moved in 1859 to his farm in Black Mountain,[61] where he and his son, William H. Bailey, conducted a school.[62] A notice in the *Raleigh Register* said that they proposed to open a school in Buncombe County, on the north fork of the Swan-

[52] *Raleigh Register*, December 14, 1829-February 22, 1830.

[53] *Star and North Carolina State Gazette* (Raleigh), December 16, 1831. This school was of short duration because of Murphey's death in February, 1832. See William A. Graham, "Memoir of Hon. Archibald D. Murphey, Late a Judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina," *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, I, xxxiv.

[54] Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New*, II, 648.

[55] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 322.

[56] The exact date of Bailey's removal to Hillsboro could not be found. In 1835 he represented Pasquotank County at the North Carolina constitutional convention. See Archibald Henderson, "John Bailey, Teacher of Law," *News and Observer*, June 17, 1928. The first indication of his residence in Hillsboro was the announcement of his law school in the *Raleigh Register* of May 30, 1845. The move was obviously some time between these dates.

[57] *Raleigh Register*, May 30, 1845.

[58] See, for example, *Raleigh Register*, January 1 and December 31, 1851; January 5, 1853; June 28, 1854; and January 6, 1855.

[59] Students evidently were not always present at the beginning of the term. A notice that a school would begin on a certain date would often run in the newspaper for days after the opening date had passed. See, for example, the *Raleigh Register*, December 31, 1851-February 4, 1852, announcing a school to begin January 15, 1852; April 6, 1841-June 29, 1841, announcing a school to begin June 1, 1841.

[60] *Raleigh Register*, January 1, 1851.

[61] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VI, 6-7.

[62] Henderson, "John Bailey, Teacher of Law," *News and Observer*, June 17, 1928.

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Frederick Nash[65] was also an experienced teacher when he and Bailey opened their school. Nash and Hugh Waddell had announced that they would open a school in Hillsboro on January 1, 1842. They said that they deemed it "unnecessary to allude to the advantages to be derived from pursuing such studies in the seclusion of a quiet Village, nor to those benefits which spring from the *association* of minds engaged in the same pursuits." Their announcement stated that they would not open the school unless as many as eight students entered.[66]

Richmond M. Pearson and William Horn Battle were the two outstanding teachers of law during the years under consideration. Pearson's school at Mocksville opened soon after he was elected a judge of the superior court in 1836.[67] He later moved the school to Richmond Hill, where it was in operation until the 1870's.[68] The classes were conducted in a secluded spot a few miles from Rockford; the nearest railroad was in High Point, forty miles away.[69] Francis D. Koonce, writing to Thomas Ruffin, said that he had been studying under Pearson for one session but he could not find board and lodging for the next term. He had applied at Chapel Hill also, but he had not been able to secure accommodations. Having been unsuccessful in gaining living quarters at an institution, he applied to Ruffin, saying that he did not see any reason why Ruffin should mind one student. He referred Ruffin to "Judge P. with whom I have honor to be acquainted and upon the most friendly terms."[70]

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[63] *Raleigh Register*, February 16, 1859.
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[66] *Raleigh Register*, November 9, 1841.
[67] Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New*, II, 34.
[68] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 323.
[69] Council S. Wooten, "A Famous Old Time North Carolina Law School," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, II (October, 1905), 465-466.
[70] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 41-42.
[71] Johnson, *Ante-bellum North Carolina*, 288.

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[54] Henderson, *North Carolina, The Old North State and the New*, II, 648.

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[69] Council S. Wooten, "A Famous Old Time North Carolina Law School," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, II (October, 1905), 465-466.
[70] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, III, 41-42.
[71] Johnson, *Ante-bellum North Carolina*, 288.

the Raleigh paper that they would open a law school on June 1, 1841, if as many as eight students enrolled.[72] Battle moved to Chapel Hill in 1843, and began teaching law in his office, a two-room building in his yard.[73] This school was scheduled to begin on July 15, 1843; and the newspaper notice proclaimed its location "at the University."[74] Not until 1845 did Battle become professor of law at North Carolina's institution of higher learning.

The idea of a law school at the University of the state was not new. At the commencement of 1824 James W. Bryan had spoken on the question of whether or not a professorship of law should be established,[75] and soon thereafter a law club was organized.[76] Beginning in 1837 a course in national and constitutional law was offered to students in the second session of their senior year. David L. Swain taught the course, which was given even after the establishment of the law department. In 1845 the University of North Carolina catalogue contained the following statement:

> A department for the study of municipal law has been recently established and placed under the charge of the Professor of Law. This department contains two Classes, of which, the first, called the Independent Class, will consist of such Students of Law as have no connexion with any of the College Classes; and the second, called the College Class, will consist of such irregular members of College as, with the permission of the Faculty, may be desirous of joining it.

The catalogue advised that the complete course for the Independent Class was two years; that for the College Class, two and a half years. The degree of bachelor of law was conferred on students who had completed the course of studies and who "by their proficiency may be deemed to be entitled to it."

In 1854 Samuel F. Phillips joined Battle as assistant professor of law.[77] During his five-year tenure,[78] Phillips took Battle's

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[72] *Raleigh Register*, April 6, 1841-June 29, 1841.
[73] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 328.
[74] *Raleigh Register*, July 7, 1843.
[75] Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1907), I, 296.
[76] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 326-327.
[77] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1837, 5, 12; 1845-1846, 15; 1845-1846, 16; 1854-1855, 36.
[78] 1854-1859. See *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1859-1860, 42.

place when he had to be at court.[79] Both men were well qualified to teach law, Battle having studied law for three years before applying for admission to the bar at a time when no particular time of study was required by the Supreme Court,[80] and Phillips having been one of Battle's pupils.[81] Battle had studied under Leonard Henderson, he had had practical experience at the bar and on the bench,[82] and he had served as reporter of the Supreme Court decisions. In 1840 he had been elected a judge of the superior court, and had later served on the Supreme Court bench.[83] Phillips, at the time of his appointment to the faculty of the University, was a practicing lawyer in Chapel Hill.[84] He had had teaching experience, though not in law, in the years 1845 through 1848 when he taught a small class of boys who were preparing for college.[85] There is the possibility that he had assisted Battle before he was officially made a faculty member, though there is no record of this.[86]

Several students in the University school were from states other than North Carolina. Virginia, Mississippi,[87] Alabama,[88] California,[89] Tennessee, Texas,[90] and Kentucky[91] had representatives in the independent and college classes. The number of students at the Chapel Hill school in this period was not large. The 1847-1848 catalogue listed eleven; that for 1854-1855, twelve.[92]

The law schools in North Carolina were conducted with the same inefficient methods as those used in law office teaching. The studies were molded on much the same pattern as that used in private offices. Learning law was more a practical matter than a theoretical one. The teachers, unless they were retired, continued to practice law as their prime purpose in life, teaching

[79] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 550.
[80] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 331-332.
[81] Thomas Ruffin, "Early Days of the Law School, Reminiscences 1900-1910," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 414.
[82] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 331-332.
[83] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 549-550.
[84] Ruffin, "Early Days of the Law School, Reminiscences," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 414.
[85] R. H. Battle, "Hon. Samuel Field Phillips, LL.D.," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, I (January, 1904), 24-25.
[86] Ruffin, "Early Days of the Law School, Reminiscences," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 414.
[87] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1847-1848, 9.
[88] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1849-1850, 15.
[89] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1855-1856, 39.
[90] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1856-1857, 43.
[91] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1858-1859, 41.
[92] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1847-1848, 9, and 1854-1855, 20.

on the side. However, the instructors, for the most part, were well qualified to present the law to their pupils. They had had experience in actual practice and though they had not all had the highest type of legal training, they did know how to teach a young man the basic principles of law and the way to begin and build a practice. The early schools had many defects. Books were not always available in sufficient quantities, the instructors were away a large portion of the time, and the terms began at irregular intervals; but the fact remains that the early law schools produced great lawyers.

Though North Carolina could boast of several private law schools and a law school as a part of its state university, not all North Carolina law students studied in the state. From 1820 until the school closed in 1832, seven North Carolina law students studied at Litchfield Law School in Connecticut.[93] This school was one of the best in the country; the complete course lasted fourteen months, eight in the first year and six in the second.[94] Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky, which advertised its law department in the *Raleigh Register*, offered lectures for four months, with examinations and lectures in each class daily, and weekly moot courts.[95] Harvard University advertised several times in the 1840's and 1850's. That institution stated that it gave a complete legal education for gentlemen intending to practice in any state. Its library contained books which enabled students to study their local law and procedure. Two moot courts were held weekly, and after the arguments one of the instructors delivered an opinion. The LL.B. degree was awarded to students who studied for three terms and to attorneys who, having been admitted to the bar in a state where at least one year's study was required, had studied two terms at Harvard. Students could enter at any stage of their professional studies, at the beginning of either term, or in the middle or any other part of the term.[96] The Richmond Law School, which also advertised in Raleigh, stressed the fact that the "instruction of the School will be modified to accommodate Students from other

[93] A. J. Morrison, "Virginia and North Carolina at the Litchfield Law School," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, II (January, 1921), 157-158.
[94] John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Completion of Independence* (New York, 1944), 283.
[95] *Raleigh Register*, November 18, 1834.
[96] See *Raleigh Register*, August 9, 1844; February 4 and March 18, 1845; August 17, 1859.

States."[97] Other distant law schools attended by North Carolina students included Yale[98] and the University of Virginia.[99] The out-of-state institutions emphasized again and again in their advertisements that they were adapted to train lawyers for practice in states other than the ones in which they were situated. Most of these schools, especially Harvard and Yale, had reputations which surpassed those of the North Carolina schools, and a few students attended out-of-state institutions because of this fact.

A large majority of those studying for the legal profession, however, remained in their own state to study law. The value of learning the law of one's native state was a factor to be considered. Kemp Plummer Battle consulted his father about going to Harvard for a year, but was advised to remain at home and diligently study North Carolina cases.[100] He felt that more North Carolina law could be learned at home than elsewhere, despite the insistence of out-of-state institutions that they could teach the law of any state.

The expenses of a legal education varied from school to school. Richard T. Brumby charged $100 a year for instruction, the use of a law library, board, washing, and candles, with a requirement that $25 be paid in advance.[101] Henderson charged $225 a year for instruction and board, "exclusive of washing and candles...."[102] No advance payment was required.[103] Nash and Waddell stated that the "usual fees for instruction will be required and that for preparing a Student to obtain a County Court license [fees?] will be demanded whether he remain long enough for that purpose or not."[104] At the Bailey and Nash school tuition was $100 for "the whole course of legal instruction. . . ."[105] Iredell and Battle charged $100 per annum, or $10 per month for any period shorter than a year. This sum included the cost

[97] *Raleigh Register*, September 9, 1845.
[98] For example, William N. H. Smith, later Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, studied at Yale. See Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, VII, 429.
[99] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 121-122, reveals that Wharton Jackson Green was one of the North Carolinians who attended law school at the University of Virginia.
[100] Kemp Plummer Battle, *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel*, edited by William James Battle (Chapel Hill, 1945), 81.
[101] *Raleigh Register*, December 14, 1829.
[102] *Raleigh Register*, March 3, 1826.
[103] *Raleigh Register*, March 4, 1828.
[104] *Raleigh Register*, November 9, 1841.
[105] *Raleigh Register*, January 1, 1851.

of instruction and the use of law libraries which the two gentlemen owned.[106] The cost at Battle's school for 1843 was $100 for a course of twelve months or more. The rate of $10 a month was charged for any period of time shorter than the full term. Battle added that no "extra charge will be made for those who may attend his instructions after completing a regular course."[107] At the University the students in the Independent Class paid the professor $50 per session for the first two sessions and $25 per session thereafter. Members of the College Class paid $25. The catalogue stated that the professor would give extra instruction to the students during vacation, if they wished it, for no extra charge. It would be interesting to know how many students took advantage of this offer! The professor of law received no salary from the University.[108] A few years after the organization of the school, the College Class tuition was raised to $35 per session; however, a student who entered and paid $100 was entitled to attend without further charge.[109] The University law school was not very different from a private school; the professor practiced law for a living and merely supplemented his income with student fees.[110] To study law in the northern colleges was more expensive than studying at home. Harvard charged $299 to $420 for tuition, room, board, fuel, and laundry; in fact, everything "exclusive of clothes and what is termed pocket money."[111]

It is readily noted that the tuition and other expenses were not uniform, but varied with the individuals who operated the schools. When it is remembered that rarely did a student study law more than two years, the fees seem reasonable.

Nearly all law students lived in private homes. John Louis Taylor's notice said that board could be obtained within a few hundred yards of his office for $108 a year. It could be obtained at a house more distant from the school for $132; however, at the latter house none but law students would be received.[112] Nash and Bailey said that board could be had at the homes of good

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[106] *Raleigh Register*, April 6, 1841.
[107] *Raleigh Register*, July 7, 1843.
[108] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1845-1846, 16.
[109] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1858-1859, 42.
[110] Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review*, XXIV (June, 1946), 330-331.
[111] *Raleigh Register*, March 18, 1845.
[112] *Raleigh Register*, February 14, 1822.

families in the neighborhood and in town upon reasonable terms.[113] The catalogues of the University listed the names of the students, their home towns, and their rooming places in Chapel Hill; a majority of them were listed as living at "Miss Hillyard's." Others had rooms at the homes of various townspeople.[114] The law students were under no University regulations, for the catalogue stated that the "Professor of Law and the members of the Independent Class will not be subject to any of the ordinary College regulations."[115]

In the years from 1820 through 1860 no particular amount of time was required to be spent in pre-law study before one could gain admission to a law office or to a school to study for the legal profession. Some students had almost no education before beginning the study of law; others were graduates of the University of North Carolina or other institutions of higher learning. For example, David M. Furches was educated at Union Academy before he studied law;[116] Nicholas Washington Woodfin attended neighborhood schools, and then he and his brother, Henry Grady Woodfin, were instructed in the classics by a lawyer preparatory to legal training;[117] Frederick Phillips, William Laurence Saunders, William Waightstill Avery, Peter Mallett Hale, John Wheeler Moore, Robert P. Dick, and Thomas Settle were among numerous graduates of the University who studied law after receiving their degrees;[118] Michael Hoke was educated at a military academy in Connecticut; Calvin Graves and John H. Dillard had had some college training; however, they had not graduated from an institution when they began their legal studies;[119] Louis D. Henry and Frederick Nash were Princeton graduates.[120]

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[113] *Raleigh Register*, December 31, 1851.

[114] See *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina* for the years 1845 through 1860. Not all of the catalogues list the students and their rooming places; enough of them do so to illustrate the types of rooms the students rented. "Miss Hillyard" was probably the Nancy S. Hilliard of the Eagle Hotel. Battle says that she was one of the favorite landladies of the period. See Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 612, 673.

[115] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1845-1846, 16.

[116] Clark, "History of the Superior and Supreme Courts of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XVIII (October, 1918), 99.

[117] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 481-482.

[118] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, IV, 366, 382; VII, 9; VIII, 186, 360; Clark, "History of the Superior and Supreme Courts of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XVIII (October, 1918), 91-92.

[119] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, I, 309-310; II, 109; Clark, "History of the Superior and Supreme Courts of North Carolina," *The North Carolina Booklet*, XVIII (October, 1918), 96.

[120] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, II, 163; John H. Bryan, "Memoir of Judge Nash," *North Carolina University Magazine*, IX (December, 1859), 258.

From the preceding examples one realizes that the amount and type of pre-law training which the lawyers of the nineteenth century received differed widely. Some were university graduates; some, military academy graduates; many, graduates of no school. Anyone with a desire to study law, an average amount of intelligence, and a willingness to work could usually learn enough law within a year or two to pass the bar examination. Such a person did not have to attend a college or preparatory school for any definite length of time. Whenever he felt that he could comprehend the law, a young man could begin the study for his chosen profession.

Not only was no particular length of time for study required, but there were no prerequisite courses. The notices of law schools did not mention any requirements for admission; the University catalogue contained no requirements for students desiring to enter the law department.[121] Students who decided to enter Harvard had to meet its admission requirements which consisted of testimonials of good moral character and a bond with a Massachusetts surety or a deposit with the University to insure payment.[122] It is obvious that any pre-legal program, such as exists today, was uncommon if not unknown. Anyone who felt that he could learn enough law to pass the bar examination could study and eventually become a member of the legal profession.

After the student entered a law school, he did not find the instruction radically different from what he would have found in a law office. Taylor offered frequent examinations and conversations on legal and literary topics, the use of an extensive law library, and practice in drawing pleadings. He advertised that he would lecture on the common and statute law of the state and show how the common law had been modified in North Carolina.[123] Leonard Henderson did not give formal lectures, but he did explain the law when requested to do so. He conducted frequent examinations, and held conversations "on law and topics connected therewith occasionally, most usually at table after meals." In a later notice he said that he would "indulge in and

[121] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1845-1860.
[122] *Raleigh Register*, March 18, 1845.
[123] *Raleigh Register*, February 15, 1822.

invite free discussion and interchange of opinion upon legal subjects."[124] One of his students wrote:

> To the students who attended the law school which he established after he became a Judge of the supreme court, he was always kind, accessible and communicative. He did not deliver regular lectures, nor appoint stated hours for recitation, but directed the studies of his pupils, urged them to apply to him at all times for a solution of their difficulties, and was never better satisfied with them than when, by their frequent application to him for assistance, they showed that they were studying with diligence and attention.[125]

Brumby did not deliver formal lectures; he proposed to point out the passages which should be read, examine the young men frequently, and converse with them on changes made in the common law by the North Carolina constitution, statutes, and Supreme Court decisions. His library contained a good selection of elementary law books, which he offered as an inducement to prospective students.[126] John L. Bailey, in his lectures, clearly enunciated legal principles. He had reverence for the law and contempt for the pettifogging lawyer.[127] Battle and Iredell announced the "most approved course of Studies . . . and oral and written instruction . . . showing the alteration of the Law as laid down by Blackstone. . . . The Students will be required to undergo frequent and stated examinations. . . ."[128] Nash and Waddell gave monthly examinations and written or oral instructions when needed.[129]

It is evident that the schools were run according to the same general pattern. The lack of formality is particularly striking. The student had to learn on his own, with the aid of a few scattered comments by his tutor; but he had to undergo frequent examinations. The system seems a bit amazing to a student of today, who relies to a large extent on the lectures of the professor and hopes that the examinations will be few and far between.

Pearson's and Battle's were the most successful of all of the schools of this period. Between them there was sharp, but whole-

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[124] *Raleigh Register*, March 3, 1826; March 4, 1828.
[125] William H. Battle, "Memoir of Leonard Henderson, Late Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina," *North Carolina University Magazine*, IX (November, 1859), 200.
[126] *Raleigh Register*, December 14, 1829.
[127] Henderson, "John Bailey, Teacher of Law," *News and Observer*, June 17, 1928.
[128] *Raleigh Register*, April 6, 1841.
[129] *Raleigh Register*, November 9, 1841.

some, competition. Both sought to lay deep foundations; the students were encouraged to read, think, discuss, and digest the law.[130] Judge Pearson lectured for a two-hour period about twice a week.[131] He never wrote his lectures, which varied little from year to year, but they were preserved by his students. Pearson's idea was that a student should try to master each great subject of law by looking at it from various points of view. His aim was to train his students to be able to meet any question, no matter how suddenly it arose.[132] Pearson's was a popular and profitable private school; he taught over 1,000 students during the years that he conducted classes.[133] Pearson would discuss a legal topic on any occasion; he would talk law "at the table, on the path in the woods as they went to a neighbor's house, at the fishing place on the river, and in the Summer afternoon as they sat beneath the shades of the old oaks on the hill or down by the spring."[134]

Lectures were held at more regular times at the University than in the private schools. The Independent Class had recitations three times each week. The College Class met only once a week, and the classes were arranged so as not to interfere with any of the ordinary college studies.[135] Battle had to be away about half of the time; in his absence, Phillips took charge. The professor asked questions on the prescribed subjects in the textbooks, and gave lectures on the common law, with reference to legislative and judicial modifications. Questions and answers proved to be more efficacious than lectures in that the students who had been trained under the former method were the most successful on the bar examination.[136]

Moot courts were sometimes held as part of the educational program. The University catalogue stated:

A Moot Court will be held occasionally by the Professor for the discussion by the Students, of such legal questions as he may propose. The Students will also be required from time to time to

[130] "The North Carolina Bar," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, I (January, 1904), 1-2.
[131] Wooten, "A Famous Old Time North Carolina Law School," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, II (October, 1905), 465-466.
[132] Richmond M. Pearson, *The Law Lectures of the Late Chief Justice Richmond M. Pearson . . .*, compiled by Benjamin F. Long (Raleigh, 1879), 3, 5.
[133] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 308-309. See also Archibald Henderson, "Some Famous Institutions Passed Out In State's Early History," *News and Observer*, July 1, 1928.
[134] Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina*, V, 308-309.
[135] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1845-1846, 16.
[136] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 664-665.

draw pleadings and other legal instruments and be instructed in the practice of the Courts.[137]

Though moot courts were offered, they were not held often.[138] In Hillsboro, Nash and Waddell planned to teach the practice in the state courts by the use of moot courts.[139] Nash and Bailey, in their notice on December 31, 1851, announced that a "Moot-Court will be holden once in each week."[140] In Raleigh Battle and Iredell stated that "when they [the students] shall have become sufficiently advanced, it is proposed that they shall have a Moot Court, where they may argue legal questions, and be made acquainted with the forms of Pleading and Practice in the Courts of this State."[141]

No matter where a boy studied law, he read Blackstone, Kent, Cruise, Chitty and "old treatises which in the quaint and curious language of earlier times taxed . . . [his] intellectual capacity. . . ."[142] In 1822 Chief Justice Taylor inserted the following statement in the *Raleigh Register:*

It is recommended to Students of more than six months standing to furnish themselves with a set of Blackstone's Commentaries, for the purpose of making such annotations, indicative of the alteration of the Law, as may be suggested in lecturing, or in conversation on legal topics, and will be permanently useful to them.[143]

In the early nineteenth century no published curriculum for a law school in North Carolina was in existence. John B. White, writing to Thomas Ruffin in 1842, said that students often asked him what to read in preparation for the legal profession. He sometimes referred them to the printed courses at New Haven and Cambridge, but he felt that those were more extensive than was necessary for county court practice in North Carolina.[144]

The first published curriculum for a law school in North Carolina was that of the University law department in 1845.[145] The catalogue provided that "Blackstone's Commentaries, Kent's Com-

[137] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina*, 1845-1846, 16.
[138] Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina*, I, 664-665.
[139] *Raleigh Register*, November 9, 1841.
[140] *Raleigh Register*, December 31, 1851.
[141] *Raleigh Register*, April 6, 1841.
[142] "Legal Education," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, I (May, 1904), 222.
[143] *Raleigh Register*, August 2, 1822.
[144] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 210-211.
[145] Albert Coates, "The Task of Legal Education in the South," *American Bar Association Journal*, XVI (July, 1930), 464.

mentaries, Stephen on Pleading, Chitty on Pleading, Greenleaf on Evidence, Chitty on Contracts, Cruise's Digest of Real Property, and Williams on Executors, together with Lectures . . ." on state laws, and the Supreme Court decisions would be studied.[146] In 1854 the curriculum was changed so as to include Fearne on *Remainders,* Iredell on *Executors,* Smith on *Contracts,* Selwyn's *Nisi Prius,* Adams' *Doctrine of Equity,* plus Blackstone, Cruise, Stephen, Chitty's *Pleading,* and Greenleaf from the original course.[147]

The first time the Supreme Court—this body gave the bar examination—set up any requirements as to courses was in 1849. The court issued a general order at the December term, which reads:

> The Judges of the Supreme Court will hereafter require that applicants for license shall have gone through the following courses of reading:
>
> FOR THE COUNTY COURTS.
>
> Blackstone's Commentaries, 4 vols.—2d volume *particularly.*
> Coke on Littleton, or Cruise's Digest.
> Fearne on Remainder and Executory Devises.
> Saunders on Uses and Trusts.
> Roper on Legacies, or Toller on Executors.
> Revised Statutes, chapter 37, Deeds and Conveyances; 38, Descents; 121, Widows; 122, Wills and Testaments.
>
> FOR THE SUPERIOR COURTS.
>
> Third book of Blackstone.
> First volume of Chitty's Pleadings.
> Stephen on Pleading.
> Fonblanque's Equity.
> Newland or Powell on Contracts.
> Mitford or Cooper, Equity Pleading.
> Fourth book of Blackstone.
> First volume Phillips, or Starkie on Evidence.
> Revised Statutes, chapter 31, Courts, County and Superior; 34, Crimes and Punishments; 63, Lands of Deceased Debtors.
> Selwyn's *Nisi Prius.*[148]

In 1850 the court made a change in its order from Fonblanque to Adams' *Equity* for students studying for a superior court license.[149]

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[146] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina,* 1845-1846, 16.
[147] *Catalogue of the University of North Carolina,* 1854-1855, 36.
[148] "General Order at December Term, 1849," 32 *N. C.* 437 (1849).
[149] "General Order," 33 *N. C.* 452 (1850).

The Supreme Court study was directed to real estate law in the preparation for a county court license, because land titles had not been settled and much litigation involved real property. The action of ejectment, in which a knowledge of real estate law was vital, was begun in the county courts.[150]

The North Carolina legislature left the prescription of courses and the time of study to the courts. Even after the Supreme Court laid down its regulations, the students studied without much supervision; and they continued to read the standard and well-known legal texts. From 1819 to 1869 the bar examination was given in two parts, with the requirement that a year elapse between the granting of the county court and superior court licenses.[151] At no time during this early period was much stress placed on particular courses. The students strove to learn enough law and to express themselves fluently enough in legal language to convince the judges of the Supreme Court that they were qualified to practice law.

If letters written by the industrious young men can be taken at face value, law students devoted long hours to the study of the standard texts. Thomas Ruffin, Jr., wrote to his father in 1846 that he had finished reading the second volume of Blackstone for the tenth time. He said he had expected to make a great show on an examination given by his brother William but that he had soon become convinced that he had not proceeded far. He added that he had considered joining an expedition to Oregon, but, not being sure his father would approve, he had begun reading the third volume of Blackstone.[152] James M. Williamson, in a letter to Ruffin, stated that he had waded through most of Coke on Littleton for the second time. Such a mass of learning was contained in the books that he did not believe he would ever master it, but he expected the third reading to be especially profitable.[153] In 1831 William K. Ruffin wrote that his progress in Blackstone had been so slow that he was discouraged; after he had read an

[150] See "The North Carolina Bar," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, I (January, 1904), 2.

[151] Chief Justice Walter Clark, in giving the history of these requirements, in *In re Applicants for License*, 143 *N. C.* 19 (1906), stated that from 1819 to 1869 two years were required to be spent in study. This dictum is misleading. The court required a period of a year to elapse between the granting of the county court license and the superior court license; there was, however, neither rule nor law which said that a student should spend a year in study before applying for a county court license, or that he should spend the intervening year in study. See Albert Coates, "Standards of the Bar," *North Carolina Law Review*, VI (December, 1927), 39, discussing educational requirements of this period.

[152] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 239-240.

[153] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 114-115.

hour, a short conversation on trivial matters would wipe legal principles out of his mind. A few days later he wrote that he had forgotten so much of the material he had been over that he shuddered when he thought of plodding through the volumes ahead of him. He planned to go over Blackstone again, and "perhaps I may then request the favour of some explanations upon parts that I do not thoroughly comprehend."[154]

Kemp P. Battle, who studied law while he was a tutor of mathematics at the University of North Carolina, reported that he knew second Blackstone so well that he could give every principle in the book in the order of its occurrence.[155]

The *North Carolina University Magazine,* commenting on the resignation of one of its editors, said:

> Our very pleasant and highly useful associate, Mr. WM. HENRY SPENCER of Hyde, has, of necessity, resigned to his class-mates his trust as an Editor of the University Magazine. Having entered one of Judge Battle's Law classes, he thought he could not, in justice to himself, to his class in the University and in the Law, and especially to the study of this science, which is a jealous one, remain longer in the corps. However much we regret his resignation, we know his reason to be a good one; for the Law is a science which exercises the highest powers of mind, and which, as Mr. Justice Blackstone has said, "employs in its theory the noblest faculties of the soul, and exerts in its practice the cardinal virtues of the heart," and hence, should have the student's undivided attention. SPENCER, we bid you God-speed in your undertaking.[156]

To get the most from his studies, a law student had to borrow or buy books to read. For those who could afford to buy them, books were easily accessible. Turner and Hughes of Raleigh frequently advertised a large number of law books in their store. In 1838 they advertised that they had never "had it in their power to offer to the public so complete a LAW LIBRARY as they . . ." had at that time.[157] Joseph Gales and Son were frequent advertisers of legal treatises.[158] Now and then the library of a deceased lawyer would be sold by the executor or administrator of his estate. For example, James F. Taylor's estate contained

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[156] "Editorial Table," *North Carolina University Magazine,* II (November, 1853), 449-450.
[157] *Raleigh Register,* April 30, 1838.
[158] See *Raleigh Register,* January 2, 1824; July 26, 1830; July 9, 1833.
[154] Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin,* II, 36-37; 40-41.
[155] Battle, *Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel,* 81.

a good collection of law books. The administrator's notice requested friends of the deceased to return any borrowed books without delay.[159] Gavin Hogg, who because of ill health had had to give up the practice of law, offered over 400 books at a fifteen per cent discount under an evaluation of Turner and Hughes or any other bookseller. He announced that if the entire library was not sold at private sale, a public auction would be held on November 4, 1834.[160]

Bailey and Nash had textbooks at their school. The students could buy them for prices charged by E. J. Hale and Son of Fayetteville.[161]

For students who were having a difficult time remembering the details of Blackstone, Turner and Hughes offered the "Tree of Legal Knowledge," designed to assist young men in the study of law. The student without this aid would "always grope in the dark, and ultimately find his labors *useless*." The purpose of the work was to impress on the mind the divisions and subdivisions of Blackstone. According to the advertisement the description of the contents was inadequate to convey any just conception of the work. The "Tree of Legal Knowledge" was prepared by a gentleman of the North Carolina bar. The subscribers had incurred great expense in procuring the engravings; and, with reluctance, they "send forth a Subscription paper—but in the present instance, it is unavoidable.—The expense, already incurred, renders it necessary that only so many copies should be struck off as may be called for by Subscribers." A copy on rollers, like a large map, cost $8.00; a copy similar to an atlas, $6.00; on sheets, consisting of seven plates, $5.00. The publication would also be useful to the practitioner "in consolidating his learning and forming an instructive and ornamental appendage to an Office."[162]

A few weeks after the advertisement first appeared, the *Raleigh Register* carried testimonials concerning the "Tree of Legal Knowledge." Robert Strange had examined it carefully and had found the design ingenious, and "as a North Carolinian, I am proud of this beautiful effort of genius." "The Hon. H. Clay"

[159] *Raleigh Register*, December 16, 1828.
[160] *Raleigh Register*, September 30, 1834.
[161] *Raleigh Register*, December 31, 1851.
[162] *Raleigh Register*, May 21, 1838.

wrote that it displayed "great ingenuity and labor, and . . . I think it will be of material assistance to the diligent student." Daniel Webster wrote that it was ingenious and that the design was good, but he thought more attention should have been given to the opinions of "Mr. Hitchcock and Chief Justice Daggett."[163] One wonders how any student could have resisted buying the "Tree of Legal Knowledge!"

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, books became more and more important to the law student, for law schools began emphasizing theory rather than practice. Battle and Pearson, for example, held lectures at stated times and emphasized basic principles of law. The well-read student was better able to comprehend legal theories than was one who had merely witnessed courtroom scenes and practicing lawyers. The type of training which was offered in the middle of the century taught accurate principles and fastened the history of law in the minds of the students. The president of the North Carolina Bar Association wrote in 1908, referring to this kind of training, that the student who had labored through Blackstone, Coke, and the others "could not for his life get up the proper process for the recovery of a horse, but therein we builded better than being master of such an accomplishment."[164] That very statement shows the changed emphasis which had taken place in legal education from 1820 to 1860. During the earlier years of the period, the student served an apprenticeship and learned much of the practical side of the law. Gradually the emphasis shifted. By 1860 the schools of law, both private and state supported, began to stress the theoretical side of the legal profession. Less attention was paid to the routine aspects of practice. The student was expected to dig out for himself the procedure for recovering a horse. He was thoroughly soaked in the theory and the history of law; the teachers presumed that he could secure assistance from an older lawyer when he had to face a client. The debate as to the respective virtues of the two systems continues today.

The *Raleigh Register,* commenting on an extract from the *Southern Review,* which recommended that at least four years

[163] *Raleigh Register,* June 18, 1838. Samuel Hitchcock and David Daggett were law teachers at New Haven. See Krout and Fox, *The Completion of Independence,* 284.

[164] Clement Manly, "Annual Address of the President," *North Carolina Bar Association Reports,* 1906, 23.

of study be required before a student be allowed to take the bar examination, urged the legislature to do something about the requirements for legal education in North Carolina. The argument was that in less time than four years the student did not learn the necessity for future study.[165]

It is clearly noted that the early schools of law had little system as to curriculum or lecture periods. The individual instructors discussed the law with the students when they had time and were not in court; they gave frequent examinations, but few formal lectures. The students read and studied law by themselves for the most part. Those students who did not attend a school read law alone or studied with an experienced lawyer as their preceptor. These young men were left alone a great deal of the time. They read the lawyer's books, listened to him try cases in court, and learned from him the correct way to prepare legal papers. The relationship between the law teacher and his students was an intimate one. The lawyer taught only a few students at a time; thus the pupil and teacher grew to know one another and to become fast friends.

The advantage of the school, after its early years, over the office was that the student gained the value of systematic instruction. Assigned readings and connected lectures were used as an introduction to the law as a body of knowledge. The emphasis had shifted from the practical aspects of the law to principles and theories.[166] Students spent hours reading the early English writers and the few American legal scholars; they learned a great deal from the men under whom they studied; they gained a love for the law and a respect for the legal set-up in the state; many of them became great lawyers despite the defects in the methods of study employed. After the student studied for a while, he was ready for the final step in his preparation for a career as an attorney and counsellor at law—the bar examination.

[165] *Raleigh Register*, July 27, 1829.
[166] Coates, *A Task of Legal Education in North Carolina*, 14-15.

DAVID CROCKETT AND NORTH CAROLINA

By James Atkins Shackford

> . . . the politics of the frontier was the politics of backwoodsmen, and if a type of the age is needed . . . it may well be David Crockett, whose autobiography is one of the prime human documents for the American epic yet to be written.
>
> —Charles and Mary Beard, *Rise of American Civilization.*

David Crockett, pioneer and hunter of the backwoods; justice of the peace, court referee, and village commissioner along the fringe of early western settlements; state legislator, then Congressman, in the formative years of our nation; and finally national hero who lost his life in the American Thermopylae of the Alamo—here was a man in whom North Carolina should have a particular and lasting interest. For the Crocketts were North Carolinians long before they migrated to territory later to become Tennessee. David was to marry a North Carolinian and to come back from time to time to visit in the state and once to participate in a famous bit of North Carolina history. Finally, his influence was to deprive the state of one of its illustrious early families, who moved to Tennessee to live near him.

Tennessee has claimed Crockett for his life in that state. Texas has proclaimed him for his death there. But North Carolina, home of his ancestors and, literally, the land of his nativity, has never seemed to take much interest in him, judging by the scarcity of published comment by North Carolinians about him. In himself, as classic representative of an important type in the formation of our nation, and in his own account of his life in his autobiography of 1834 (a book which has become a classic not only of American literature but also of American history), he is an important national figure. This article calls attention to some of the state's claims upon him and aims at finally establishing, if possible, his connection with the Robert B. Vance-Sam Carson duel of November 6, 1827, an episode which to date has occupied, with reference to Crockett, only the dubious position of tenuous legend.

It would be tedious here to trace the genealogical discussions concerning David's ancestry. Suffice it to say that seemingly

conclusive evidence establishes as his grandfather an eighteenth-century North Carolinian likewise named *David Crockett*. Back of him the Crocketts had migrated to this country from Ireland about 1709, had dwelt a while at New Rochelle, New York, had passed on to Pennsylvania and then to Virginia, and sometime around or shortly after mid-century had arrived in North Carolina. Thus we find in the Lincoln County Courthouse, at Lincolnton, North Carolina, records of land transactions by grandfather David as early as 1771, and similar records for his oldest son (our David's Uncle William), running from 1771 to 1794, two of which are:[1]

Deed, Thomas Leates to William Crockett, 160 acres of land, 6 March 1771.
Deed, 18 August 1794, William Crockett Convy. Robt. Weir 110 acres on King's Creek convy to him by Isaac Kimball.

The third son of grandfather David was John Crockett, father of the David of this paper. John was only twenty-three when grandfather David migrated with his family across the Appalachians, a fact which doubtless explains why no court records exist concerning John until after the move. It must be remembered, however, that until 1789 North Carolina extended to the Mississippi River and that all of the early "Tennessee" records of John prior to that date were literally North Carolina records. (David himself, born in 1786, was thus a native of North Carolina, though the spot of his birth is now in, and he is now claimed by, Tennessee.) It is certain, however, that John Crockett was present at and participated in the battle of King's Mountain,[2] though the *Roster of Soldiers from North Carolina in the American Revolution* appears to be in error in placing him with the militia from Lincoln County, N. C., at the time (1780).[3] By then John was in Washington County (North Carolina—now Tennessee). He served as a frontier ranger during the Revolu-

[1] Mrs. J. Stewart French and Zella Armstrong, *The Crockett Family and Connecting Lines*, Notable Southern Families Series, V. (Bristol, Tenn.: King Printing Co., 1928), 372, 543-544, quoting from Lincoln County (N. C.) deeds. W. L. Sherrill, in *Annals of Lincoln County, N. C.* (Charlotte: Observer Printing House, 1937), 15, 115, says David's autobiography states that he was born in Lincoln County, and cites one of these 1771 documents concerning David's grandfather as proof! David does not so state in his autobiography, nor was he born until 1786.

[2] Louise Wilson Reynolds, "The Pioneer Crockett Family in Tennessee," *The Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, LV (April, 1921), 188.

[3] "John Crockett, father of Davy Crockett, was with the militia from Lincoln Co.," says this *Roster*, published by the North Carolina Daughters of the American Revolution in 1932. See p. 488.

tion, was probably away from home when grandfather David and wife were murdered by Indians in 1777, but returned in time to join the Washington County forces and to come to King's Mountain in October, 1780.[4] For his Revolutionary War services he was given on April 17, 1786, two land grants, numbers 113 and 486, of 640 acres each in Davidson County.[5] The earliest record this writer has located, one for February 28, 1778, places him by that time already in Washington County.[6] Thereafter the records are fairly numerous, showing him to be a constable there until Greene County was created from Washington in 1783, and subsequently he can be followed as constable of Greene County until his remove about 1794 to Jefferson County. Tennessee had by then been established from North Carolina, and the immediate connections of father John with the latter state had terminated.

Before leaving the pre-David records, it should be remarked that the grandfather, David Crockett, and his oldest son William were both, after their remove over the mountains, signers in the summer of 1776 of the Watauga petition to the state of North Carolina for annexation of the transmontane settlements,[7] and further that two sisters of David's mother (Rebecca Hawkins) married men of North Carolina fame: Jane Hawkins married Richard Campbell, commander at King's Mountain; and Sarah Hawkins married John Sevier, also of King's Mountain fame as well as first governor of the new state of Tennessee.[8]

Previous biographies of David Crockett are all inaccurate, including even that in the *Congressional Directory*, and perhaps a brief, accurate summary of his life may well be worth-while here. Born on August 17, 1786, in a backwoods log cabin at Strong Springs, on the north bank of Big Limestone Creek in Greene County, twelve miles east of the present Greeneville, Tennessee, he remained in the East Tennessee mountains until he was twenty-five. On August 14, 1806, he married Polly Fin-

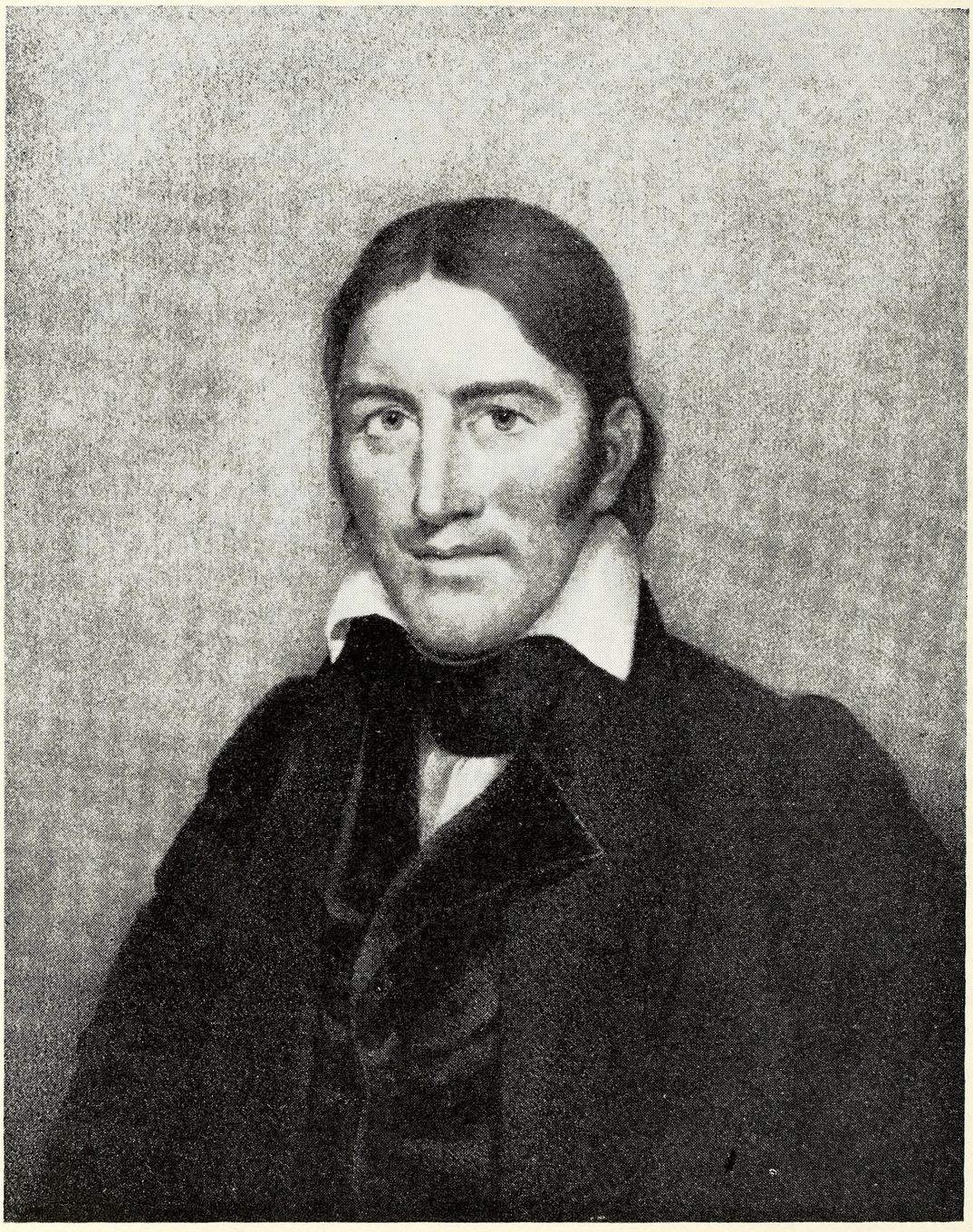
[4] Reynolds, "The Pioneer Crockett Family in Tennessee," 188.

[5] North Carolina Land Grants for Revolutionary Services, Book G, No. 7, 58, State Land Office, Nashville, Tennessee.

[6] Washington County Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1778-1798, I, 46. (Transcripts in Tennessee State Library, Nashville.)

[7] See W. L. Saunders, *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, (10 vols. Raleigh, Goldsboro, etc., 1886-1898), X, 708-711, for the petition and its signers, including these. Records cited earlier for William in Lincoln County were dated as late as 1794, but he had moved across the mountains not later than 1776, perhaps earlier, though he retained land in Lincoln County and returned from time to time to transact business and finally to close out his interests there.

[8] A partial Hawkins genealogy may be found in the library of the University of Texas; the same, with a few additions, in French and Armstrong, *The Crockett Family and Connecting Lines*, 379-381. See also Reynolds, "The Pioneer Crockett Family in Tennessee," 186-191.



DAVID CROCKETT—GENTLEMAN FROM THE CANE
(1786-1836)

(FROM A LITHOGRAPH OWNED BY THE TENNESSEE STATE LIBRARY, NASHVILLE. THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT WAS PAINTED ABOUT 1834 BY S. S. OSGOOD, WHO IN THAT YEAR ALSO MADE AND COPYRIGHTED THE LITHOGRAPH OF HIS PAINTING FROM WHICH THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS REPRODUCED. IT IS PROBABLY THE MOST AUTHENTIC OF SOME HALF DOZEN LIKENESSES OF DAVID WHICH YET SURVIVE.)

ley, thereafter trying to farm unproductive rented land, but scarcely subsisting. The pioneer dream of better lands in the wilderness sent him west in the late fall of 1811 and, packing their belongings on two horses, they crossed the Cumberland Mountains to settle on Mulberry Creek, Lincoln County, in Middle Tennessee, not far north of the present Alabama line. In 1813-1815 he took part in the Creek Indian War, rising from private to fourth sergeant; and after the war, in 1815, he was elected lieutenant of the peace-time militia of Lincoln County. Some months following his return from war, his first wife died, and about the middle of 1816 he remarried. The family soon moved farther west to territory recently purchased from the Chickasaw Indians and settled in wilds which were to become Lawrence County. Here David was elected a lieutenant colonel of militia, was made justice of the peace and town commissioner, was appointed court referee, and was placed more than once on juries-of-view to mark out and build the first roads in the backwoods. Here too he was first elected to the state legislature for the term of 1821-22. But while attending he lost most of his property in a flood and, on adjournment of the legislature, the Crocketts again led the migration west, this time to Carroll County, just short of the Mississippi River. Here he was reelected to the legislature, ran and was defeated for Congress, then ran and was elected in August, 1827, and served continuously, except for the session of 1831-33, until his final defeat in 1835.

David's constituents in West Tennessee were, like himself, quite poor, many of them being squatters on the public lands. The greatest struggle of his political career was his attempt to secure these lands as a gift to those who had settled on them, an attempt representing the beginning of what was to become the public-lands policy in the homestead acts, years later. But in his battle David ran head-on into the aims of the state political machine, and those of Andrew Jackson—which contemplated the gift of these lands to the state for other purposes (education). Against such odds he naively aligned himself with powerful Eastern and Southern forces which used his courage as a weapon with which to fight Jackson but which never delivered sufficient

promised votes to secure passage of the bill nearest to his heart. (David's eldest son, John Wesley, who followed his father to Congress in 1837, did secure its passage in a modified form in mid-February, 1841.) Incurring Jackson's wrath, David was defeated for re-election in 1835, and moved that fall to Texas, hoping, as his last letter reveals, to move his family there in one more trek west, to become a significant figure in that state, and to achieve that success for which he had struggled so long and so unsuccessfully. In order to acquire the vote and to become eligible for political office there, he subscribed to the Texas oath of allegiance early in 1836, and in pursuance of obligations contingent thereto, he travelled to the Alamo. Here 150 effective fighting men were surrounded by some 5,000 troops of General Santa Anna and, on March 6, 1836, were destroyed to the last man in one of the most famous battles of American history. Crockett before his death had become a national figure in both history and legend, and the circumstances of that death immortalized him in both realms. Literature about him has been perennial from that day to this, nor should this sketch omit mentioning that his own autobiography is one of the most authenic existing accounts of pioneer life along the frontier. The main episode of this paper deals with the period succeeding his first election to Congress in 1827, but it must be introduced by way of his second marriage, which had occurred earlier.

He wed "a widow lady whose husband had been killed in the war," he tells us in chapter IX of his autobiography,[9] this "widow lady" being Elizabeth Patton, of Western North Carolina; and this marriage led him back to this state. About the marriage itself a great number of erroneous statements have been made. Investigation, including correspondence with Ashley W. Crockett, only living grandson of David (and Elizabeth Patton), ninety at the time of our last correspondence in the spring of 1948, suggests that some of the mistakes may have been intentional. For reasons not requiring speculation here, most of the errors involve a too-early date for this marriage. The in-

[9] The authentic autobiography which is always meant when herein referred to is: *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee.* Written by Himself. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart (Baltimore: Carey, Hart and Company), 1834. The only fairly reliable re-issue in this century, a reprint with some inaccuracies and without notes, was published by Charles Scribner's Sons in 1923, with an introduction by Hamlin Garland, in the Modern Students Library Edition, American Division. The present writer has collated and completely annotated the original text and hopes to make it available before long.



GENERAL VIEW OF ACTON CEMETERY IN HOOD COUNTY, TEXAS, WHERE ELIZABETH PATTON CROCKETT IS BURIED. THE LITTLE TOWN OF ACTON IS SITUATED ABOUT 35 MILES SOUTHWEST OF FORT WORTH; AND THIS GRAVEYARD IS LOCATED FIVE MILES SOUTH OF THE OLD HOMEPLACE WHERE MRS. CROCKETT SETTLED IN 1856 ON A 1,280-ACRE DAVID-CROCKETT-TRACT GIVEN BY THE STATE OF TEXAS TO CROCKETT'S HEIRS. THE PRESENT U. S. HIGHWAY 377 NOW RUNS BY THE ORIGINAL TRACT FIVE MILES NORTH OF ACTON CEMETERY.



THE MONUMENT IN ACTON CEMETERY TO ELIZABETH PATTON CROCKETT, TRIBUTE TO THE PIONEER WIFE AND MOTHER WHO, AT 66, CAME WITH THE FIRST SETTLERS TO ELLIS COUNTY, TEXAS, IN 1854. (SHE MOVED TWO YEARS LATER TO THE JOHNSON, NOW HOOD, COUNTY HOMESITE ON THE CROCKETT SUREVY FIVE MILES NORTH OF THIS SPOT, AND DIED THERE FOUR YEARS LATER.)

scription on the Elizabeth Patton monument in Texas, for example (she went there after David's death to occupy land given to his heirs), states that she married Crockett "in Lawrence Co. Tenn. 1815," when in fact that county was not even created until October 21, 1817, and even then not out of territory where Crockett was living when he married (Franklin County) but out of territory some eighty miles away. Furthermore, David tells us himself[10] that his first wife was "well and doing well" when he came out of the war in February, 1815,[11] and the list of occurrences which he records as preceding his next marriage verifies other evidence leading us to set the actual marriage date and place as the spring or summer of 1816 near Bean's Creek, in Franklin County. It could hardly have been earlier, and a careful reading of chapter IX of his autobiography makes it clear that it could not have been later. (Several months more than a year elapsed, he there records, between the time of his marriage and his removal to Lawrence County in the *fall* of *1817*.)

Elizabeth Patton was the fourth child of Robert Patton, one of the early and well-known settlers in territory later included in Buncombe County. She was born on May 22, 1788, at the present site of Swannanoa, North Carolina,[12] and it is noteworthy that on the day Buncombe was organized, April 16, 1792, her father was ordered by the court to attend as juror at the succeeding session.[13] To indicate something of the contemporary standing of the Pattons in the community, it may be added that the earliest place of church assembly of the settlement there was known as Robert Patton's Meeting House, which, according to Sondley: "was, it seems, the first church structure in western North Carolina";[14] and that the first burying ground used by white settlers seems to have been in conjunction with it.[15] John Patton, father of Robert Patton, who had come to America from Ireland, had at least two sons, Elijah and Robert. Elijah had two children, Rebecca and James; and the latter married his first

[10] While it is true that David had help in the phrasing of his autobiography, a thorough combing of all the old evidence and the discovery of much new evidence from a number of sources, including his own holographs and court records, verify positively that the factual content of that volume was even *minutely* his own and, with a few minor exceptions, minutely accurate.

[11] Toward the conclusion of Chapter VIII of his autobiography.

[12] From tombstone records of her in Hood County, Texas.

[13] F. A. Sondley, *History of Buncombe County, North Carolina*. (Asheville: The Advocate Printing Company), 1930, II, 459.

[14] Sondley, *History of Buncombe County*, II, 702.

[15] Sondley, *History of Buncombe County*, II, 713.

cousin, Elizabeth, fourth child of John's other son, Robert. (Thus Elizabeth Patton retained her maiden name after her marriage.) Robert had in all eight children, in the following order: George, Sally (Sarah), Ann, Elizabeth, Matilda, Margaret, Rebecca, and James.[16]

From the marriage of these first cousins, James and Elizabeth, two children were born, George and Margaret Ann, and when James was killed in the Creek War and Elizabeth married David Crockett, these children became David's foster children, information about whom from this point may be found in the Crockett genealogical study previously cited.[17] Information on the marriages of the other Robert Patton children and the removal of most of them to Tennessee to David's neighborhood, together with David's executorship of the Robert Patton estate must come in another place.[18] Here we must return to the current of our story.

An exhaustive search of all Crockett material[19]—surprisingly the first ever made, despite the numerous "biographies," "lives," and accounts which have been issued about him—turned up, among other things, a North Carolina legend which had never been investigated and which had seemingly never even been heard beyond the borders of the state, despite all the Crockett tall tales and fabrications circulated at the national level. But in North Carolina from time to time one would encounter the repetition of this unsupported legend, as for example in an article by Mr. J. B. Hicklin in *The State*,[20] one line of which read:

"I can hit him anywhere I choose," he told his second, the distinguished Warren David [*sic.* Davis, cousin of John C. Calhoun] of South Carolina, and *his friend*, the storied *David Crockett*. [Italics added.]

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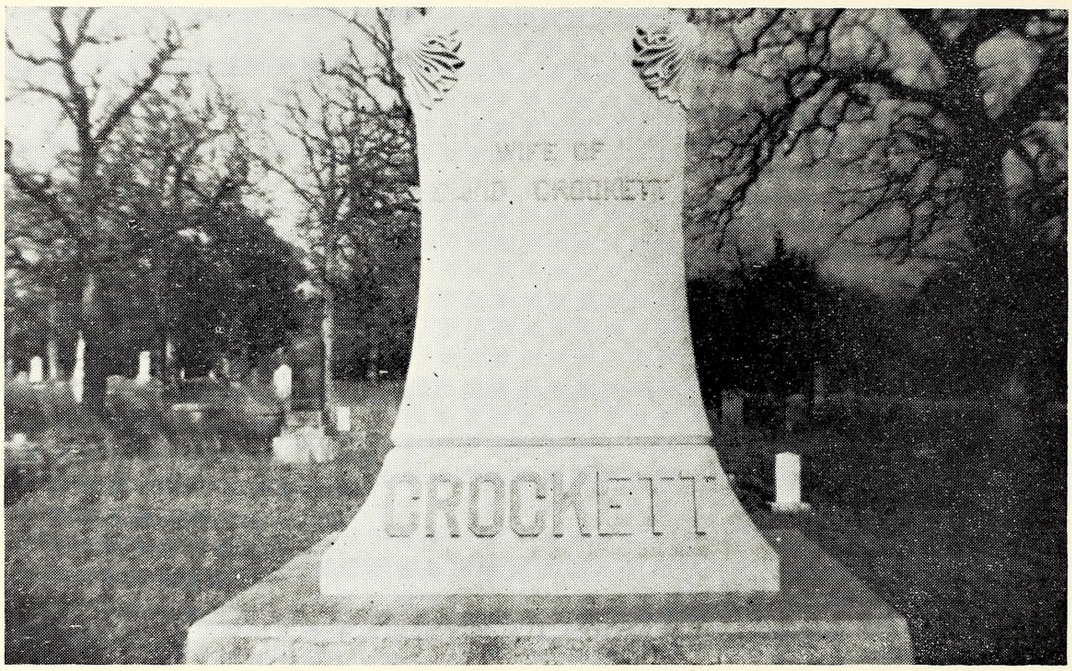
[16] Information on John, his son Elijah, and Elijah's line came from Miss Mary M. Greenlee, of Mooresville, N. C., who is descended from Elijah through Elijah's daughter Rebecca; that on the other son, Robert, and his children, from the court records of Gibson County, Tennessee, especially the Gibson County Chancery Court Minutes, Book A, 1834-47, Parts 1, 2, 3 (Transcripts Tennessee State Library, Nashville).

[17] French and Armstrong, *The Crockett Family and Connecting Lines*, 346-356.

[18] In Gentleman from the Cane: the Biography of David Crockett. See conclusion to footnote 21, below, 305.

[19] The only Crockett bibliography ever compiled may be found, annotated and collated, as Appendix II to the present writer's doctoral dissertation, The Autobiography of David Crockett, an Annotated Edition, With Portraits, Maps, and Appendices, submitted to Vanderbilt University in the spring of 1948.

[20] "The Carson-Vance Duel," *The State*, VI (December, 1938), 9. For other instances, J. P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1914), 359-64, and the allusions therein given.



CLOSE-UP OF THE BASE OF THE MONUMENT TO ELIZABETH PATTON CROCKETT



THE FLAT GRAVESTONE LYING AT THE FOOT OF THE MONUMENT. ERECTED AND DEDICATED BY THE STATE OF TEXAS ON MAY 30, 1913. (HER AGE WAS 72 RATHER THAN THE 82 RECORDED ON THIS TOMBSTONE. THE PLACE AND DATE OF HER MARRIAGE TO DAVID CROCKETT ARE ALSO IN ERROR, FOR THESE WERE: FRANKLIN COUNTY, SPRING OR SUMMER OF 1816.)

No evidence other than legend had been found to connect David Crockett with such a duel, or even to hint at it, and the writer decided to examine all records, including Crockett holographs,[21] and to ascertain, in view of the many fictions which confuse the man's history, whether the story were not capable of easy refutation.[22] The court records of West Tennessee continued to refer to him *in such a way as to show that he was physically present* only up to September, 1826, fourteen months before the duel, and then dropped him until June 2, 1828, seven months after it.[23] True, there was one record of him on October 23, 1827, only two weeks prior to the duel, but this merely noted that he had previously "gone security" for William B. Almon and was to make good Almon's default of his obligation,[24] not indicating at all that he was physically present. The last entry of any sort placing him physically in Tennessee at this time was a surveyor's entry of twenty-five acres of land bought by him in Weakley County on October 1, 1827.[25] There was thus a gap of five weeks prior to the duel during which no record could be found to place him in Tennessee—an interval more than ample for a trip to North Carolina.

Careful reference to Crockett holographs revealed no direct mention of the duel (only four of his letters of this period survive, however), but did establish definitely in his own handwriting

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[21] The writer has compiled a bibliography of 59 such holographs, of which he has in whole or partial photostat 36, in whole or partial reliable typescript 9 more, with 14 yet unlocated. Help is solicited in locating any Crockett letters, originals or copies, in order that this first and only collection may be made as complete as possible. Crockett's letters to North Carolina (to his dear friend and brother-in-law, George Patton) are among the most valuable he wrote and constituted most likely his bulkiest correspondence, but only two of them have ever come to light, these being among the important few which allow us deep insights into the simple, unvarnished heart of the man.

In the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society is a letter dated Asheville, N. C., June 25, 1872, from E. J. Aston to Governor John C. Brown of Tennessee, which refers to the interest of Tennessee in Crockett, and which speaks of transmitting accordingly several items in the possession of the writer to the state of Tennessee, including a letter from David to George Patton, of Swannanoa, which the Tennessee Historical Society yet has (one of the two mentioned), and a circular letter of David's, a sort of political pamphlet, of 1824, which was no doubt connected with his first (unsuccessful) attempt to be elected to Congress in 1825. This pamphlet, regrettably, has been lost. Mr. Aston stated in the transmitting letter that these documents were taken from *among a number of such items found among the papers of George Patton.* Evidently, therefore, other valuable Crockett letters did at that time still exist, and they have never since been discovered. Any information which might lead to uncovering these or similar documents would be appreciated and, in due course, credited by the writer, who is now completing the first biography of the historical David Crockett, based upon original records.

[22] It could not be regarded as clear refutation that Crockett's autobiography failed to mention the matter, as the space there devoted to the whole of his six Congressional years is foreshortened into a brief few pages toward the end, many things, there and elsewhere, being omitted.

[23] For September, 1826, dates: Gibson County Court Minutes, Book A, 1824-28, 197, and Gibson County Circuit Court Minute Book A, 1824-32, 53-54; for June 2, 1828, see Gibson County Court Wills and Bonds Book I, 1825-1833, 97. (Transcripts, Tennessee State Library.)

[24] Gibson Circuit Court Minute Book A, 1824-1832, 99.

[25] West Tennessee Land Office Records, Book 2 "A," 474. (Tennessee State Archives.)

(in a letter heretofore unpublished) that he was visiting in Swannanoa at the time the duel took place, and further included a phrase which might have been an allusion to the duel. On February 5, 1828, Crockett wrote the second-earliest of his surviving letters, so far as yet discovered. It is a report, political and otherwise, to a friend, James Blackburn, who, the content leads me to believe, was an East Tennessean. Reviewing Congressional matters, praising Jackson and predicting his election to the Presidency, and recounting events since David had last seen Blackburn, this letter includes the following remarks:

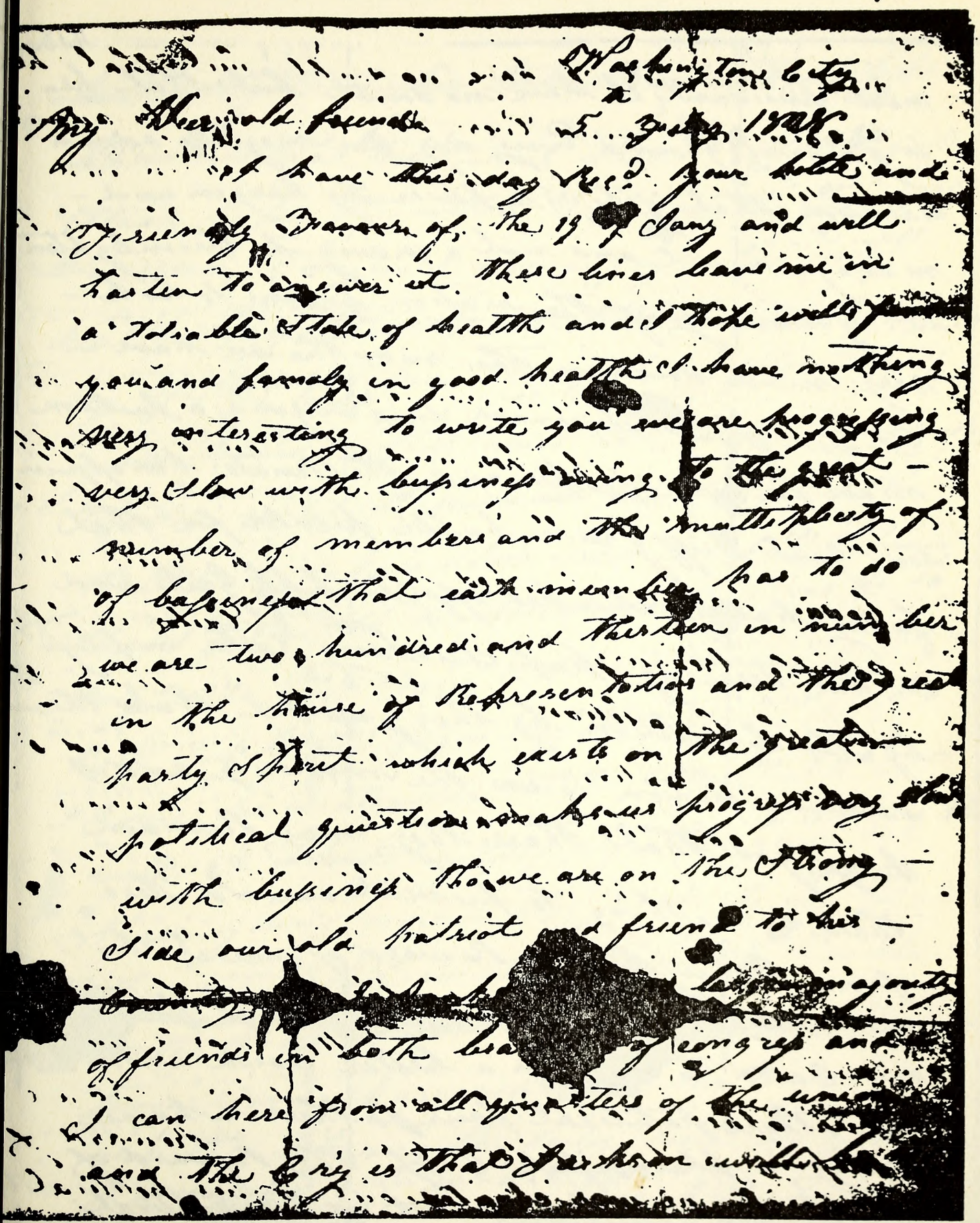
> . . . I have enjoyed the worst health Sence I arrived here that I ever did in my life I was taken the next day after I left your house with the bitter feaver tho I traveled until I arived at my father in laws thare I was taken down and lay four weeks then I got abel to travel I Started on and my wife and Sone Returnd home I have Recd two letters from my Sone Sence he got home he wrote me that they found all well at home. . . . I have been taken down three times Sence I arrived here the last attact was the pluricy the doctor took two quarts of Blood from me at one time I am much Reduced in flesh and have lost all my Red Rosy Cheeks that I have carryed So many years I have thought twice that I was never to See my famaly any more tho thanks be to god I hope that I am Recovering as fast as I could expect I have a great hope that I am to Spend the ballance of the Session with much better health I can not gave you the infermation that I would wish to in the limets of a letter[26]

He asks to be remembered to his old neighbors, expresses uncertainty as to whether he "will Return home through your Country or not," and closes "your freend and well wisher David Crockett."

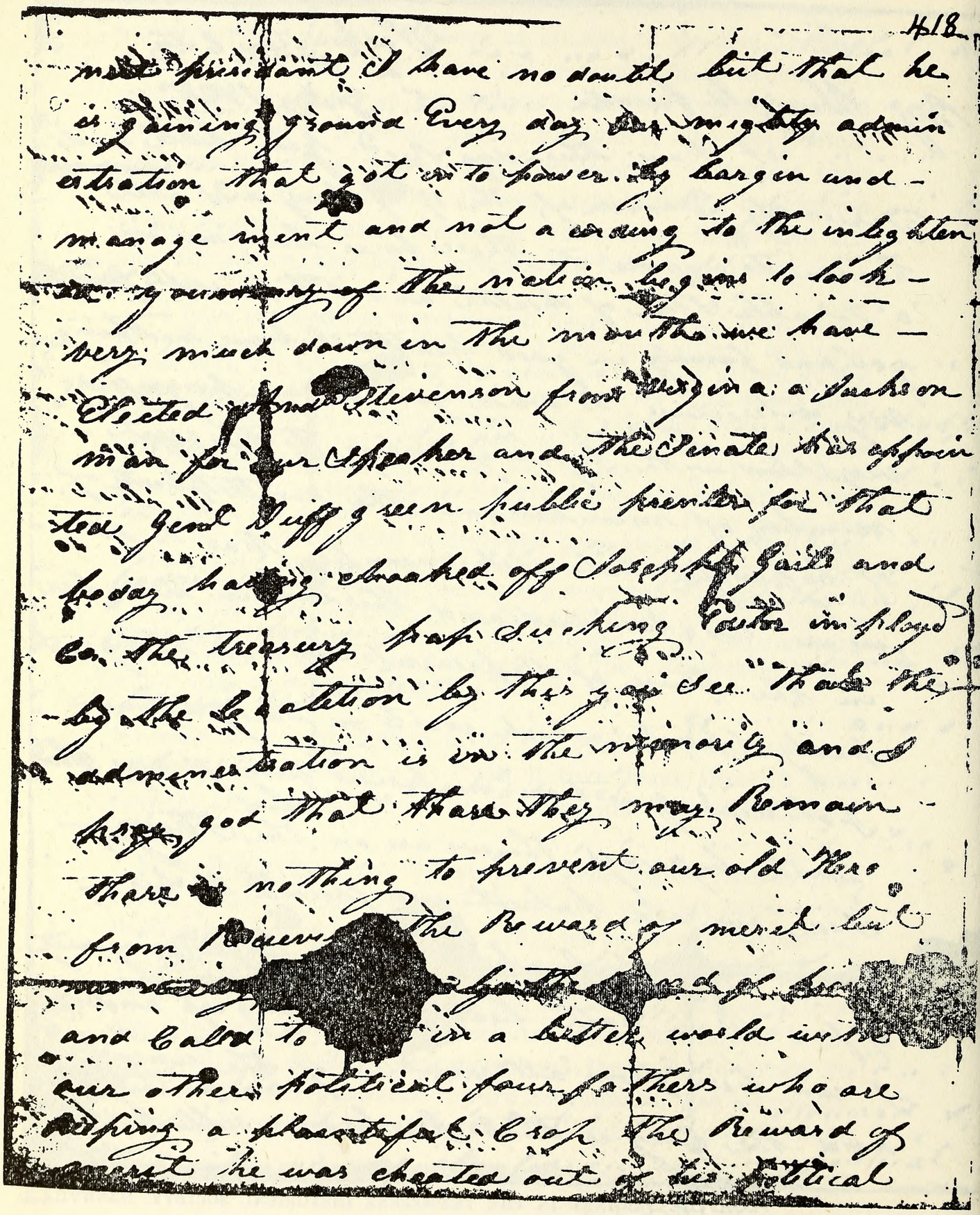
From this letter, from the court and genealogical records mentioned, and from the fact that David had won his canvass for election to Congress in August, 1827, we can easily reconstruct what happened. David set out with his family about October 1 for a visit to his wife's people, a rest, and a celebration of victory. Along the way lived James Blackburn, friend and former neighbor of Middle or East Tennessee, and there David broke his journey. He later proceeded toward Swannanoa, was taken sick, persevered, arrived, and remained for something over a month

[26] The original is in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, which has generously extended permission for its publication. The quotation is from a photostat of the original.

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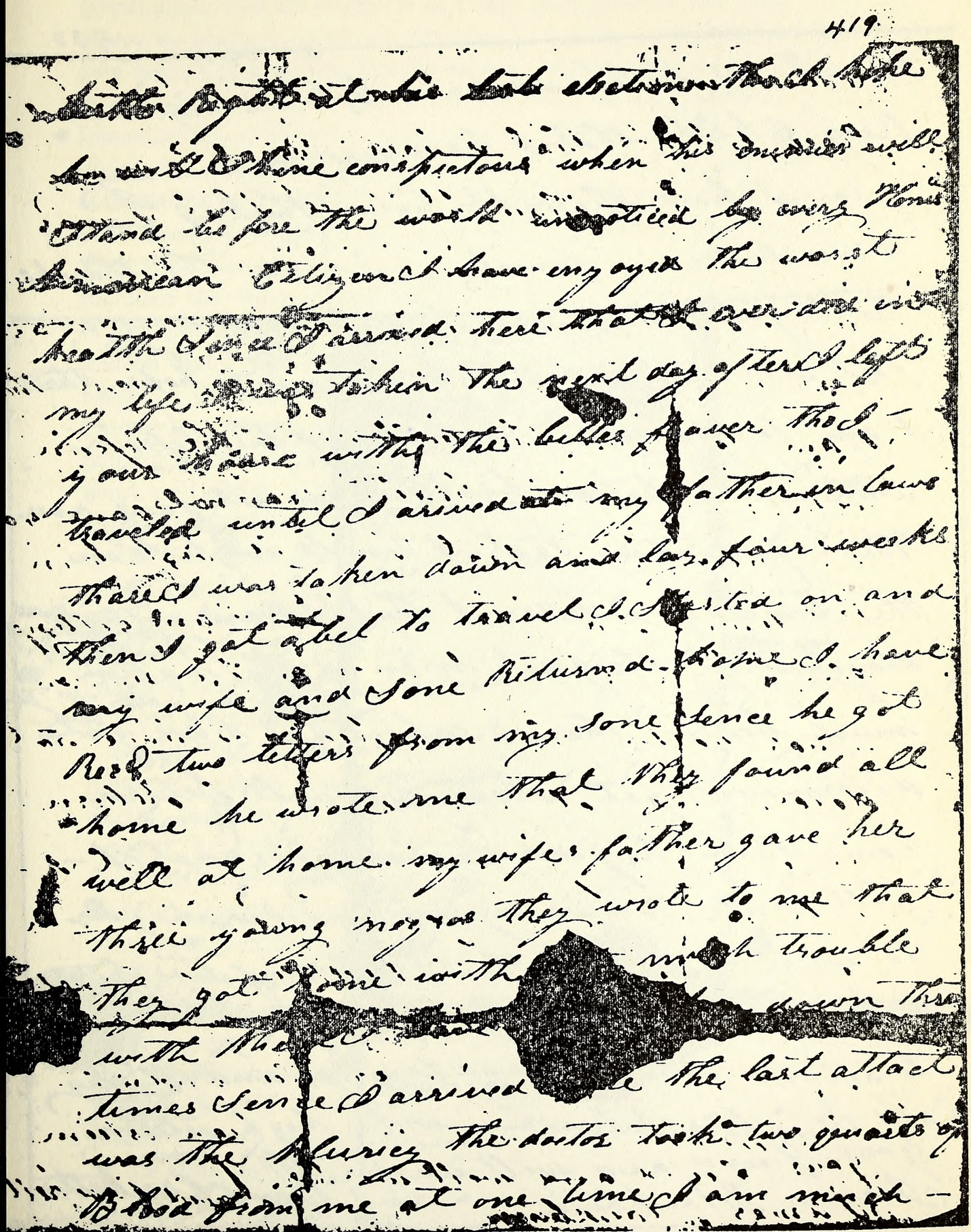


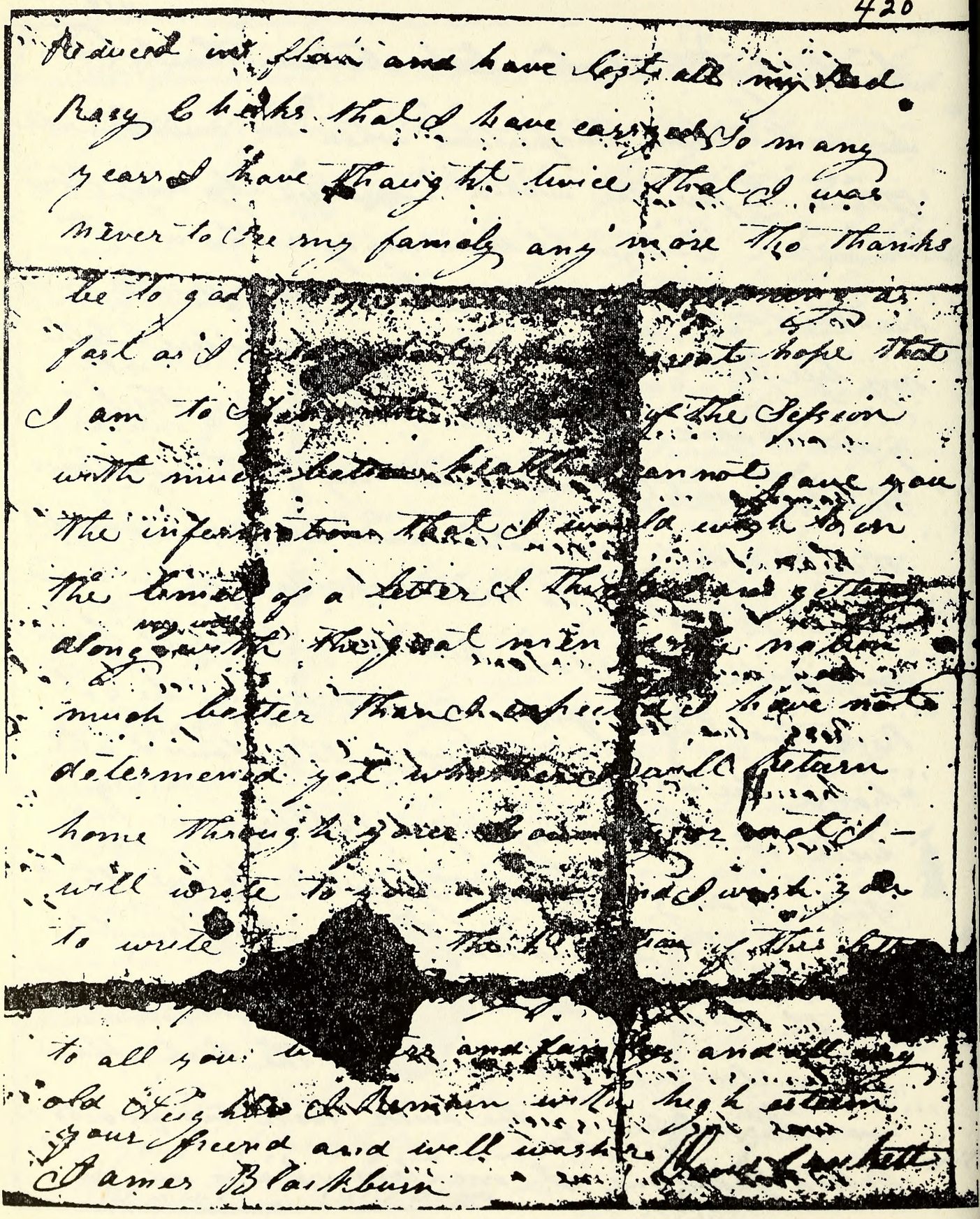
FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NASHVILLE.



1818

make President. I have no doubt but that he is gaining ground Every day the mighty administration that got in to power by bargin and management and not a owing to the inlightenment & ownership of the nation begins to look very much down in the mouth since have Elected Andrew Stevenson from Virginia a Southern man for our Speaker and the Senate this session Jesse Duff gone public Printer for that body has Smashed off Josiah Gales and Co. the treasury trap Sucking Paper in stead of by the Legislation by this you see "Back the" Administration is in the minority and God that Stand they may Remain there is nothing to prevent our old Hero from Reaping the Reward of merit he & and Called to in a better world in our other Political Fathers who are reaping a plentiful Crop the Reward of merit he was cheated out of his Political





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Reduced in flesh and have lost all my stock
Nasy Cheeks that I have carried so many
years I have thought twice that I was
never to see my family any more tho thanks
be to God
fast as I
I am to
with mi
The inf
the time
along
much
determined yet
home
will
to write
to all you
old
your friend and well wisher
James Blackburn

(until about mid-November), and then proceeded to Washington, where he arrived sometime in early December, according to his own letters and the postmarks thereon (though the first record in the *Congressional Debates* of his presence for a *vote* is for December 21, 1827).[27] In other words, from the time he arrived about mid-October until he had to set out so as to attend the convocation of Congress on December 3, 1827, Crockett remained at Swannanoa, since he went directly from there to Washington. That time was at least a month by his own account; it therefore included the date of the Carson-Vance duel, November 6, 1827. It is possible that the statement, "I can not gave you the infermation that I would wish to in the limets of a letter," may tacitly refer to the duel, inasmuch as dueling was illegal and was frowned on by many in the South, and as the recent duel, a very painful matter to Crockett's friend, Sam Carson, as a later document will show, may be assumed therefore also to have been painful to David. (It is interesting to see that David had earlier, in the Tennessee legislature, introduced a bill to amend an act entitled "An act more effectually to prevent duelling," though his amending bill was rejected.)[28] Because it is entirely likely that he would not desire to discuss in a letter the duel which had ended in tragedy, this sentence may be an allusion to the matter without a discussion of it.

David's failure specifically to mention so significant an event, however, and his statement that he had been ill for four weeks during that period may prejudice the conclusion that he was present. Yet other evidence tends to support its probability. Sam Carson's home was in Pleasant Gardens, a scant twenty-five miles east of Swannanoa; the Carsons and the Pattons were both prominent families and must have been well acquainted—in fact, the Burgins, close friends of Sam Carson (Captain, later General, Alney Burgin delivered Sam Carson's challenge letter to Robert Vance) were David's in-laws, since Abner Burgin was the husband of Elizabeth Patton's sister, Margaret. Further, according to Miss Mary M. Greenlee, there were living in Brentwood, Tennessee (a town not far from where David had attended sessions of the state legislature) three Wilson girls who had been former

[27] *Congressional Debates*, Twentieth Congress, First Session, IV, Part 2, December 21, 1827.
[28] *Tennessee House Journal*, Fifteenth General Assembly, First Session, 1823, 229.

residents of Pleasant Gardens, Rebecca, and Catherine, sisters, and Almyra, a first cousin; and three Carson brothers married them: Joseph, Rebecca; Sam, Catherine; and William, Almyra.[29] All these facts, viewed in the light of the political affiliations of the times and the perigrinations of the settlers without reference to county or state boundaries, make it likely that Crockett and Carson, elected to the same Congress, knew each other. And we conclude that they knew each other well when we find in the *Congressional Record* two references by Sam Carson to his "honorable friend from Tennessee,"[30] David Crockett, in a context which reveals that *friend* is employed quite literally. Considering all of this, together with the fact that both Crockett and Carson were traveling to Washington at the same time *via* Swannanoa and Asheville, it appears likely that the "friends" with whom Carson's challenge letter stated he was to travel to Congress may have included David. He was unquestionably Carson's friend. He was surely within a few miles of the scene of the duel when it took place. But was he there? At this point a brief resumé of the Carson-Vance duel is necessary; for the details the reader is referred elsewhere.[31]

The Carsons and the Vances were both politically prominent families. Sam Carson was the son of Colonel John Carson, North Carolina legislator; and Robert B. Vance had formerly been Congressman (defeated by Sam Carson in 1825, and running against him again in 1827) and was an uncle of Governor-to-be Zebulon B. Vance. The battle waged hot, and as voting time drew near, Vance made a serious public charge against Sam's grandfather, that he had been a Tory and had "taken protection" when General Ferguson invaded Burke County during Revolutionary times. Colonel John Carson, Sam's father, demanded a retraction, perhaps threatening a challenge, and Vance replied by letter, "I can have no altercation with a man of your age, and if I have aggrieved you, you certainly have some of your chivalrous sons that will protect you from insult." A letter was then dispatched by the "chivalrous son" Sam direct to Vance, the upshot of which

[29] See below, p. 314, n. 34.
[30] *Congressional Debates*, Twentieth Congress, Second Session, V, 199-200.
[31] J. B. Hicklin, "The Carson-Vance Duel." For much more complete accounts: J. P. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 359-364; and A. C. Avery, "The North Carolina Review Section," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), March 2, 1913, 1-2, 11. An earlier Avery account (*The North Carolina Booklet*, IV, No. 3, (July, 1904), 19-22) made the error of referring to Warren Davis as Warren David, and is probably the source of Hicklin's previously quoted error.

was the duel and Vance's death.[32] Anti-dueling laws of Tennessee and North Carolina resulted in the duel's being fought just across the South Carolina line, near Saluda, N. C. Without more details on this score, interesting though they be, since they may be found elsewhere, the final link in this chain may now be examined. This link is a letter,[33] heretofore unpublished, from Rebecca Carson Whitson, daughter of Sam Carson himself, to W. C. Ervin, of Morganton, N. C., a first cousin once removed as well as a step-nephew of Mrs. Whitson's (see next footnote). It reads:

Talladega, Ala. June 6th 1894

Dear Dear Willie:–

I am so much obliged to you for sending me this account of my father's & Dr. Vance's duel, fear though I can not gratify your object in sending it to me, for I know very little about it. Gen. Burgin who carried the challenge to Dr. Vance, told me after all the parties were on the ground my father who went in [John C.] Calhoun's carriage stepped out, threw his cloak on the ground and lay down on it while everything was being arranged, he then heard some altercation between the seconds and was told it was about Dr. Vance's pistol having the largest calibers, he then replied, I wave all objections, let the gentlemen [*sic*] take his stand, that Vance said soon as he saw my father, he felt his doom was sealed, no doubt Vance believing so firmly in his friends assertion of my father['s] cowardice was started into that presentiment by his fearless manner. I have also heard Dr. Vance lived three days after the duel and shot himself during that time.

David Crockett was the first man who brought the news to Pleasant Gardens, he rode his horse almost to death, beat his hat to pieces & came dashing up yelling "The Victory is Ours." It is true, my father was greatly agitated, would have given way entirely to his feelings and thrown himself down by the side of Dr. Vance if Warren R. [*C sic.*] Davis and other friends had not caught and almost forced him into the carriage, he then insisted on his surgeon Dr. Sheflin, for he was considered the finest surgeon in Western N.C., attending Vance, but as to my father never drawing a sober breath or being haunted by an Spectre, never heard such a thing insinuated, but think my mother would have known & told me if that had been true. Although Duelling

[32] The original challenge letter has been lost and may have been destroyed when the home burned some years ago. But reliable copies were made prior to its loss, and one such was printed in the A. C. Avery *News and Observer* article cited above, together with a Silas McDowell manuscript recording his recollections of the whole affair. This is the material drawn on by J. P. Arthur in the reference cited above, though he quotes only a small portion of the duel letter.

[33] Sent me through the generosity of Miss Greenlee. She states that she personally read the original letter in the possession of its addressee, W. C. Ervin, that he himself gave her the copy and permission to use it, that it has not heretofore been published, and that the writer may use it. She does not know the inheritor of Ervin's papers, but is investigating in a search for the original.

was customary and not looked on in those days (most seventy years ago) with such horror & disapprobation as it is now, to a man of my father's generous nature, for I have been told he was the very soul of chivalry with the warmest heart & tenderest sympathy, such an act (although unavoidable) was a source of great grievance and pain, but never drove him to drunkeness that caused his death, he was born in 1798, died in his fortieth year, of dyspepsia, and several of the Carsons died of the same disease. Your grandfather, uncle William, among them.

The Challenge was written on September 12th. 1827

The letter goes on with some more personal matters, and is signed,

Affectionately,
Your Aunt,[34]
R. C. Whitson

There is added a postscript which seems worthy of quoting:

Never heard, but suppose, my father being in favor of nullification beat him for Congress & caused him and Gen. Jackson to fall out. After he was beaten he went to Miss. with one hundred negroes, moved from there to Texas[35] when it was a Republic. My mother told me he was solicited to run for President [of Texas] –Sam Houston insisted on his running, said he would not oppose him, but he was in such bad health he positively refused to run., after that he was made Secretary of State [of Texas].

Thus concludes the story of Crockett's connection with this famous North Carolina duel, and the evidence here recorded would appear to establish the legend of his presence at it as fact. The story of Crockett's relation to North Carolina, however, is

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[34] Sam and William Carson (brothers) married Catherine and Almyra Wilson (first cousins). Sarah Rebecca Carson Whitson, writer of this letter, was the daughter of Sam and Catherine; Matilda, the "Tillie" of this letter, was the daughter of William and Almyra. William Carson Ervin, addressee of the letter, was Matilda's son, hence Rebecca Whitson's first cousin once removed (he was also her second cousin once removed by another connection). But after the death of Sam and Almyra, William married Sam's widow, Catherine. Thus Rebecca Whitson became Tillie's step-sister and hence step-aunt to W. C. Ervin, which explains the close, "Your Aunt," as well as the reference to "Your *grandfather, uncle William*" (italics added). There are additional complications of relationship, for Katy Carson, aunt of Sam and William, was the grandmother of the three Wilson girls (so that they were first cousins once removed of their husbands), but this is sufficient for present purposes.

[35] A mistake, for Sam Carson returned to North Carolina before going to Texas. A photostatic letter in the writer's possession, from Carson to Hon. John Branch, Enfield, Halifax, N. C., headed "Nullifier's Retreat, 8th Sept 1835" but postmarked Brindleton, N. C., September 9, 1834 (the year in *pen*), states that "We start '*Lock Stock & Barrels*' on the 22nd inst. Should have started this day. but for my sickness." From the context, the Red River country of Texas is clearly his destination, and he asks that Governor Branch write him at "Layfayette C. H. Arkansas Territory," evidently a stop *en route*. If Governor Branch [from December 3, 1817, to December 7, 1820] should come down in the winter or spring, Carson states that he will "probably return with you & spend the summer in Old No Ca." The sickness to which the Whitson letter attributes his failure to run for office Sam Carson here calls the "Cholera (I think *real* Cholera but the Physicians add 'Morbus.')" With reference to Mrs. Whitson's comment on her father's drinking, the following additional sentence from this letter is interesting: "I have abandoned Spirits in toto. & Mrs. Carson has also Snuff—This I am confident you will be pleased to learn." Brindleton was in Burke County.

not here completed; for there are important letters of David to his brother-in-law George Patton, of Swannanoa; court records of later date indicating a transfer of property in Tennessee from David to George Patton (the first positive connection of David with his famous "Go ahead" motto appears on these instruments conveying land and "one negro girl, named Adaline" from David to George);[36] and finally those matters concerning the removal of most of the Pattons to David's neighborhood in West Tennessee, including David's administration of Robert Patton's estate, Robert Patton's will, and a final letter by David's son John W., to his uncle, George Patton, announcing his father's death at the Alamo. But this part of David's North Carolina connections must await the publication of The Gentleman from the Cane.

[36] *Weakley County (Tennessee) Court Minutes*, 1827-35, I, 264.

THE PROFESSIONAL THEATER IN WILMINGTON, 1870-1900*

By Donald J. Rulfs

The present writer's previous study of the professional theater in Wilmington has indicated that during the fall of 1855 the old Innes Academy building, which contained a theater on the ground fioor, was torn down by the town authorities in order that a new combined City Hall and theater might be erected on the same site, the northeast corner of Third and Princess streets.[1] The cornerstone of the new structure, which still stands, was laid on December 27, 1855, and the well-equipped theater with a seating capacity of 950 was opened to the public on October 12, 1858, for a month of nightly performances by the G. F. Marchant Company of the Charleston Theater.

During the remainder of the successful first season, other stock companies brought the total number of performances to eighty-five, and thereafter the new theater continued to receive good support until the outbreak of the Civil War when performances became sporadic and then ceased altogether during and following the tragic yellow fever epidemic in Wilmington during the fall of 1862. During the remaining years of the war, however, the theater was reopened and flourished as a result of the boom brought about by blockade-running, and during the peak season 1863-1864 no less than 240 performances were offered in the new theater, with thirty-four additional performances in the City Hall. After the war, productions again became irregular during the difficult years of reconstruction, but by the season of 1869-1870 the theater had almost regained its normal ante-bellum support.

During the period covered by this survey, Wilmington increased in population from 13,446 in 1870 to 20,976 in 1900, a result mainly of the steady growth of the town's exporting and importing trade in the chief commodities of cotton, lumber, and turpentine. A detailed report of the Wilmington Chamber of

* This is the second in a series of three articles dealing with The Professional Theater in Wilmington. Editor.

[1] "The Professional Theater in Wilmington, 1858-1870," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (April, 1951), 119-136.

Commerce in 1872 indicated that the production of cotton in the state had greatly increased since the war and that the native product as well as cotton from Georgia and South Carolina was being exported through Wilmington to the amount of 95,000 bales in 1871.[2] Sailing vessels were used almost exclusively in this trade, but with the gradual deepening of the channel of the Cape Fear, the new era of steam began with the arrival of the British steamer *Barnesmore* in 1881,[3] and the size of the cargoes continued to increase. Records of the Wilmington Produce Exchange indicated the annual total cotton receipts ending August 31, 1886, to be 101,494 bales,[4] while ten years later the volume had increased to nearly 200,000 bales, ranking Wilmington as the seventh cotton port of the country.[5] In addition, the town in 1896 was the terminus of five railroads: the Carolina Central, under control of the Seaboard Air Line; the Wilmington, Columbia, and Augusta and the Wilmington and Weldon, under control of the Atlantic Coast Line; the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley; and the Wilmington, New Bern, and Norfolk.[6]

As a result of the increase in population and commerce, the professional theater was, with the exception of the depression years 1876-1878, well supported over the thirty-year period. Seasons averaged about forty performances, although there were sixty-three during 1871-1872, sixty-seven during 1887-1888, and 108 during 1899-1900. During the earlier years from 1858 to 1870, performances had consisted mainly of plays offered by capable stock companies that would remain for several weeks or months at a time. After 1870 the stock companies continued but usually for engagements by the week only, while touring musical extravaganzas and comic operas greatly increased in popularity. In addition, an entirely new type of performance was that of the nationally or internationally famous performer on tour. Finally, a more modern type of production was the touring New York hit play, presented by one of the new "combination" companies, which consisted of a leading performer carrying his own supporting cast as well as his own scenery and stage

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[2] James Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1916, 2d ed.), 512-513.
[3] Sprunt, *Chronicles of the Cape Fear*, 501.
[4] Wilmington *Morning Star*, September 1, 1886.
[5] *North Carolina and Its Resources* (Raleigh: State Board of Agriculture, 1896), 135, 374.
[6] *North Carolina and Its Resources*, 375.

crew. Engagements of the famous performers and the "combinations" were usually for one or two nights.

Of the stock companies which appeared during the first decade of the period 1870-1900, the most popular was the Katie Putnam Company, which opened on December 9, 1872, for a week's offering of such favorites as *The Old Curiosity Shop, Meg's Diversion, Rosedale, East Lynne, Fanchon the Cricket, Child of the Regiment* (Saturday matinee), and *Romeo and Juliet.* As an indication of the town's appreciation of Miss Putnam's talents, there appeared in the Wilmington *Daily Journal* for December 13 a letter signed by forty-two citizens asking her to make the play of that evening, *Fanchon,* her benefit performance. When the troupe returned on February 10, 1874, for a week Miss Putnam in *Fanchon* received six curtain calls on the first night and was presented more bouquets than she could carry.[7] After a three-night engagement beginning on January 25 of the same year, the company made its last appearance during the decade for two nights on January 3-4, 1876, when there were again many curtain calls, and the actress was designated as "Wilmington's little favorite."[8]

Almost as popular with Wilmington audiences as the Putnam Company was the Rose and Harry Watkins Troupe, which appeared for short engagements on March 20, 1871; January 22 and November 4, 1872; and October 24, 1877. However, the troupe with the largest personnel, twenty-five members, and the largest repertoire was the Old Reliable Company, featuring Helen D'Este and J. G. Stuttz. The group opened on February 8, 1872, for eleven performances of all the stock favorites: *East Lynne, Leah the Forsaken, Ten Nights in a Bar Room, Fanchon, Camille, Cynthia, Ingomar, The Lady of Lyons, Fazio,* and *The Hidden Hand.* Miss D'Este was received as "a careful student of the human emotions, and a fine portrayer of them,"[9] and as for the troupe as a whole, we are informed that "this mammoth company are 'dead letter perfect' in their parts, and correct in their costumes and stage business."[10] Other popular companies were the Lillie Eldridge and Harry Langdon Troupe, which played for

[7] *Morning Star,* February 11, 1874.
[8] Wilmington *Daily Journal,* January 4, 1876.
[9] *Daily Journal,* February 9, 1872.
[10] Wilmington *Post,* February 11, 1872.

three nights beginning October 16, 1873, and was described as ". . . one of the very best combinations that has visited the South since the war,"[11] and the Kate Fisher Company with her horse "Wonder" in *Mazeppa* and other action-packed pieces for a week beginning November 11, 1872, and again in *Mazeppa* for one night on December 15, 1875.

The very popular type of entertainment in the form of burlesque musical extravaganza was well represented by the Chapman Sisters and C. B. Bishop Company, which appeared for a week beginning on November 14, 1870, with such pieces as *Sleeping Beauty, My Precious Betsey, Pluto, Cinderella,* and *The Forty Thieves;* again on March 3-4, 1871, with *Much Ado About a Merchant of Venice* and *Little Jack Shephard;* and on November 28-29, 1873, with *Don Giovanni* and *Leo and Lotus,* drawing the largest audiences of the season[12] and producing "shouts of laughter."[13] The Worrell Sisters Burlesque and Opera Bouffe Company with twenty-five performers appeared November 10-12, 1870, and for a week beginning November 13, 1871, while Lisa Weber's Celebrated English Blondes offered *Ernani, La Somnambula,* and *Lurline* on November 30 and December 1-3, 1870, bringing forth the estimate that ". . . the women are all good looking and the men irresistibly droll."[14] Although the original company of *The Black Crook,* the first successful American revue, had visited Wilmington in 1868, the Bidwill and McDonough *Black Crook* which appeared November 24-26, 1873, played to a house "brimful and running over,"[15] and it was said that ". . . . the scenery is rich and beautiful, the tableaux gorgeous, the ballet dancing excellent, the array of female performance striking."[16] As far as "the array of female performance" was concerned, however, the *Black Crook* production could not compare with Mlle. Ninon Duclo's Sensational Blondes Revue, October 18-19, 1877, which did indeed prove to be a sensation for Wilmington's Victorian theater-goers and caused much breezy comment in the press. The reviewer for the *Morning Star* observed that for the first night's performance the exclusively male audience ". . .

[11] *Morning Star,* October 17, 1873.
[12] *Morning Star,* November 29, 1873.
[13] *Evening Post,* November 29, 1873.
[14] *Daily Journal,* December 2, 1870.
[15] *Morning Star,* November 25, 1873.
[16] *Daily Journal,* November 25, 1873.

appeared to admire the rigid economy observed by the 'Dizzies' in the purchase of their wardrobes" and that he expected for the second night a large audience ". . . who will go just to encourage twenty modest maidens (all orphans) in their praiseworthy efforts to make an honest living," adding that "opera glasses will not be needed—screens will be more appropriate."[17]

In the field of extravaganza, the *Humpty Dumpty* pantomime companies were popular throughout the decade, the first being John Templeton's show on February 1, 1872. This was followed by the Fox and Denier *Humpty Dumpty* on March 30-31, 1874, "as played for 3 years in New York City," according to the advertisements. The company returned on December 28-29 of the same year, February 22, 1875, and January 8, 1879, when it was declared to be "about the best pantomime troupe that has ever visited Wilmington," with "the finish and smoothness inseparable from the work of the true artist wherever seen."[18]

For those who preferred more serious musical entertainment there were frequent opportunities to enjoy opera. Mrs. James A. Oates' Comic Opera Company offered *The Daughter of the Regiment, Fortunio,* and *The Flower Girl of Paris* on March 21-23, 1872, and *The Grand Duchess* on January 20, 1874, when it was stated concerning Mrs. Oates that ". . . in this community there is but one sentiment regarding her—that of unqualified admiration."[19] Similarly well received was the Holman Opera Troupe, which presented *The Grand Duchess, La Somnambula,* and *The Bohemian Girl* on November 6-7, 1874, and *Girolfe Girofla, Cinderella,* and *La Fille de Madame Angot* on November 26-27, 1875. The Adelaide Philips Italian Opera Company offered *The Barber of Seville* on January 12, 1875, while the Adah Richmond English Opera Company repeated *Girolfe Girofla* on February 3, 1879, and added *The Chimes of Normandy* the next evening. The great popularity of *H. M. S. Pinafore* was first manifested on March 20 of the same year when the Holman troupe offered it, and thereafter the following *Pinafore* companies came in rather rapid succession: Campbell's Comic Opera Company of New York on April 7, the Star Alliance Opera Com-

[17] October 19, 1877.
[18] Wilmington *Daily Review,* January 9, 1879.
[19] *Daily Journal,* January 21, 1874.



Fanny Janauschek as Lady Macbeth.
Reproduction courtesy Harvard Theater Collection.



Edwin Forrest as King Lear.
Reproduction courtesy Harvard Theater Collection.

pany on September 29, Ford's Juvenile Opera Company on October 2, the Rentz-Santley Novelty Company on November 22, and the Hayes Juvenile Opera Company on April 7, 1880, which was the previous juvenile troupe under new management. Each production of *Pinafore* was hailed as being better than the preceding one, but the juvenile company was generally regarded as the best.

In addition, music lovers had frequent opportunities to hear the best in concert music with such performances as those of the Adelaide Philips Concert Company, featuring Mr. J. Levy, "the greatest cornet player in the world," on February 4, 1871; Mrs. Charles Moulton, prima donna, January 1, 1872; Blind Tom, an unusually talented Negro pianist who had appeared in Wilmington for many years, on January 29, 1872; Ole Bull, Norwegian violinist who had also previously appeared in Wilmington, on November 26, 1872; Herr L. von Myerhoff of Vienna, pianist, on January 7, 1874; and Rosa D'Erina, Irish prima donna, January 21-22, 1878.

The first of the famous actors to appear in Wilmington during 1870-1880 was Edwin Forrest, who played for three nights, October 24-26, 1870, in *Richelieu, Damon and Pythias*, and *King Lear*. The local theatrical reviewers were, of course, enthusiastic over all three performances, but his Lear made the greatest impression: "Powerful, passionate, grand, and terrible is he while pronouncing his curse upon Goneril; distressingly passionate and pitiable is he in his despair; wild, raving, and awe-inspiring is he in the full tide of his madness."[20] Next came Mme. Fanny Janauschek, a native of Prague who had become famous on the European stage. She first appeared in Wilmington on January 9, 1875, as Queen Elizabeth in *The Earl of Essex* and made the following impression: "She was Elizabeth as we have always conceived her, perfect, unvarying, singular, magnificent, weak in her affections, yet terrible in action."[21] Three years later she returned on January 11-12, 1878, in *Catherine of Russia* and *Macbeth*. Her role of Catherine was described as ". . . one continuous sweep of impassioned personation . . . truly regal in her fearlessness, and terrible in her displeasure, yet withal so tenderly woman in her

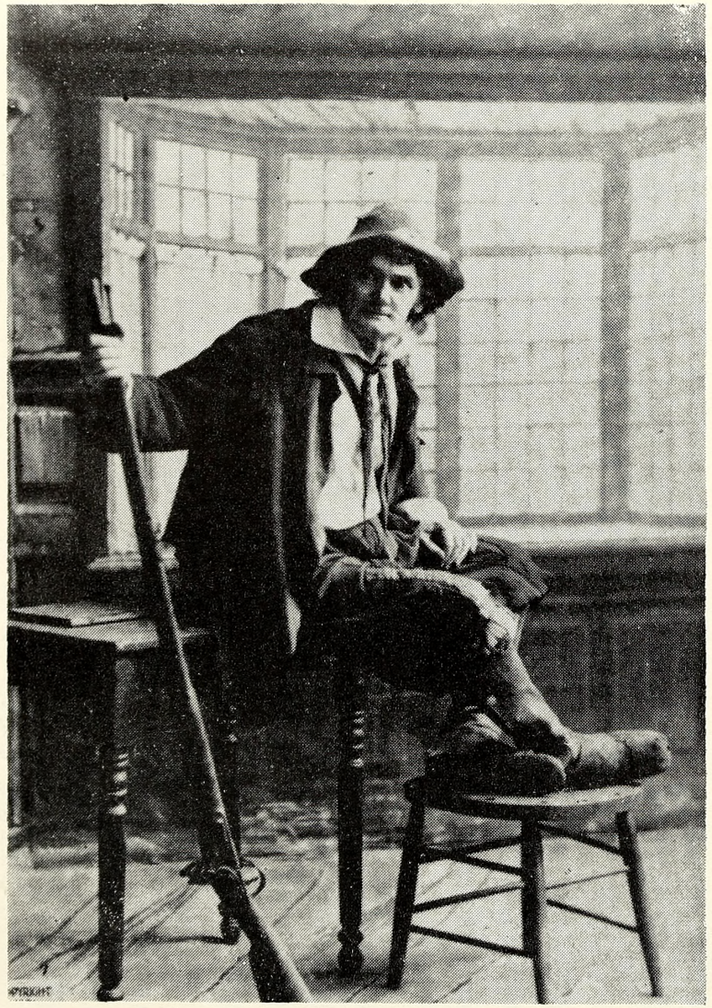
[20] *Daily Journal*, October 27, 1870.
[21] *Daily Journal*, January 10, 1875.

love."[22] Equally great was her interpretation of the role of Lady Macbeth: "Under the transforming touch of her genius the remarkable creation of the poet stands forth in vivid and distinct colors—the concentrated passion and fire and grandeur being all represented."[23] In the meantime, Mary Anderson appeared in *Romeo and Juliet* on February 16, 1877, and the next year on January 30-31 in Richard L. Sheil's *Evadne* and Munch-Bellinghausen's *Ingomar*, being well received in all three of the productions.

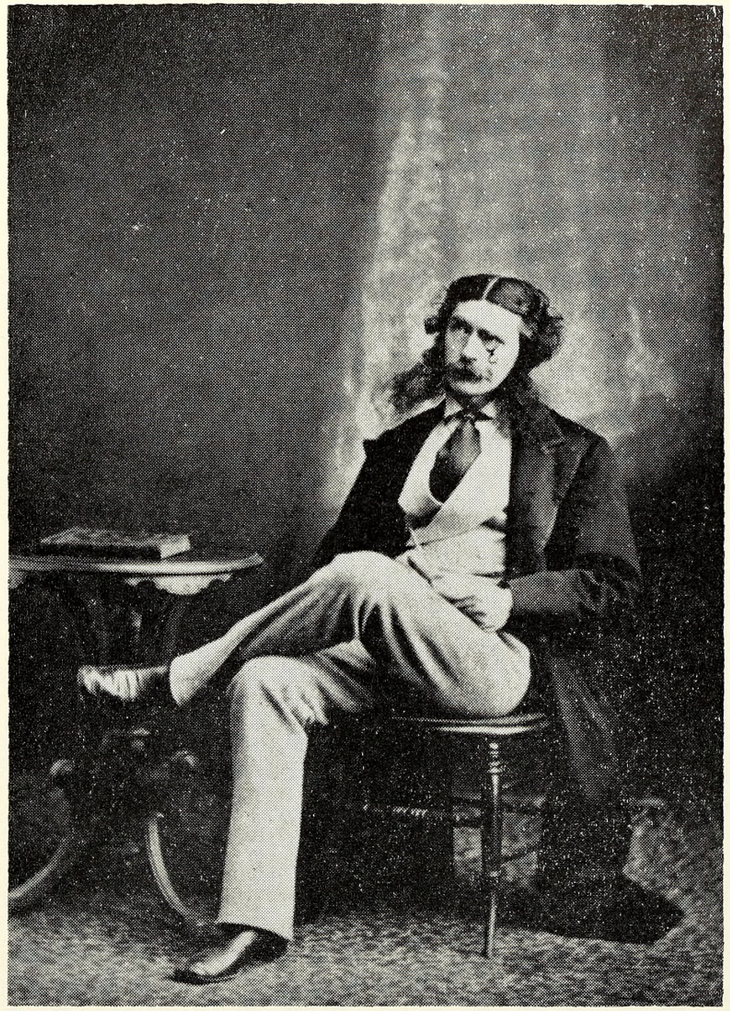
The first of the great comedians to appear was Edward A. Sothern, who played the role of Lord Dundreary in Tom Taylor's *Our American Cousin* on February 19, 1878, and on the next evening the role of De Lacy Fitzaltamont in his own play *A Crushed Tragedian.* The local press found that ". . . as a great comedian, he deserves to the full measure his most brilliant reputation."[24] He was followed on November 16 of the same year by Joseph Murphy, Irish comedian, who appeared in *The Kerry Cow* and fully satisfied the expectations of all reviewers. Next, on January 17, 1880, the greatest of all the American comedians, Joseph Jefferson, who had first played in Wilmington almost thirty years before, appeared in *Rip Van Winkle,* an adaptation made especially for Jefferson by Dion Boucicault.[25] In addition to the simple statement to the effect that his Rip was ". . . one of the most finished performances of which it is possible to conceive,"[26] Shakespeare's famous description of Cleopatra was also applied, with a change of pronoun: "It is needless to say that 'age cannot wither nor custom stale his infinite variety.' "[27]

With regard to the hit plays on tour, perhaps the most popular during the decade 1870-1880 was Alphonse D'Ennery's *The Two Orphans* as adapted by J. Oxenford, a highly emotional and sensational play abounding in moral edification. The piece was first presented in Wilmington by the Clara Wildman Comedy Company of New York on November 10, 11, and 13, 1875, and by Hall's Combination on November 15 of the same year. It was again offered on December 4, 1878, by the Helen D'Este Troupe.

[22] *Daily Review*, January 12, 1878.
[23] *Morning Star*, January 13, 1878.
[24] *Daily Review*, February 20, 1878.
[25] *Daily Review*, January 19, 1880.
[26] *Daily Review*, January 19, 1880.
[27] *Morning Star*, January 18, 1880.



Joseph Jefferson in the title role of *Rip Van Winkle.*
Reproduction courtesy Harvard Theater Collection.



Edward A. Sothern as Lord Dundreary in *Our American Cousin.*
Reproduction courtesy Harvard Theater Collection.

Another popular play, *Married and Divorced,* described as "the new Society Drama,"[28] was given by the Wildman troupe on November 8-9, 1875, and the Hall Company on November 16 of the same year presented Boucicault's *Led Astray,* which had been a great success not only in America but in Paris, London, and Vienna. During the same season, Augustin Daly's Fifth Avenue Theatre Company gave Daly's *Big Bonanza,* a satirical comedy of manners, on February 2, 1876. On January 23, 1879, Leonard Grover appeared in his own comedy *Our Boarding House,* which, according to the advertisements, had run for over 1,400 performances in New York. Although the latter play was well attended, the reviewer for the *Morning Star* the next day thought that some parts of it were "too broad for this locality."

Finally, for the benefit of that portion of the theater-going public whose tastes ran neither to plays, operas, musical comedies, nor concerts, the average season during 1870-1880 offered much in the way of minstrels, magic shows, panoramas, and variety. Of the minstrels, the hardiest perennials were Duprez and Benedict's, Skiff and Gaylord's, Callender's, Haverly's, and Mme. Rentz's Female Minstrels. The most persistent magician was Wyman, who had been appearing in Wilmington since antebellum days and who, after 1870, added the distribution of gifts during his performance. The Berger Family of Swiss bell ringers had also appeared before 1870 and continued through 1875, while such popular panoramas as McEvoy's Hibernicon, consisting of views of Ireland, and the Pilgrim's Progress Panorama continued to draw crowds. Perhaps the two greatest attractions in the variety field, however, were the appearances on May 20, 1876, and May 20, 1877, of General Tom Thumb and his wife with a company of midgets, and of Buffalo Bill (W. F. Cody) on October 25, 1875, October 4, 1878, and January 22, 1880, with his wild West plays featuring real Indians.

The second decade of the survey witnessed a decided decrease in the number of stock companies and burlesque extravaganza troupes but an increase in the number of opera and concert companies, famous performers, and long-run plays on tour. Variety

[28] *Daily Journal,* November 10, 1875.

entertainment and minstrels continued with about the same degree of popularity as during the years 1870-1880.

Only three stock companies offered the old and new favorites, the first being the Standard Dramatic Company, which opened on June 9, 1885, for thirteen performances and on the following August 31 for seven. During both engagements such popular melodramas as *Under the Gas Light, Kathleen Mavourneen, The Two Orphans, Ten Nights in a Bar Room,* and *Fanchon the Cricket* were well received. Beginning on January 24, 1887, the Louise Arnot Troupe presented one week of stock and was followed the next month on February 7 by the Cora Van Tassel Company, which stayed for a week and returned on May 16 for another week.

In the field of burlesque and extravaganza, the Rentz-Santley Company appeared regularly through 1884 as did various *Humpty Dumpty* shows, but for the remainder of the decade the only burlesques were *Zo-Zo, the Magic Queen,* October 12-14, 1885, and November 15, 1888; *Peck's Bad Boy and His Pa,* November 23, 1885; *Early Birds,* March 24, 1888; and Lilly Clay's Colossal Gaiety Company on April 7, 1888.

After the popularity of *H. M. S. Pinafore* during 1879-1880, four other Gilbert and Sullivan light operas were well received in Wilmington, the first being *The Pirates of Penzance,* offered by the famous D'Oyly Carte London Opera Company on February 9, 1881. At least one reviewer considered it better than *Pinafore,*[29] and in general it was admired. *Patience* was presented by the Charles E. Ford English Opera Company on March 23, 1882, but was not too successful: "The music is bright, sparkling, and delightful, but the piece is almost too subtle and delicately painted a composition to take with the general public."[30] *Iolanthe* next appeared on March 7, 1883, a production of the Ford company, and the only objection in the press was that there were too many localized aspects of the satire for an American audience.[31] The last Gilbert and Sullivan production, *The Mikado,* made the greatest impression of all. It was first presented on October 19-20, 1885, by the New York Bijou Opera Company to

[29] *Morning Star,* February 10, 1881.
[30] *Morning Star,* March 24, 1882.
[31] *Morning Star,* March 8, 1883.

the largest audience of the season. The opera was equally well received when offered the next year on January 18-19 by the John Templeton Company with the original New York cast, and again by the Bijou Company on May 18 of the same year. Another very popular opera was Audran's *La Mascotte*, which was given on January 16, 1883, by Gorman's German Opera Company; on May 27, 1885, by the Bijou Company; and on May 19, 1886, by the same group. Light opera was, in fact, becoming so popular that the Crescent Opera Company of New York even risked a summer engagement during July 16-24, 1888, to coincide with the encampment of twenty-seven companies of the State Guard at Camp Latimer on Wrightsville Sound, July 18-26.[32]

Among the more famous concert artists visiting Wilmington during the decade were Blind Tom, April 1-2 and November 30, 1881, and October 2, 1884; Minnie Hauk, prima donna of London and New York, October 18, 1883; the Theodore Thomas Symphony Orchestra, December 6, 1883; Edouard Remenyi, violinist, February 20, 1884; and the Mendelssohn Quintette Club of Boston, April 21, 1884, January 13, 1887, and January 13, 1888. The appearance of Charles Dickens, son of the novelist, on the afternoon of March 24, 1888, with readings from his father's works should also be mentioned.

The number of great performers with well established reputations increased during the second decade. The first of these was Ernesto Rossi, who appeared before a packed house on December 19, 1881, in the role of Othello.[33] He was described as an actor "of massive frame and commanding presence" with a voice "sonorous and well modulated" and movements "dignified, stately, self-possessed."[34] We are told, further, that towards the end of the play, after Desdemona's death, ". . . the most terrible, agonizing remorse sweeps over him with fearful power, crushes his heart, and impels him to the fatal end. . . . We feel, when the curtain falls, that we have seen *Othello*—not acted but living."[35] The next celebrity was Joseph Jefferson, who returned on January 14, 1884, as Bob Acres in *The Rivals*, with Mrs. John Drew in the role of Mrs. Malaprop. The performance was described

[32] Wilmington *Messenger*, July 14, 1888.
[33] *Daily Review*, December 20, 1881.
[34] *Morning Star*, December 20, 1881.
[35] *Morning Star*, December 20, 1881.

as "the most enjoyable that has been here for years,"[36] and after the play a reception was given for the company by members of the old Thalian Association in the Mayor's Room at the City Hall.[37] Within the same month, on January 30, Mme. Helena Modjeska, famous Polish actress, supported by Maurice H. Barrymore, appeared as Viola in *Twelfth Night,* and one reviewer stated that "she throws her heart and soul into the piece, and holds her audience completely under her sway from the beginning to the end of the performance. . . . Her success was most triumphant."[38]

Later in the decade Frederick Warde, English actor, appeared on March 22-23, 1887, in *Virginius* and *Galba, the Gladiator,* and on January 30, 1888, in *Damon and Pythias,* at the conclusion of which we are informed that the audience was "so touched by his pathos, so imbued with his tragic impersonations, that it was too overcome to applaud!"[39] Similarly, on October 4, 1887, Mrs. D. P. Bowers was well received in *Queen Elizabeth,* and Mme. Janauschek returned on October 23, 1888, in *Macbeth* to carry her audience back to the old days "before catch-penny shows were known; when stately characters were impersonated by imposing figures."[40] On the next evening she appeared with equal success in *Meg Merrilies,* adapted from *Guy Mannering.*

Among the greatly increased number of hit plays on tour, the first two, *Child of the State,* adapted by George Hoey from D'Ennery, and *Diplomacy,* adapted by Saville and Bolton Rowe from Sardou's *Dora,* were given on October 3-4, 1881, by the Hoey Company, which advertised the first production as "the most powerful melodrama of the day" and the second as "the greatest play of the day." Both plays received high commendation, especially *Diplomacy,* which was found to be a "strong, ingenious, and admirable play, presented by the best company that has appeared here in years."[41] These were followed on January 12, 1882, by *Forget Me Not,* the London success of Herman Merivale and F. C. Grove, with Genevieve Ward in the leading role, and on January 30 by John T. Raymond in his three hundred

[36] *Morning Star,* January 15, 1884.
[37] *Morning Star,* January 15, 1884.
[38] *Morning Star,* January 31, 1884.
[39] *Messenger,* January 31, 1888.
[40] *Messenger,* October 24, 1888.
[41] *Morning Star,* October 5, 1881.

and thirtieth performance of A. C. Gunter's *Fresh, the American,* which was considered a poor play saved by a good comedian.[42] Within a week, on February 6-7, the Collier Union Square Company offered Bronson Howard's *The Banker's Daughter,* advertised as having had the longest run on record—over 1,000 performances—with a return engagement on October 16-17, 1885. On March 7, 1882, the Madison Square Company No. 2 also advertised the longest run on record—nearly 1,500 performances—for Steele MacKaye's *Hazel Kirke.* Although the acting of Miss Gilbert in the role of Hazel was admired, the play itself was not considered outstanding.[43] The same company returned within the year on October 6-7 with *Hazel Kirke* and a new hit, Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Esmeralda,* which had had 350 performances in New York. The two pieces were repeated at matinee and evening performances on the following December 22, and *Esmeralda* alone was offered the next year on November 14.

Other long-run productions were W. E. Barnes' *Only a Farmer's Daughter,* with over 1,500 performances, on September 18, 1883, and March 29, 1886; *Article 47,* adapted by Augustin Daly from Belot, with over 1,000 performances in Paris and 500 in New York, on October 8, 1883; Henry A. Jones and Henry Herman's *The Silver King,* which had played in London for three years, on March 14, 1885, for matinee and evening; and *Erma the Elf* on March 26, 1890, with the indefatigable Katie Putnam, who advertised that she had played the title role over 1,000 times in the United States and Australia. After an absence of fourteen years, she received "an ovation which was not only genuine and sincere but sympathetic and touching."[44]

During the last decade of the century, all of the previously noted types of entertainment continued to be offered, but there was a decided increase in the number of star performers, hit plays on tour, and stock companies, with a decrease in the number of concert performances. One entirely new type of entertainment was the sensational melodrama which depended largely upon elaborate scenic and mechanical effects for its success, a development resulting partly from the new use of electricity, with

[42] *Morning Star,* January 31, 1882.
[43] *Morning Star,* March 8, 1882.
[44] *Morning Star,* March 27, 1890.

which Wilmington had been supplied in 1886. Typical of these plays were the following which were offered successively on December 22, 23, and 24, 1891, by different companies: *The Pay Train,* which displayed the wrecking of the train and explosion of the engine;[45] *Our Country Cousin,* advertising The Great Railroad Scene and Steamboat on the Ohio Scene; and *The Two Sisters,* which announced new and special scenery, including the Union Square Hotel, Central Park, and "New York City from the housetops, showing Brooklyn Bridge in the distance." Other typical thrillers were *The Waifs of New York,* March 28, 1892, which included in the last act a "fire scene exhibiting a genuine steam engine at work";[46] *Uncle's Darling,* January 11, 1893, with a setting in Alaska including glaciers, a snow storm, Eskimo dogs, three trained bears, and two St. Bernard dogs, one of which ". . . caught the 'villain' by the throat and drowned him at a critical moment";[47] and *The Operator,* September 10, 1894, with a shipwreck, a tropical scene, and a railroad wreck.[48] At the beginning of the decade these spectacles were at least tolerated by the reviewers, but by 1895 the novelty was beginning to wear off, with the result that plays which depended too greatly upon scenic effects for their success were censured. For example, *The Span of Life,* September 30, 1895, was condemned because it was said that ". . . the show throughout is like a dime novel illustrated" and that ". . . the scenery was shoved on the audience to shield the weakness of the play, but didn't suffice."[49] Such criticism continued until the end of the decade.

Similar to the companies offering melodramas, the musical comedy troupes also introduced more and more elaborate scenic effects after the introduction of electricity, and they continued to be numerous throughout the decade. The most popular were *Breezy Time,* November 4, 1891, October 21, 1895, and March 30, 1899; *Starlight,* January 16, 1892, and October 21, 1892; *Wang,* April 2, 1894, April 5, 1895, and April 24, 1896; and John Philip Sousa's *El Capitan,* March 28, 1899.

There were only four performances of concert music during the decade: Edouard Remenyi, January 1, 1894; the United

[45] *Messenger,* December 23, 1891.
[46] *Messenger,* March 29, 1892.
[47] *Messenger,* January 12, 1893.
[48] *Messenger,* September 11, 1894.
[49] *Morning Star,* October 1, 1895.

States Marine Band with Mme. Romia, prima donna, on March 30, 1895; Signorina Nice Moreska, soprano, on October 17, 1895; and Mme. Sofia Scalchi, contralto, on October 26, 1897.

The first of the star performers to appear during the last decade was Alberta Gallatin, who offered *Romeo and Juliet* with Creston Clarke on January 21, 1891, and *As You Like It* on the next evening. During the following week, on January 28, Alexander Salvini appeared in the title role of D'Ennery's *Don Caesar de Bazan,* and he returned four years later on March 18, 1895, in Dumas's *The Three Guardsmen.* Next, Mme. Janauschek returned on January 30, 1892, in Augustus Thomas's *The Harvest Moon* and was followed by Robert Downing on February 13 and September 9, 1893, in *Richard the Lion Hearted* and on January 30, 1895, in two short plays *David Garrick* and *French Marriage.* Mme. Modjeska returned on January 11, 1894, and with her for the first time in Wilmington was Otis Skinner, who played Shylock to her Portia in *The Merchant of Venice,* a performance which was described as "a marvel and a revelation."[50] Four years later Skinner returned alone on January 18, 1898, in *Prince Rudolph* and again on January 25 of the next year in *Rosemary,* a hit play by Murray Carson and Louis Parker.

Other star performers appearing in Wilmington during the prosperous nineties included Richard Mansfield on January 29, 1894, in *Beau Brummell,* in which he was received with "nothing less than an ovation,"[51] and on January 8 of the next year in *A Parisian Romance.* He was followed the next month on February 18 by Robert Mantell in D'Ennery's *Monbars,* in which he was said to be "handsome, of commanding figure, and his expression perfect."[52] Later in the same year, on December 19, 1895, Minnie Maddern Fiske appeared in *The Queen of Liars,* an adaptation by Harrison G. Fiske from Daudet, and she ". . . proved her right . . . to the title of the greatest emotional actress on the American stage."[53] The star performer who made the greatest number of visits to Wilmington during the nineties, however, was Lewis Morrison, whose role of Mephisto in an adaptation of Goethe's *Faust* became quite famous. The elaborate

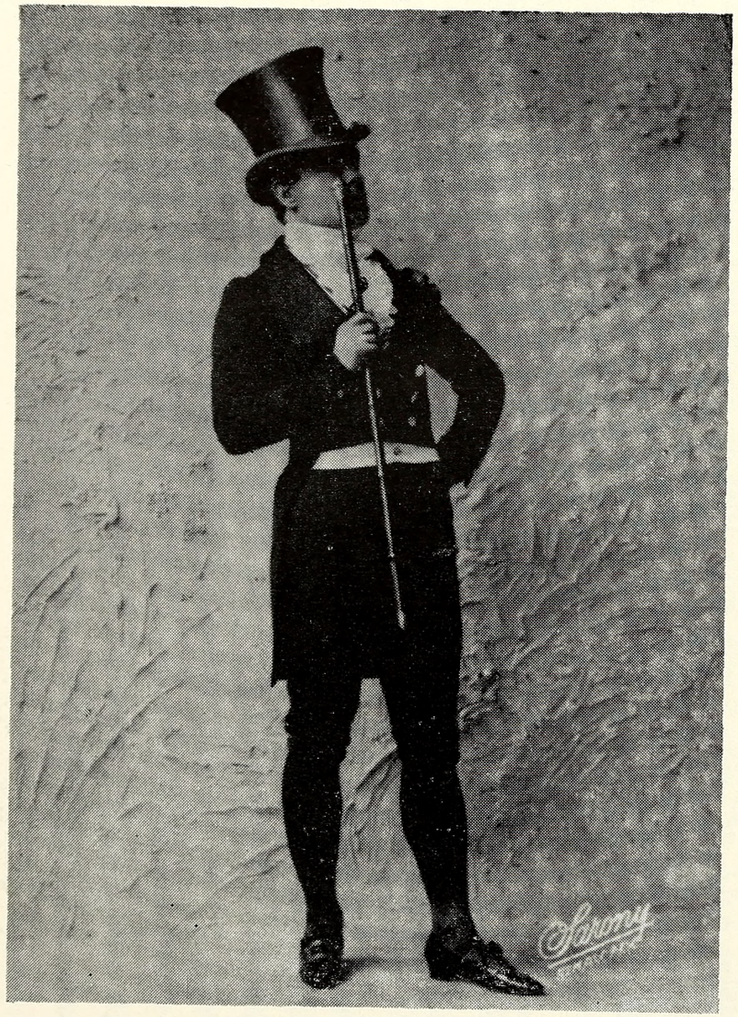
[50] *Messenger,* January 12, 1894.
[51] *Messenger,* January 30, 1894.
[52] *Morning Star,* February 19, 1895.
[53] *Morning Star,* December 20, 1895.

production with unusual electrical scenic effects was first presented on March 28, 1896, at which time the staging of the play was described as "something bordering on the sublime," especially the apotheosis scene of the last act.[54] Morrison returned in the same role on November 29, 1897, and November 18, 1898. On October 21, 1899, he appeared in *Frederick the Great* and again in *Faust* on February 21, 1900. Finally, a small constellation of stars made brilliant the production of *The Winter's Tale* on November 4, 1899, with Louis James, Kathryn Kidder, and Charles B. Hanford.

Among the better known long-run hit plays that came to Wilmington during the nineties was Frances H. Burnett's *Little Lord Fauntleroy* on November 22, 1890, for a Saturday matinee starring Ada Fleming, child actress, as Fauntleroy. Another child actress who made a great impression was Irene Franklin, who played with A. S. Lipman in Augustus Thomas's *The Burglar,* which first appeared on March 12, 1892, and returned on November 14, 1893, and November 28, 1894. Steele Mackaye's *Paul Kauvar* with Porter J. White also appeared for a Saturday matinee on October 8, 1892, and was described as ". . . by odds the finest put upon the stage in this city for years."[55] Also well received were Henry C. De Mille's and David Belasco's *Men and Women* on January 30, 1893; De Mille's *Lost Paradise* on September 25, 1895; Sir Charles Young's *Jim, the Penman,* which had run three years in London and one season in New York, on September 7, 1896, with F. C. Bangs; Augustin Daly's *A Night Off* on February 28, 1898; and Charles Hoyt's *A Stranger in New York* on January 16, 1899. During the last season at the turn of the century, which ran from September 1, 1899, to June 2, 1900, with 108 performances at the Opera House, four hit plays were offered: H. Gratton Donnelly's *Darkest Russia* with Katherine Willard on November 1; *A Runaway Girl* by the Augustin Daly Musical Company on January 17; Hoyt's *A Texas Steer* on February 19 with Katie Putnam, Wilmington's long-standing favorite; and Charles W. Chase's dramatization of *Quo Vadis* on March 14.

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[54] *Morning Star,* March 29, 1896.
[55] *Messenger,* October 9, 1892.



Richard Mansfield in the title role of *Beau Brummell.*
Reproduction courtesy Harvard Theater Collection.



Helena Modjeska as Portia.
Reproduction courtesy Harvard Theater Collection.

In conclusion, notice must be made of the smaller stock companies which shared with the minstrels, magicians, and others in supplying most of the steady entertainment between the appearances of star performers and hit plays. During the last five years of the decade the number of these companies greatly increased, and all of them had certain features in common. In the first place, engagements were always by the week, during which the hard-working actors would offer eight performances, including matinees on Wednesday and Saturday, with a change of bill every day, although frequently one or two plays were repeated within the week. Most of the presentations were melodramas of some vintage, but a few companies also attempted musical comedy and light opera. Prices of admission for the companies offering plays were always 10, 20, 30, and 50 cents, while the musical productions demanded 15, 25, 35, and 50 cents, and usually both types of entertainment drew packed houses. During the last five years of the decade, fifteen companies appeared regularly on their annual tours of the circuits, the most popular being the Mable Paige, the Wilbur-Kirwin, and Rentfrow's. The last performance given during the period covered by this survey was, in fact, the bill of the Lyceum Stock Company on Saturday, June 2, 1900, when, characteristically, *East Lynne* was presented at the matinee and *Ten Nights in a Bar Room* in the evening. For the performances the newspaper advertisements stated: "Ladies free when accompanied by the holder of a paid 30 cents ticket."

THE EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE OF JOSEPH GALES 1786-1794

By W. H. G. Armytage

October 22, 1799, marked a historic occasion; for on that date Joseph Gales established the *Raleigh Register*. Its place at the beginning of the story of the partisan press in North Carolina is generally acknowledged.[1] So vigorous was its tone that William Boylan of the *Minerva* was drawn to move his paper from Fayetteville to Raleigh in order to come to closer grips with such a formidable antagonist. The grips were more than metaphorical; for, meeting in the street one day, the two editors began to fight. That Gales should not only sue Boylan for damages, but win, and then give the money to the Raleigh Academy (after paying counsel's fees) is typical of the man. He was always on the weather side of the law.

He had reason to be. His political graduation was undergone in a hard school, where a false move might have meant death or transportation. Some idea of the hardship he underwent in coming to America has been graphically presented by the publication of his diary for the years 1794-95, edited for this journal by William S. Powell.[2] This paper proposes to take the story back by another eight years and present the story of the first newspaper he edited, its importance, its significance, and the part it played in the formation of his own opinions.

The twenty-five-year-old master printer and book-binder who came to Sheffield in 1786[3] was no ordinary person. He had taught school with his father at Eckington,[4] run away from Manchester with half a crown in his pocket when apprenticed to a cruel master, learnt topography at Newark under a master of the trade,[5]

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[1] William K. Boyd, *History of North Carolina*, 52-53; Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, II, 774.

[2] "The Diary of Joseph Gales, 1794-1795," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVI (July, 1949), 335-347.

[3] I have examined the Rate Books of the town and find the earliest mention of Joseph Gales on May 15, 1786. The entry reads "Joseph Gales . . . 14/—."

[4] Thomas Gales (1736-1809) was parish clerk and schoolmaster of the village of Eckington, then virtually owned by the Sitwell family.

[5] There is a conflict of opinion as to whether this was Holl or Tomlinson. Joseph Hunter (1783-1861) the famous antiquary, a native of Sheffield who knew Gales, says in his privately printed autobiography that it was Holl. James Montgomery (1771-1854), who became Gales's clerk, says it was J. Tomlinson. I incline to the latter view, since I think that Holl is a mistranscription of Holt (Daniel Holt was the publisher of the *Newark Herald*, who was tried for sedition in November, 1793, having published some writings of Thomas Paine) and

and married a novelist who was connected with the peerage.[6] He took a shop in the Hartshead, near the centre of the town, and set up a stationer's and printer's establishment. Being a Unitarian of liberal sympathies, he found himself in a society which drew out his best efforts. Within a year he had worked to such effect that he made a name in the town.

There was plenty of scope. New industries, like the manufacture of "Sheffield Plate" (commenced by Joseph Hancock in 1761), hard polished scissors (begun by Robert Hinchcliffe in the same year), and metal refining (introduced by John Read four years later), had begun to give the products of the town an air of taste and character. The stage coach had almost worn grooves to London in its twenty-five years' existence. Benjamin Huntsman had opened new vistas to craftsmen by his perfection of crucible steel. The town began to wake up to its growing power and wealth. A public coffee room was opened at the Angel, a boys' charity school was established, workers benefit societies were openly discussed, and a grand musical festival was held in the town for the first time in 1769.[7]

For all this, there was but one newspaper, and that an indifferent one. Established in the same year as Huntsman had begun to pour his crucible steel, it was published by William Ward and was called *The Sheffield Public Advertiser*. It did no more than its name suggests. Like its predecessors, *The Sheffield Weekly Journal* (founded in 1754 to die soon after) *and the Sheffield Weekly Register and Doncaster Flying Post* (founded by Revil Homfray a year later), it lived by advertising patent medicines of a type which today would raise a smile, discreet nursing homes where children could be delivered, the names of runaway apprentices, and public apologies. With the signing of peace with America, which gave "general satisfaction" to the town, the establishment of forges for the manufacture of Shear steel, and the erection of the first steam engine for grinding in place of the immemorial water wheels, times were ripe for a change. That

J. Tomlinson was very active typographically. Tomlinson published a *Book of Common Prayer* with engravings and woodcuts in 1778 and a *History of Civil Wars in Germany 1630-5* four years later, but was sufficiently in sympathy with the reformers to publish Cartwright's Labrador Journals.

[6] Winifred Marshall, author of *Lady Emma Melcombe*, based on her relationship to Lord Melbourne.

[7] For a general picture of *Sheffield in the Eighteenth Century*, see the book of that name published by R. E. Leader, another famous Sheffield newspaper editor, a century later.

change was symbolised by the appearance of the first number of the *Sheffield Register* on June 8, 1787. It contained an imaginative editorial by Gales himself in which he declared:

> a newspaper may be compared to a reservoir of water; for as the latter receives the bountiful springs of nature from all around it, and distributes its fertilising streams to supply the surrounding country, so does the former receive its numerous articles of information . . . and forms a link in the vast chain which connects mankind with each other. We see displayed, as in a mirror, the patriotism of one man and the intrepedity of another, the magnanimity of a third, and the generosity and humanity of a fourth, and thus discover perfection which exalts our species and stimulates us to follow their example

Gales' partner in this enterprise was an engraver named David Martin.[8] They did not act as partners in any other sense of the word. Gales lived and kept up his establishment in the Hartshead, while Martin lived and worked at Norfolk Street. Their partnership lasted for only a year, during which time they also managed to produce the first really satisfactory directory of the town, with such an excellent frontispiece that it was reprinted in facsimile by S. O. Addy a century later.[9] In this directory Gales himself appears on page 59, described as a "bookseller, stationer, printseller, auctioneer, and agent of the Royal Exchange Fire Office." To these offices he was not above adding that of vendor of patent medicines, since the credulity of the public on these subjects was, if anything, greater than it is today.

His auctioneering seems to have been most successful. Since it taught him to use his voice, to manage large crowds, to obtain insights into men's motives, and to learn the practical politics of the town, it was undoubtedly a major factor in his political graduation. For a young man not yet thirty, he was very busy. Scarcely a week passed but he was selling messuages, houses, building land, church pews, or household effects. To these sales he could give the fullest publicity in the columns of his own newspaper, with descriptions of the property sold that provide a rich quarry

[8] David Martin, engraver, of Norfolk Street had good taste, as the title page of the *Sheffield Register* shows. On June 30, 1791, he published six engravings of Sheffield. He also edited the *Flora Brittanica*, of which twenty numbers appeared. He later emigrated, and put an end to his life in a fit of depression. *Local Notes and Queries*, V, 19.

[9] *Gales' and Martin's Directory of Sheffield*, edited, with an introduction and notes by S. O. Addy (Pawson and Brailsford, Sheffield, 1889). This is merely a replica of the original version published in 1787 with a short introduction which does not add much to our knowledge of either.

for the civic historian bent on discovering the urbanization of Sheffield.

With his own waxing prosperity rose the prestige of his paper. Just how successful it was, may be gauged by the anguished jeers and taunts of the rival *Advertiser*, which, a day behind with the news, challenged Gales to reveal how he managed to obtain the London news before the London stage arrived. Gales contented himself with oracular remarks like that of September 1, 1787: "we receive the Thursdays' papers TEN HOURS before the mail coach arrives." A fortnight later he was crowing that he was able to print an account of events at least twenty-four hours later than the *Advertiser* could afford to. The policy evidently paid, for by October he was expanding his staff by taking on two additional journeymen binders.

As a publisher he became the catalyst of a literary set in the town, accelerating their reactions to the world by affording them an outlet for their compositions. Some of those to whom his patronage was extended in this way became famous. Ebenezer Rhodes[10] published some of his verse in the *Register* as early as October 11, 1788. He and Gales were much of an age and often met at the Bull Inn in the Wicker, together with other choice spirits like Sylvester[11] and Nanson.[12] This became the Sheffield *Mermaid*, and was nicknamed "Billy Hill's Parlour." Gales also branched out as a book publisher too, the first of note in the town since the legendary Neville Simmons of a century before.[13] For, like Simmons, Gales was a symptom of a resurgence of urban culture in Sheffield. Writers of some national consequence, like Charles Dibden, the famous composer of nautical songs, sent their works to him. Gales published *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibden, in which, previous to his embarkation for India, he finished his career as a public character.* This, a bulky quarto volume of 400 pages, appeared in 1788. Dibden, who had stayed at Eckington with Gales' parents, wrote of Joseph on page 200: "I

[10] Ebenezer Rhodes, 1762-1839, later published a drama *Alfred*, treading the stage as the hero. He had an eye for the scenic beauties of Derbyshire, and in 1818-24 published *Peak Scenery*, which he got the well-known engravers Hofland, Chantrey, Thompson, and Blore to illustrate. Though a man of substance (he became Master Cutler), he spent so much of his time and energy in literary pursuits that he went bankrupt.

[11] Charles Sylvester, though uneducated, taught himself the principles of galvanism with such success that he was able to teach others in Sheffield. His lectures were published in 1804. R. E. Leader, *Reminiscences of Old Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1876), 317-318.

[12] On the authority of John Wilson, *The Songs of Joseph Mather* (Sheffield, 1862), 65n.

[13] Giles Hester, *Neville Simmons* (Sheffield, 1843), illustrates how Simmons was able to publish the works of the nonconformist divines who clustered round Sheffield in the days of Attercliffe Academy.

do not know how soon my friend Gales may make a fortune, which ultimately must inevitably happen if unwearied industry and fair dealing, the world's regard, and a well stocked head as well as shop, are the materials to procure it."

There were other productions, less substantial but just as important, which issued from his press. One of them, significant from the later development of Gales' own ideas, was a small volume, *Historical Facts relating to the Revolution*, published to mark the centenary year of that apocalypse in Whig history. All reformers begin by presenting their hopes for the future under the guise of a reassessment of the past, and Gales was no exception. For him the responsibilities of property should not be obscured by its privileges. Locke's gloss on the events of 1688 seemed to Gales to be worth recalling to his own generation. Five years later he published in his *Register* a *History of a Church and a Warming Pan*, following it up the following year with *Thoughts on Civil Government: addressed to the Disfranchised Citizens of Sheffield.*[14]

Such political ideas were to be sharpened by the events at the turn of the decade, events which were to bring home to Gales' readers the misfortune of their situation. The first exacerbating event was that of "The Thirteens." It concerned the journeymen cutlers, who from time immemorial had kept the odd materials left over from their stipulated dozen. This practice led to masters demanding that the men should make thirteen for the price of a dozen, and the men's resentment was concentrated upon the man who in 1787 was the master cutler, Jonathan Watkinson. Put to words by Mather and printed as a broadsheet, a song sprang to the lips of every workman so affected. As Mather sang truly:

The boys at the playhouse exhibit strange scenes
Respecting big Watkinson and his thirteens
for his chorus
And may the odd knife his great carcase dissect,
Lay open his vitals for men to inspect,

[14] This interpretation of the "Great Revolution" was, of course, to color much of the historiography and political thinking in England for the next three quarters of a century. For a general discussion of this trend see H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931).

A heart full as black as the infernal gulph,
In that greedy, blood-sucking, bone-scraping wolf.[15]

The song was popularly held to have broken Watkinson's heart.

Words were the prelude to action. At the beginning of 1790 the workmen in the various cutlery trades asked for rises. The masters, harder collectively than Watkinson was individually, refused to meet the men's claims. The scissors manufacturers in August of that year decided to prosecute the leaders of the strike. The master cutler at the time of the prosecution of the men's leaders was George Wood, a scissors manufacturer of Pea-Croft. Gales reported the combination of the masters in his *Register* on the twenty-seventh of the month, and their common subscription to prosecution of the men. Mather wrote two more scurrilous songs, this time with George Wood as the central figure.

This Hallamshire Haman keeps blacks at command,
To spread his dire mandates throughout the whole land,
Together they meet and their malice combine
To form a most hellish, infernal design.
On malice, on mischief, on tyrrany bent,
Five poor honest grinders to prison they sent;
Though nothing they had of these men to complain,
But not paying discount for wearing a chain.[16]

This bad feeling between master and man was further aggravated by events of the following year, when the ordinary people of Sheffield suffered one of the biggest blows in their history. Having already lost their racecourse with a thousand acres of common land to the Marquis of Rockingham and other occupiers twelve years before, they now stood to lose another six thousand acres more by enclosures.[17] Indeed, the act which passed through Parliament and received royal assent in 1791 deprived the expanding industrial town of its lungs, the green and pleasant Rivelin Valley, Hallam Moors, and village greens of Brookhouse, Heeley, Newfield, and Owlerton. Not one acre of all this was allotted for any public purpose. It was worse than any previous enclosure act, not only in extent, but in its character, for it enacted that "all encroachments which shall have been made upon the said commons and waste grounds within the memory of man

[15] Joseph Mather (1737-1804), a file hewer who was born and remained in one of the poorest class in Sheffield, sang most of his songs in ale-houses and would sell prints of them by riding through the town on a donkey. They were collected and edited as *Songs of Joseph Mather* with a critical memoir by John Wilson in 1862. This occurs on page 63 of that edition.

[16] *Songs of Joseph Mather*, 82.

[17] For full details see the article by Barbara Hammond in *Economic History*, vol. II, no. 6 (London, January, 1931).

shall be deemed part of the commons and waste lands to be divided and enclosed."

The act received royal assent on June 6, 1791, and Sheffielders seemed to realize what was afoot only when advertisements began to appear in Gales' paper that commissioners would be sitting to hear appeals against the proposed enclosures. Stung with the realization that they were being robbed, they marched in a body to protest to the Duke of Norfolk's agent Vincent Eyre, and the local vicar and justice of the town, the Reverend James Wilkinson. These two, taking counsel with the master cutler, decided to write to the Home Office. So dangerous were the times that their letter could not be sent express. But though it travelled down to London slowly, its contents were urgent:

> Considerable bodies of disorderly people in this neighbourhood have lately several times assembled in considerable force with the riotous intention of preventing the Commissioners . . . from doing their duty, and not only drove them from the commons near this town intended to be enclosed, but also menaced them with the greatest personal danger if they attempt to proceed with this enclosure.[18]

The Home Office response was to send military aid, but the soldiers were not quick enough to prevent the mob from attacking Vicar Wilkinson's opulent mansion at Broom Hall, burning eight ricks and his library and firing the house. The same night (July 28) they had broken Eyre's windows and were prevented from doing further damage only by the arrival of some troops. The outrage had two important effects. It scared Vicar Wilkinson (who had at one time a great sympathy for the proposals to reform parliament)[19] so much that even a year later Colonel de Lancey, reporting to the Home Office, described the Vicar as avoiding "the many profligate people" in Sheffield.[20] The other consequence was that a barracks began to rise to house a force of 200 cavalry.[21] This was an affront to the more law-abiding which was to have further repercussions.

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[18] Home Office Papers, Public Record Office, London. Quoted by Barbara Hammond in *Economic History*, vol. II, no. 6.

[19] Gales, reporting events in the *Sheffield Register*, specifically states that the outrages occurred as the commissioners were attempting to mark the boundaries of the enclosure. For Wilkinson's previous interest in the reforming movement, especially in the work of the Yorkshire Association, see the *Wyvill Papers*, which are reprints of the letters and papers of the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, its mainspring and secretary.

[20] Home Office Papers 42: 20.

[21] The work began on July 27, 1792, on a piece of ground beyond Shalesmoor.

What part did Gales play in all this? Obviously as the publisher of a paper he could not write or publish articles which openly sympathised with the trouble-makers, especially as the leader selected for prosecution by the authorities was a poor half-witted young man named Bennett, who was executed for his share in the riot. But Gales did report the outrages and their cause. He also published, in other columns, extracts from the works of Dr. Priestley and James Mackintosh,[22] both of them speculative philosophers whose opinions were most radical for the times. Gales also indulged in a certain oblique criticism by the very nuances of his style; the implications of his news penetrated far deeper than a direct assault on the understanding would have done.

So the *Sheffield Register* began to assume the character of a vehicle of ideas, which Gales sowed assiduously. Quoting with approval Mackintosh's dictum that "diffused knowledge immortalises itself," Gales began to throw his weight on the side of the Sunday School movement which was gathering way in the town, remarking at the same time that the official view of the government was that "the peasantry of this country will derive more solid advantage from the plough and the spade than they ever could from the horn-book and the primmer."[23] The enactment of the great political drama on the other side of the channel provided him with much copy on the rights (as opposed to the duties) of man. Indeed, his own interest in the promotion of education was sufficient to let his precious columnar space be occupied from October 22, 1790, to April 30, 1791, by Samuel Catlow's philosophic arguments for a better system of popular instruction.[24]

Perhaps one of the greatest political impulses to Gales' own growing radicalism was the proximity of the ex-secretary of the American Committee of Foreign Affairs, Tom Paine. The latter, absorbed in his invention for an iron bridge, had left America in 1787 to promote it in England. Naturally enough he came to

[22] Joseph Priestley (1733-1804) who in July, 1791, suffered the burning of his books, papers, and apparatus by a crowd which resented his attendance at a dinner to celebrate the fall of the Bastile, given by the Birmingham Constitutional Society. James Mackintosh (1765-1832) was also a sympathizer with the aims of the French Revolution and published his *Vindiciae Gallicae* in 1791.

[23] *Sheffield Register*, July 27, 1791.

[24] This Gales also later republished as a small book, *Observations on a Course of Instruction for Young Persons in the Middle Classes of Life, by Samuel Catlow, conductor of a litarary and commercial seminary at Mansfield.* Catlow's idea of associating important ideas with ordinary things, without the formality of precept or the labor of study, forms a striking anticipation of what the Edgeworths were to amplify seven years later in their *Practical Education.*

Masborough, near Sheffield, where the great ironfounding firm of Walkers were capable of implementing his designs, and did. With such a radical luminary near him, it was but natural that Gales himself should begin to burn, and since Paine was actually publishing his *Rights of Man* in 1790, Gales opened up the columns of the *Sheffield Register* for sympathetic quotation and even published a sixpenny reprint for popular reading. Other reformers were also quoted in support of Paine's central thesis, especially Dr. Price (an intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin who had been invited by Congress in 1778 to transfer himself to America) and Horne Tooke (the one-eyed founder of the London Constitutional Society who was imprisoned in 1778 for publishing a resolution to raise a subscription for the American colonists). Needless to say, Burke was given short shrift. He was pilloried, accused of inconsistency, and discredited in the eyes of the *Register's* readers.[25] Not only France, but America too, was pointed out as the great exemplar to be followed, for early in his journalistic career Gales had written: "We place America foremost in our history of great ones of the earth."[26]

In such a climate, and with such pressure behind him, Joseph Gales helped to form the Sheffield Society for Constitutional Information. With David Martin, his engraver friend and onetime partner in the editorship of the *Register*, Matthew Dodsworth, and James Horsfield, the society was launched in the midst of the troubles in 1791. So many remarks were passed, and such was the suspicion which the society aroused, that it was thought wise to issue a statement in the Sheffield Register of December 2, 1791, in which the committee, expanded by another seven members,[27] declared:

We are under the necessity of informing the public that the sole object of these societies is to throw their Mites, at some proper opportunity, towards restoring, by a peaceable Reform, a more equal Representation in the House of Commons (whenever the People of Property and Consequence shall think fit again to come forward) the necessity of which is too evident to require any elucidation, and too universally allowed, to require further proof.

[25] As in the *Sheffield Register* of November 19, 1790.
[26] *Sheffield Register*, December 1, 1787.
[27] William Camage (secretary), William Broomhead (secretary who succeeded Camage), William Clarke, George Kent, Edward Oakes, Edward Smith, and Enoch Tricket. For accounts of the society see G. P. Jones, *The Political Reform Movement in Sheffield*, and J. Taylor, *The Sheffield Constitutional Society* in *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, IV, 57-68, and V, 133-146 (Sheffield, 1937 and 1943, respectively).

Gales himself seems to have written most of the notices for the society, just as he wrote their letters.[28] Yet, as far as the public were concerned, he was still the hard-working auctioneer. His timetable at the end of 1791, when the society was incubating, shows him as busy as ever selling houses, lots, church pews, shares in the theatre, beds of coking coal, and the stocks in trade of a butcher's shop, a draper, and a circulating library. Such versatile salesmanship and ubiquity (for the auctions were held in different places) shows that his galvanic energy was not entirely absorbed.

The society quickly made headway in the town. This was natural enough, since it automatically became the residuary legatee of such reforming goodwill as survived the vicar's defection from the cause. There were at hand powerful men to give it support. Chief among these was Samuel Shore, thirty-four years older than Gales himself, a nonconformist steelmaster, whose connection with the cause of reform was further reinforced by his connection with Thomas Walker of Manchester.[29] Within three months Gales was publishing another journal in addition to the *Sheffield Register*. Called *The Patriot*, this new venture comprised thirty-six pages and sold at three pence a week to nourish the fervor of those who, like the members of the Sheffield Society, considered political information as vital. For, as the advertisement ran:

> it has long been a matter of complaint that means of information on that most important science, POLITICS, and the various branches of philosophy connected with it, are entirely out of the reach the body of the people, from the very heavy expense attending the purchase of the works of these eminent writers.[30]

"These eminent writers" were naturally Paine, Priestley, and Mackintosh. By printing excerpts from, and commentaries on them, the *Patriot* was to "open a channel of universal communication at a price which is within reach of almost every individual."

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[28] See T. B. and T. J. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (London, 1818), vol. XXV, col. 1119.

[29] For his trial "for a conspiracy to overthrow the Constitution and Government, and to aid and assist the French in case they should invade this Kingdom," see Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIII, cols. 1055-1166. For Samuel Shore's life, see the *Sheffield Independent*, November 16, 1828. Thomas Walker was his brother-in-law.

[30] *Sheffield Register*, March 2, 1792.

They would meet at each others houses, or, if occasion warranted, at an alehouse where a larger audience could be secured. A quaker painter called Samuel Ashton (who later took out a patent for tanning leather) seems to have acted in some sort of convening capacity, but he was soon succeeded by Camage, an inkstand maker, who took over more formal secretarial duties, inserted advertisements in the *Register*, and signed them. By March they were writing to London: "the whole neighbourhood for many miles around have an attentive eye upon us most of the towns and villages indeed are forming themselves into similar associations, and strictly adhere to the mode of copying after us." Horne Tooke (to whom they had originally written, hoping to form a connection with the London Constitutional Society) recommended them to write to the London Corresponding Society.[31] Their offered hand was not grasped by the London societies as closely as it should have been.

The little information we have of the organization of the society suggests that they took themselves very serious indeed. As their last secretary (William Broomhead) said: "We wished to produce by our meetings the enlightenment of the people; to show them the reason, the ground of all their complaints and sufferings; when a man works hard for thirteen or fourteen hours of the day, the week through, and is not able to maintain his family."[32] This educative work was carried out by cellular study groups which seemed to fuse into a general meeting once a month. Of their 2,000 members, most were grouped in this way. Their constitution reflects the kind of belief they had in equal representation: for the smallest cells (tithings) comprising ten members would each appoint a delegate: the delegates in turn were grouped in tens and appointed a further delegate as a representative on the committee.[33]

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[31] For the transcripts of the correspondence, see Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 284; vol. XXV, col. 135. For the best history of the London Societies, see P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution In English History* (London, 1918). Brown comments that the connection between industrial change and political agitation emerges much more clearly in the Sheffield than in the London societies.

[32] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 630.

[33] *Reports of the Committee of Secrecy of the House of Commons.* The appendix contains much of the correspondence which is printed in Howell. These reports were issued in 1794, Howell's trials over twenty years later. The constitution does not seem to have been really put into practice according to G. P. Jones *The Political Reform Movement in Sheffield*, p. 60, but Gales certainly tried to ensure that it was attempted, for he printed a number of district books which were to be kept, in which were to be noted subscriptions of a penny a week. Broomhead, the last secretary, naturally tried to make light of the thorough organization of the society. See Howell *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 611.

Gales became more heavily involved, and these political commitments and his own expanding business led him to insert an advertisement in the *Register* of March 2, 1792, for a clerk. "None need apply," it ran, "but such as have been used to book-keeping and can produce undeniable testimonials of character. Terms and specimens of writing to be left with the printer." He was very lucky. A twenty-one year old Moravian of literary tastes wrote a letter in large flourishing characters, impressing Joseph Gales so much that he was employed at once to go with Gales to sell the books of the Rev. John Bullock at Ashford-in-the-water, near Bakewell, on March 19. This was James Montgomery, whose facile pen, steady loyalty, and high sense of responsibility were to earn him a place on the Gales's family tombstone.[34]

On April 3 of that year (1792) the first number of the *Patriot* came off Gales' press. It was edited by Matthew C. Brown, a barber turned advocate, who was to be a help to Gales in the next eighteen months. But it was a very inauspicious time to launch such a periodical—especially in Sheffield. The military entered the town on March 16 and on May 21 the government issued a proclamation against seditious writings. This was to precipitate Gales to the very forefront of the movement and render it impossible for him to weave policy behind the scenes.[35]

For this proclamation against seditious writings split the town even wider than before. A public meeting was convened to the Town Hall in order to vote thanks to the king for the issue of the proclamation. To the great majority of Sheffielders this savoured of kissing the rod and the meeting dissolved in uproar. Two days later a more exclusive meeting, pared of the popular element, unanimously resolved in the Cutlers' Hall "that an address be presented to His Majesty, expressive of thanks for his late Royal Proclamation against seditious writings, and that the meeting do esteem it their duty to give the utmost efficacy in their power to the said proclamation."

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[34] John Holland and James Everett, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of James Montgomery* (6 vols., London, 1856), contains numerous letters from the Gales family, especially the unmarried sisters whom Gales left behind him.

[35] The sanity and character of Gales's moderation may be seen from a pamphlet which he published at this time called *Copy of the Duke of Richmond's letter on a Parliamentary Reform addressed to Lieut. Colonel Sharman with strictures on the British Constitutional Rights of the People* (Sheffield, June, 1792), which pointed out that Pitt, who now prohibited discussion of parliamentary reform, subscribed to the views put forward at the Thatched House Tavern on May 16, ten years before, reprinted in this pamphlet!

The Cutlers' Hall meeting, by its very exclusiveness, drew a large crowd, which gathered outside and raised a row. Joseph Gales from his office in the Hartshead went to investigate. As soon as they saw him the crowd, which had been excluded from the meeting in the Cutlers' Hall, raised a great shout, and cried out for a meeting of their own in the Town Hall. Naturally enough they bore Gales along with them and put him in the chair. Gales lived up to the general tone of the Sheffield Constitutional Society. He counselled moderation, advised the audience not to be noisy or factious, and persuaded them to disband quietly and go home. The audience were delighted with him, and bore him back to his office in the Hartshead singing:

God save great Thomas Paine,
His *Rights of Man* to explain,
To every soul,
He makes the blind to see,
What dupes and slaves they be,
And points out Liberty,
From Pole to Pole.

Thousands cry "Church and King"
That well deserve to swing,
All must allow:
Birmingham blush for shame,
Manchester do the same,
Infamous is your name,
Patriots vow.

Facts are seditious things,
When they touch courts and kings,
Armies are raised,
Barracks and Bastilles built,
Innocence charged with guilt,
Blood most unjustly spilt,
God stands amazed.[36]

It but added to the indignation of the "Church and King" party that the air to which these verses were sung was that of the National Anthem.[37]

Gales, by his courageous assumption of the chair on that occasion, was now saddled with the visible leadership of the Shef-

[36] Wilson, *Songs of Joseph Mather*, 56.
[37] Gales realized this and published a justification of his action in taking the chair in the *Sheffield Register* the following week. Some idea of the national currency which Mather's song obtained may be seen from M. A. Best, *Thomas Paine*, 261.

field Constitutional Society. The older reformers lamented their lost opportunities and Samuel Shore wrote to Wyvill: "We might have carried by numbers anything in favour of reform."[38] The pace of the Constitutional Society now began to quicken and Shore hesitated, thinking it "desired to go farther and faster than he approved."[39] They determined to make themselves known. They were encouraged by the successes of the French Revolutionary armies. On November 23 five thousand or six thousand people paraded with banners, marched through the town, fired cannon, and roasted an ox, in order to show their high jubilation. Encouraged by such symptoms of popular support, the society began to raise subscriptions to defend the printers and authors of books, which might be considered seditious only by the existing ministry. Such enthusiasm itself provoked a reaction amongst the more conservative elements in the town, who met at the Cutlers' Hall on the last day of the year and resolved to print and publish a declaration of profound satisfaction with things as they were, and especially "to the excellent form of government by King, Lords, and Commons, under which," as they unctuously observed, "we have the peculiar happiness to live."[40]

The dialectic had begun. To each effort by the Constitutional Society was opposed a counter effort by the Church and King party: to action was opposed reaction. The opening of 1793 saw the stage clearing and the main protagonists settling into their roles. In January the Constitutional Society circularized other societies, expressing their determination to persevere in favor of reform. They sent a letter of condolence to Thomas Walker, the Manchester reformer, who was having trouble with the authorities.[41] The declaration of war with France made sympathy with the Jacobins a treasonable offence, the imputations of which the town authorities were anxious to avoid so much that they paid Gales's rival publisher, William Ward, the sum of £10: ls. : 9d to print bills and distribute them. These bills expressed sentiments of profound attachment to the present constitution,

[38] *Wyvill Papers*, V, 124.
[39] G. P. Jones, *The Political Reform Movement in Sheffield*, 61.
[40] *The Local Register and Chronological Account of Occurences and Facts* (Sheffield, 1830). 72.
[41] He was ultimately arrested on a charge of high treason: see Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIII, cols. 1055-1166.

and declared that any reform was both unnecessary and unwise.[42]

To such words the Constitutional Society replied. On April 1 they summoned a meeting at the Bull and Mouth Inn "to consider upon a proper mode of petitioning the House of Commons on the subject of a Parliamentary Reform." Joseph Gales was in the chair. Under his guidance the meeting proceeded to appoint a committee of twelve who were charged with the duty of assembling a public meeting; and with the task of obtaining the Town Hall in which to hold it.[43] They succeeded in the first, and failed in the second. So, not being able to get the Town Hall (since the authorities still held by the tenor of the handbills which had just been distributed) they assembled on Castle Hill. Once more Gales was in the chair. This public meeting took place on April 8, 1793. All agreed that a reform of the system of parliamentary representation was "necessary for the peace and happiness of the country," resolved to petition Parliament for "a thorough reform thereof," and endorsed the actions of the Sheffield Constitutional Society.[44]

The petition, engrossed on parchment, lay at the Hartshead in the office of Joseph Gales, who also printed a further 5,000 copies for distribution in order that people should know what they were signing. Since it needed time to cajole the country folk to come in and sign, Gales allowed it to lie for nearly a month, in the meantime exhorting the readers of the *Sheffield Register* to come into town and sign. Under his chairmanship, the committee "attended to the completion of the business." By April 18 5,000 names were affixed to the parchment master copy, and a further 3,000 signed before it was forwarded to the House of Commons. On May 6 the petition was rejected by the House of Commons for containing "disrespectful language." It is a tribute to Gales' own news service that news of its rejection was in the hands of the Constitutional Society in time for them to hold their general meeting on the following day. Here, under the chairmanship of Matthew Brown (editor of the *Patriot*) the society

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[42] Samuel Mitchell, *The Burgery of Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1828), 33; J. D. Leader, *The Burgery of Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1897), 399.

[43] *Sheffield Register*, April 5, 1793. The committee consisted of Joseph Gales, David Martin, Matthew Dodsworth, Thomas Eyre, John Fisher, George Oates, Samuel Warburton, Luke Palfreyman, Joseph Badger, William Green, John Smith, and David Greenwood.

[44] That is, by agreeing that "such other means shall be taken as shall be deemed proper to obtain signatures thereto" and "that the committee already chosen do attend to the completion of this business."

censured Wilberforce for his views.[45] "We wish to secure, not to overset the constitution" they declared, and ordered their resolutions to be printed in the *Star, The Edinburgh Gazetteer,* the *Newcastle Chronicle,* and, of course, the *Sheffield Register.* Gales, who had hitherto circulated his newspapers with the franking signature of Wilberforce,[46] now ceased to do so, and adopted (with permission) the signature of Grey.

Coincident to this, Gales expanded the *Register.* On April 5 he proudly announced:

> next to public spirit and inflexible integrity in the conduct of a newspaper, EARLY INTELLIGENCE, particularly in time of war, will be allowed to be of the greatest consequence. Impressed with this idea, the editor of the REGISTER has determined to establish a WEEKLY EXPRESS, whereby he shall anticipate the London Mail SEVEN HOURS, and be enabled to publish his paper on Thursday Evening at Six o'clock; so that his readers will be put in possession of the News of that Night, *Four Hours before the London Papers are received in the ordinary way.*

For fourpence a copy, the readers were offered an enlarged paper with wider columns, and with a rapidly expanding periphery of circulation.[47] So it is little wonder that his rival William Ward, whose *Sheffield Advertiser* had been struggling in vain to compete with this dynamic editorship, folded up on June 7, 1793.

In its place sprang another, animated by the principles of "Church and King." Printed by John Northall at the Britania Press in King Street, the new paper had as its name the *Sheffield Courant,* and as its motto the legend NOLUMUS LEGES ANGLIAE MUTARE. That it should need to veil its conservatism in a Latinism is itself evidence of the popularity of the *Sheffield Register* and its political views. Yet the *Courant,* from its very first number, made no secret that it was going to be frankly partisan. It opened its columns to those who had barbs to cast at Gales, and full advantage was taken of such hospitality. The most sustained attack was delivered by one of the local grammar school masters, the Rev. John Russell who, as an ordained clergy-

[45] Especially so, as Wilberforce had been elected as one of the parliamentary representatives for the West Riding three years before and had received great support for his anti-slavery campaign.

[46] Charles Grey, five years younger than Wilberforce, took up the question of parliamentary reform in this very year.

[47] He promised that not only would the *Register* be sent off by the North and South Mail Coaches the same night, but also that he would "try and introduce the Register at Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester." *Sheffield Register,* April 5, 1793.

man, came out strongly for the Church and King party. He had been one of the most intemperate supporters of the motion at the cutlers's Hall on June 13, 1792. Now in the columns of the *Courant* he addressed venomous letters to Gales:

In your seditious *Register* you endeavoured to persuade the people that they were enslaved and wretched, although every man felt himself free and happy. You have been incessantly labouring to render them discontented with their situation and dissatisfied with their form of government which has never yet been equalled since the creation, and I am persuaded will never be excelled while the sun and the moon shall endure.
You have constantly been holding out to them long lists of grievances. You have rendered Sheffield the execration and abhorrence of the whole world. I charge *you* and *your faction* with aiming, not at *reforming*, but *subverting* and *destroying* the constitution. I charge *you* with a fond attachment to the French Jacobins, of which you have given repeated, unequivocal proofs. I charge *you* with labouring to introduce an *universal right of suffrage;* or in other words, for the most ignorant and rash, for the lowest and most indigent class of society (and three fourths of every community must necessarily consist of such) to dictate laws to, and dispose of the property of, all the superior orders of the state.[48]

He addressed the readers of the *Courant:*

will you suffer a man who a few years ago came among you as a needy adventurer at the head of a paltry crew of ignorant, conceited, presumptious men, and a parcel of prick eared prentice boys—will you suffer such a wretch as this to dictate the law to Sheffield, and to affix the stigma of infamy to your town?

Sometimes the *Courant* burst into verse, as in the following:

How strange it is my printing friend J . . G . . . s
There should be some who do not like your tales.
But, let them frown and grunt and seem unkind,
Tell 'em your motto is "Don't care, don't mind"
Your *Muse*—she trumpets forth and loudly sings
Damnation, ruin, and the fall of kings,
King *Mob* excepted, he my boy, must reign,
Or else to hell go Liberty and *Paine*
Oh Joe, how you'd exult to see the day,
That could bring news *The Duke has run away,*
And pleased just like an infant with a rattle,
Cry round the town—the French have won a battle:
Some hundreds of the Guards they say are *slain,*
Huzza! God save the French—God bless Tom Paine:
And if for this you should be put in jail

[48] *Sheffield Courant,* November 2, 1793, article dated October 29.

'Twill make you noted—Thereby'll *hang a tale:*
You don't mind hanging, call you but a martyr
How noble will it look—how glorious shine,
First year of my imprisonment, top line
Of every title page that year you print.[49]

The pressure of such attacks, the undoubted extra burdens which his politics imposed upon him, and the increasing need for caution prompted Gales to take on his brother Timothy[50] in the office, and to slough off some of his ancillary duties. On May 31, 1793 he announced in the *Register:*

the editor, from his various occupations, being obliged to decline the applications of friends to seel or appraise household furniture, wishes to say that in future, to leave him more liberty to attend to other branches of his business, he shall sell only estates by auction.

At the same time, he complained that his "patriotic sentiments have created him enemies among those who think it compatible with Christian Charity, to endeavour to starve a man into *political orthodoxy.* Such is the conduct of a few individuals (whose poverty of spirit will punish itself) who *boast* what they *have* done and *will* do what they can to *injure the editor* for *daring* to advocate the cause of FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE."

Gales himself was not slow in exchanging blows in this wordy warfare, but he was shrewd enough to salt them with humor. In the "Poets Corner," on the back page of the *Register,* pungent sallies and epigrams began to appear from this time onwards. Typical were those on the war with France:

Of Generals don't tell me, of YORK and such boys!
Nor of HOWE—though I mean not their laurels to taint;
The General I'm sure that will make the most noise,
If the war should go on—is—GENERAL COMPLAINT.

which appeared in the *Register* of May 3, 1793, and

[49] *Sheffield Courant,* November 10, 1793.
[50] Timothy Gales lived in the Nursery, near the Bridgehouses. He wrote a little verse for the number of April 19 called "No Libel to Think." It ran:

From the sole of the foot, to the crown of the head,
They stampt and tax us, both living and dead!
And yet at such hardships they wish us to wink,
But we cannot do this while we've freedom—to think.

He died by drowning on February 19, 1802, after suffering from an illness which reduced him to a state of melancholia. *Sheffield Iris,* February 25, 1802.

A Glorious war, John Bull, where the whole gain
Is "grinning honour" for the thousands slain;
"Its false" say our allies "for John shall get
Full FIFTY MILLIONS STERLING—more in debt![51]

For the war Gales had no liking, nor did the Constitutional Society. As they wrote, "we have many thousand members but, a vast majority of them being working men, the war . . . has deprived many of them of all employment, and almost everyone of half his earnings."[52] Gales himself was well alive to the disastrous effects which it was having, and wrote in the *Register* on August 22, 1793: "The emigration of artisans and other classes of men, from this country to America, have increased to so great a degree of late, the last night's *Gazette* announces the intention of the Government to put in force the laws in being for preventing them in the future." He quoted other authorities to support his view: Colonel H. Lee, the retiring governor of Virginia who said "this country (i.e., America) will prove a peaceful asylum to all Europeans who may wish to avoid the storm which hangs over the most part of Europe, and by the providence of God, it seems to have been formed a new world for the retreat of those whom it may please to remove from under the iron rod of despotism and tyrranny."[53]

And the iron rod was certainly falling on English backs. Gales sympathized with each treason trial as it came up for hearing. John Frost, William Friend, D. I. Eaton, William Winterbotham, Thomas Briellat, John Lambert, James Perry, James Grey, William Hudson, Alexander Whyte, and Daniel Holt—all of them were doing no more than assert what Gales was himself asserting.[54] Many of them were men of the middle class—one of them a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. The heresy hunt was on with vengeance. In a clever parody of a tune which was then very popular ("Oh dear what can the matter be") Gales printed the verse:

is this—is it not a most artful invention,
from odious reforms to withdraw our attention,

[51] Sheffield had no less than thirty recruiting parties, scouring for recruits for the British Army on the continent. *Local Register*, 72.
[52] Letter of the Sheffield Constitutional Society, quoted in appendix to the *Report of the Committee of Secrecy*, dated November 1, 1793.
[53] *Sheffield Register*, April 5, 1793.
[54] All of whose trials, with the evidence adduced against them, may be seen in Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXII, cols. 471-1231.

and kindle the flames of intestine dissention?
Ah Britons! attend to the snare!

The wintry atmosphere of persecution seemed to grow even colder with the prosecution of Thomas Muir, a twenty-eight-year-old advocate whose only crime was that of circulating the *Patriot*, Gales's own journal, and founding a Constitutional Society on the Sheffield model.[55] Tried on August 30-31, he was sentenced to fourteen years transportation to Botany Bay.[56] In his *Register* Gales described it as "perhaps the most unexampled severity which has been heard of in this country for a century.[57] He printed Muir's speech, and at the same time wrote a private letter to his friend Joseph Aston, a gunfounder's son, at Manchester:

what think you of the fate of poor Muir? We shall no longer think anything of 6 12 or 18 months imprisonment after a transportation of 14 years !! Good God ! What can possess the people, that they cannot see these enormities. The *Patriot* you see is among the prescribed works. All is yet still respecting it in this part of Britain: how long it will remain so, one cannot say.[58]

But there were not wanting signs that it would not be quiet for long. On September 16 of that year (1793), Lord Hood captured Toulon. The Church and King party used it as an excuse to stage a great celebration at the expense of Gales, who wrote to Joseph Aston ten days later in a different vein, yet still optimistic:

you were misinformed as to any riot having taken place here. In one part of the day however, things wore rather a serious appearance. The C. and K. party (very small indeed) accompanied by a recruiting party, with drum and fife, presented themselves before my house and gave me most loyal music, firing and shouting and someone was heard to say, that my house should not have a whole window in it that night.
This circumstance, I am firmly of opinion, had the effect of calling together a wall of defence, for, about an hour afterwards, up-

[55] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIII, col. 121, which consists of extracts from the *Patriot* in which the right of the king to tax his subjects even with the consent of parliament is alleged to be a fraud, since parliament is itself not a representative assembly. This is a significant extension of the radical doctrines of 1769-1783.
[56] Two years later he escaped and had a remarkable series of adventures, being at length wounded on a Spanish frigate at Cadiz.
[57] *Sheffield Register*, September 5 and 12, 1793.
[58] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs of James Montgomery*, I, 160. They wrongly ascribe the date of the letter to the year 1791.

wards of a hundred stout democrats stood before us singing "God save great Thomas Paine" to the loyal tune.
The party increased to 500 and paraded the streets peaceably (except singing) all the day. Nor would they leave till they apprehended all danger to be past. You see what it is to be supported. I do not think a riot can be managed here: this was apparently a push for one.[59]

Gales received still further support from the Constitutional Society, which met in October and carried a unanimous resolution to the effect that:

The *Sheffield Register* deserves the Respect, Support, and Encouragement of this Society as a truly independent, impartial, patriotic, and well-conducted paper; and the members will to the utmost of their power, both in a collective and individual capacity, use their utmost endeavours to promote the general interest and welfare of the worthy Proprietor and Editor of the same."

Fortified by such support, Gales was able to announce that the *Register* was selling 1,468 copies each week.

Full of confidence, Gales and the society sent Matthew C. Brown to represent them at the General Convention of the Friends of the People which had been convened at Edinburgh. Something went wrong with the planning, for the convention had broken up by the time they arrived.[60] However, Skirving, the responsible convener, recalled the Scottish delegates, who proceeded to sit once more in the presence of the delegates from London (Joseph Gerrald, Maurice Margarot, Charles Sinclair, and Henry Yorke) and Sheffield (Matthew C. Brown). It is worth remarking that a certain Samuel Brown from Virginia was present. The convention, convened to discuss universal suffrage and annual parliaments, set about their business seriously. They called each other "citizen" in the French style, kept minutes, and formed committees. One of the first papers at the first day's meeting was a letter from the Sheffield society, recommending the *Patriot* as good reading for all reformers. In the seventeen days in which they sat, Gerrald, Margarot, and Brown were the most effective speakers. Brown acted as reporter to Gales, sending him a day-

[59] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs of James Montgomery*, I, 168.
[60] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIII, col. 915. The name changed the second time to "The British Convention of the Delegates of the People."

by-day account of events. Indeed, on the seventh day he carried a resolution that the committee should revise each day's proceedings on rising, so that they could be sent to press.[61] Gales supported him well, and sent William Camage with £10 for Brown's support.[62] On the thirteenth day Brown was nominated as representative for Leeds as well. He was not without spirit, for when the Lord Provost of Edinburgh came down in person to break up the convention, Brown was in the chair and only vacated it because he was dragged away.[63] The others had been arrested, Margarot, Gerrald, Callender, Scott, and Ross. Gales wrote to Aston after this forcible dissolution:

poor Brown's is a hard fate; but his spirits are excellent—so are the spirits of all the sufferers. There is something in persecution so fine, so invigorating that those who suffer under it never want spirits. The present is a dark period; no *man* can penetrate the gloom.[64]

Nor was the gloom lightened by his opponents in Sheffield, who seemed to intensify their vilifications. The *Courant* packed its pages with abuse of "that nest of vipers, that sink of sedition,' and on November 2 addressed an open letter to Gales himself. The delegation of Brown was mocked[65] and openly ascribed to Gales's machinations:

What noise is that which so disturbs mine ear?
Is it some monster bellowing out of fear?
Be what it may, *Repose* and *Peace* it scorns,
Yet list—dear me—'tis one of Gales' horns.

The Rev. John Russell, from his comfortable living at Dronfield, launched out with "if you be not madmen, you are the crew of the *foulest conspirators*, the *vilest traitors* that ever contaminated British ground."[66]

One of the delegates to the convention was Henry Yorke, and after the arrest of the leaders he came down to stay with Joseph

[61] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIII, col. 436.
[62] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 590.
[63] Brown, "I cannot quit this chair, till the Convention desires it, unless compelled by force" Lord Provost, "I will then act as chief constable" and immediately stepped up and pulled Brown from the chair. Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIII, col. 467.
[64] Holland and Everett, *Memoirs of Montgomery*, I, 160.
[65] As in the *Sheffield Courant* for November 30, 1793: "a Brown animal whom the wisdom of some, and the folly of others put into a box drawn by horses and calling it a delegate, sent it to Scotland upon a wild goose chase, with orders to proclaim the number of simpletons in Sheffield and a full liberty to excaggerate as much as he chose."
[66] *Sheffield Courant*, December 11, 1793.

Gales in Sheffield. Henry Yorke (who was more often known as Henry Redhead Yorke) was only twenty-one, yet he had already achieved a reputation in reforming circles. He had a fiery, impetuous nature, which expressed itself in tumbling imagic oratory and made him irresistible to women.[67] He had already chaired a meeting of the Sheffield Constitutional Society as early as March 11, 1793, making such an impression that Gales wrote to ask him to return.[68]

Yorke was full of enthusiasm, for he could sustain the heat which Gales could impart. Together they determined to utilize the winter of 1793-94 in affording material for the Sheffield artisan to read. Between them they produced *The Spirit of John Locke* which, though a digest of part of Locke's *Treatise on Civil Government,* served as a tract for the times. "This is not time for the People to lose a minute," it urged, "every species of information ought to be conveyed to them in as cheap and short a manner as possible." Locke was an excellent choice. Respectable, philosophic, and eminently readable, he provided a better stalking horse than scurrilous Tom Paine, whose personality and works were under an ever blackening cloud. For Locke had said, "it is certainly unlawful to resist government, but it is certainly lawful to resist abuse of government, which is positively to assist government."[69] There were other pamphlets too. *A Dialogue between a Clergyman and a Cottager* (originally published in the *Nottingham Journal* in May, 1793) was republished by Gales to illustrate the need for universal suffrage. In the same spirit was *The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted.* This told the story of the trial of William Penn and William Mead and was a reprint of a seventeenth-century account of their trial with an introduction either by Gales or Yorke in which were the words:

The trial took place before the Revolution of 1688, and the spirits of the Judges of that day are so similar to that which seems to

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[67] Henry Redhead Yorke (1772-1813) was a Derbyshire publicist who began his political career with a pamphlet against the abolition of Negro slavery. He quickly changed his views, however, was in Sheffield in 1793, and represented the Crown and Anchor Society of London at the Edinburgh Convention, Montgomery implies that he was a quadroon "with a style altogether French" (*Memoirs,* I, 165). His luxuriantly curly hair and fastidious dress probably accounted for his way with women, which is amply borne out by Montgomery, who (p. 171), implies that Yorke seduced Gales's youngest sister Sarah. There was also another woman, according to the local doctor, (Howell, *State Trials,* vol. XXV, col. 1119; vol. XXIV, col. 665) who called her son Henry Yorke. For Gales's writing the letter of invitation to Yorke see Howell, *State Trials,* vol. XXV, col. 1119.

[68] For the rest of his time at Sheffield he lived at the Hartshead.

[69] G. P. Jones, *The Political Reform Movement in Sheffield,* 63.

pervade the Courts of the present day; and the spirit of the Jurymen so widely different, that the *Sheffield Constitutional Society* cannot refrain from publishing this remarkable trial, hoping that the perusal of it may have a good effect in bringing back both Judges and Juries to a proper sense of their duty.[70]

So it was not surprising that Sheffield became the "storm centre of the north."[71] On December 16, when the rest of the country was silenced by the prosecutions for seditious writings and libels, the Sheffield Constitutional Society, deprived of any large hall in which to convene a public meeting (for the landlords of inns had refused to be associated with their cause), held one in the Park. Strong disapproval with the official construction put upon the word "sedition" was expressed, and all present signified their determination to persist in working for a reform of parliament.

They were able to signify their disapproval of the official policy on February 28, 1794. This day was ordered to be observed as a public fast day, but Gales and his associates had no intention of observing it as such. Instead, a further monster meeting was convened at Backfields, near West Street. A prayer opened the proceedings, a hymn (written by Montgomery for the occasion) was sung, and then the business of the day began. A series of resolutions were passed against the war with France ("a war of the most diabolical kind"), against the very institution of fast days ("a most solemn prostitution of religion"), and especially against the landing of Hessian troops in England ("a ferocious and unprincipled horde of butchers"). They all agreed that it was "high time to be on our guard" since "these armed monsters may in a moment be let loose upon us; particularly, as the erection of barracks throughout the kingdom may only have been an introductory measure to the filling them with foreign mercenaries." They voted thanks to Earl Stanhope and Richard Brinsley Sheridan for their courage in supporting the imprisoned Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margarot.[72] Indeed, so great was the impression that this demonstration left upon the reformers

[70] J. Taylor, *The Sheffield Constitutional Society*, Appendix 1, 142-145.
[71] P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, 145.
[72] *The Fast Day as Observed at Sheffield* was published by Gales as a pamphlet and a copy was sent to the London Corresponding Society. It was seized, together with the minutes of the London Corresponding Society, when Hardy was arrested. The *Courant* on March 15, 1794, indignantly wrote of the "Frenchified traitors" that "there is not another part of the Kingdom that shall read this account alluded to, but shall at once exclaim *"if this be true, then Sheffield should be laid in ashes."* The London *St. James Chronicle* on March 8 referred to the *Sheffield Register* as "a vehicle of sedition."

that the London Corresponding Society wrote to express their approval of the course which they had taken.[73]

"On our guard"—these were pregnant words. At this time a new member entered the Gales household, Richard Davison, nominally employed as a compositor on the *Sheffield Register*, actually a knowledgeable authority on pikes. When Gales approached a local cutler with a bayonet as a pattern and asked him to make specimens, it was to Richard Davison that he showed them and heard assurance that they might be wanted in London too.[74] Indeed Davison actually wrote to Hardy offering them for sale. Davison certainly seems to have intended something more than mere defence.[75] But defence was needed in Sheffield. One member of the Sheffield Constitutional Society swore on oath that his own house was attacked by armed ruffians who swore they would pull it down about his ears and burn it.[76] Sometimes they even fired through windows or under the doors.

Well might Henry Yorke exclaim "these are the times to try men's souls." The culminating incident occurred on April 7, 1794. A big meeting was staged on Castle Hill, and before it Henry Yorke and Joseph Gales dined together. William Broomhead, who had succeeded Camage as secretary of the Constitutional Society, was put up to propose a petition to Parliament. This Aunt Sally motion was soon knocked down as arranged and Henry Yorke was able to carry his resolution that they would indulge in no more petitions. Nothing was said about rebellion, although Henry Yorke made several equivocal references to a "grand political explosion." They passed a resolution that "the People ought to demand as a right, not petition as a favour, for universal representation." Yorke's speech certainly proved a star attraction that day, for one man, whose wife was delivering a child, was so intrigued by what he heard that he forgot to get the doctor.[77] But there is no reason to believe, nor evidence to show, that Gales himself meant to resort to the arbitrament of pikes. He was far too canny and politically wise to throw away

[73] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 639. It is also significant that the local landowner, Earl Fitzwilliam, had been receiving reports of these activities. All the Fitzwilliam Papers have recently (1949) been deposited in the Sheffield Public Library.

[74] P. A. Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, 145, who also comments that Sheffield presents the "only clearly defined instance of arming in England."

[75] For which reason he was later coupled in the Yorke indictment.

[76] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 666.

[77] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXV, col. 1054.

by such foolhardiness all he had built up. Nevertheless he too was exuberant over the success of the meeting and wrote to Aston: "I need not tell you we had a capital meeting: I had the honour to be drawn along with Yorke amid the thousands."[78] Once more a copy of the proceedings was sent to the London Society[79] and to Charles James Fox.[80]

All around the reformers were evidences that they were being menaced. The formation of a corps of volunteers in the town prompted the *Courant* to observe:

the necessity for strengthening the hands of government increases every day as the seditions of this place become more daring with every meeting. What can be more insulting than their late groaning petitions to the throne; where Majesty itself is threatened by such a rabble?

Then, after asking what security there is to be for Property, Religion, King, and Constitution, the *Courant* concluded:

for preserving these, let us lay our hands upon the sword, and appeal to Heaven for the purity of our intentions, which are no other than the securing to Mankind, Life, Liberty, and Property, and to oppose committing the Existence of the Kingdom into the hands of a lawless and desperate Democracy.[81]

If this did not make Gales and his associates look to self-defence, the *Courant* would be surprised.

Fortune favoured Gales at this time. Paul Butler, a smith and farrier, was given a letter to carry to Dennis Frith of Eckington by S. Marshall, a merchant of Snig Hill, Sheffield. The letter, instead of going direct to Frith, came first to Gales's office at the Hartshead, and proved such good copy that Gales printed it in the *Register*. It ran:

Gales has given up the idea for a convention meeting on Monday —tis well he has—he is vile indeed—see his paper the last week I send you a Few wrote as Burlesque—they are Smart who the author is I don't know—when Lawless banded with Redhead alias York—with Camage and the Sec. Broomhead—He said from his window Citizens disperse—and then exclaimed now see

[78] *Memoirs of James Montgomery*, I, 167.
[79] Howell, *State Trials*, vol. XXIV, col. 613.
[80] The supreme piece of audacity to the Church and King party was the determination of the meeting "to present an address to the King, on behalf of Muir, Palmer, Skirving, Margarot, and Gerrald, and to petition him for the total abolition of slavery." The society did write consoling letters to these imprisoned men, and received their thanks.
[81] May 10, 1794.

how they obey me—I have sent last week and this week , papers to Earl Fitzwilliam and have had a friendly reply to my first letter. Tis said Justice Bond is coming down and more troops are Coming What reproach this troubler in our Israel this man of the people from Eckington.[82]

Marshall was almost incoherent with rage that his telltale activities had been thus revealed, and wrote back a letter to Gales, who imperturbably inserted it once more in the *Register:*

I do assure you it has made me extremely uncomforatble this day, and will I no doubt break in upon my Rest this Night and I expect abuse and insult from this dareing Parragraff which you have Inserted in your Paper—'tis verry true I sent one of your Papers to Earl Fitzwilliam—in which was the Petitions to the King's Majesty—so did our worthy Mr. Wilkinson—a post or two after—& his Ls kindly wrote in Reply—& if you will call upon me you shall see his Ls letter—my writeing to his Ls was in Consequence of a Conversation the day I had the Honour of dineing with him at his House with Mr. Jonathan Walker and a Number of Gent—it was then—that his Ls expressed his Concern at the Inflammatory tendency of your Paper & he said it was—a paper that was Ill calculated for a large manufacturing Town—&etc—and thousands are of the same opinion.[83]

So Gales was warned that the authorities were watching of his movements. His newsmen and employees began to receive rough usage. At Wakefield one of them was chased by boys who shouted "there goes a Paineite!"; another was manhandled at Leeds by recruits. Government agents, who had arrested Thomas Hardy, secretary of the London Corresponding Society, found letters from the Sheffield Constitutional Society incriminating Gales and Davison. This was on May 12, 1794. Twelve days later Broomhead, Camage, and Moody were taken into custody for questioning and later brought down to London. Widdison and Hill, the two members concerned in the manufacture of pikes, were also arrested. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and everyone who seemed the slightest menace was liable to be arrested and restrained without trial. Gales wrote in his *Register:*

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[82] *Sheffield Register* May 2, 1794. This Dennis Frith was probably the same Dennis Frith of whom Gales wrote in his *Register* on December 10, 1790, that his apprentice had hung himself in a barn. S. Marshall is listed on p. 98 of Gales's and Martin's *Directory*, as having a shop next to that of Luke Palfreyman. The *Sheffield Courant* on May 10 does not deny that Marshall wrote the letter, only that Gales had published a "mutilated version."

[83] Earl Fitzwilliam had been receiving reports on the Constitutional Society since 1792. The publication of this letter in the *Register* would undoubtedly make Marshall feel extremely incomfortable, and may have stimulated the Church and King's party to push for Gales's removal.

every wretch in the country, who has either through Malice or Envy, a dislike to his neighbours, will now have an opportunity of gratifying his malicious intention . . . spies and informers . . . will crowd the Prisons with innocent people, as long as the Liberties of Englishmen are at the mercy of such debased and infamous characters.[84]

Why was Joseph Gales not arrested? Hitherto the generally accepted reason has been that contained in the *Memoirs of Montgomery,* where the editors assert that Henry Redhead Yorke was unwittingly the cause. On page 171 of volume 1 they write:

he contrived not only to domicile himself for a time in the family at the Hartshead, but ultimately to obtain the affections of his host's youngest sister, Sarah. This circumstance became the unforeseen hinge of an important event. Yorke left Sheffield for Derby in an unsatisfactory manner, so far as his intentions towards the lady were concerned: and to that town, after having published his newspaper on the 16th March, Gales followed him. In the course of the day a government messenger, accompanied by the local constable, entered the house of the Sheffield printer with a warrant for his arrest on a charge of conspiracy ! After searching the premises in vain for Mr. Gales, they proceeded to a public house adjacent, armed with a similar authority for the capture of Davison, who at the moment sat smoking with a fellow compositor. On the constable putting his head into the room and asking if Davison was there, "No" replied his companion with admirable presence of mind, "he's just gone off." The officer turned aside, and justly alarmed secretary of the "Constitutional Society" immediately made his escape—ultimately reaching America, where he afterwards settled, throve, and became a magistrate.

But this account is manifestly false in three particulars. First, as has been shown, Yorke was in Sheffield, starring at the Castle Hill meeting on April 7. This meeting was made the basis of a joint prosecution of Gales, Yorke, and Davison. Secondly, there is a considerable amount of evidence to show that though Yorke might have been very fond of Sarah Gales, he was fonder still of someone else.[85] Third, Davison was not the secretary of the Constitutional Society; Broomhead was. Davison was a recent arrival, and it was Broomhead who answered all the questions at the trials. Apart from these three errors, the substance of the

[84] *Sheffield Register,* June 5, 1794 (after Gales's associates had been arrested).

[85] Dr. Frith accused Henry Yorke of being "more intimate than is proper with a married woman"; and Ebenezer Rhodes remarked darkly that he had "reason to know" that Yorke had lodged somewhere else in Sheffield, and not with Gales. (See Howell, *State Trials,* vol. XXV, cols. 1053 and 1131.) Sara Gales was twenty-one years old at this time.

tale may be true enough. Gales may have chased Yorke to Derby. But he certainly took to hiding somewhere else, where he could still keep an eye on his newspaper, for Derby was too far away.

For the *Register* was thriving so well that its sales topped the two thousand mark by twenty five. So, hidden in the house of Payne of Newhill Grange (about twelve miles from Sheffield), he was able to carry on his editorial work helped by James Montgomery, who used to ride over on a horse with Mrs. Gales on the pillion.[86] From Newhill Grange he continued to write vigorously. He called attention to the numbers of M.P.s who were absent when the Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended by the House of Commons, and trounced the conduct of the three officers who misbehaved themselves in the Hartshead. When two men, arrested after firing into the house where three of his compositors lived, were brought before the justices, he recorded the fact that they were only bound over, because they stated, as the defence for their conduct, that they conceived the house to shelter "Gales' men."

As England was too hot to hold him, Gales made preparations to leave. On June 19 he announced the last number of the *Patriot*. The publication of the report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons brought out the story of the pikes, so he was a marked man. In the 369th number of the *Register* he announced his intention of leaving, inserting in his farewell message a denial that he ever wrote the letter about the pikes. "This charge," he wrote on May 26 "in the most unequivocal manner, I DENY. I neither wrote, dictated, nor was privy to it; nor till Mr. Hardy's apprehension, had I any knowledge of it. As far as this stigma *personally* respects myself or family, I am indifferent as to the Report, but I owe, to my Friends and the Public, the duty of clearing myself from the imputation." Thus ended his journalistic career in England.

Some idea of his stature may be gauged by a comparison of his own later history with that of his associates. He went on to

[86] *Memoirs of Montgomery*, I, 199. This house was built by Payne (or Paine) in 1784. It is not clear whether this was actually a kinsman of Tom Paine or not; W. K. Martin, *A History of The Ancient Parish of Wath-upon-Dearne* (Wath, 1920), 33. It was certainly a rendezvous for reformers, since Henry Yorke stayed here just before the Castle Hill meeting (*State Trials*, vol. XXV, col. 1113). John Payne, the person concerned, has been with some certainty identified as *Vicinus*, who wrote in the *Register* and was the author of another of Gales' pamphlets *Vicinus' Reply to the Letter of J. R. of Dronfield* (Sheffield, 1792) for his name is written in an eighteenth-century hand across the title page of the copy in the Sheffield Central Reference Library. The pamphlet pours scorn on the idea that troops will "quell" the reforming spirit in Sheffield.

Germany, and later to America, to continue in the principles which he had advocated in Sheffield. Not so Henry Yorke. Yorke was tried on the charge of fomenting a conspiracy with Gales and Davison in July of the following year (1795) and sentenced to a fine of £200 and two years imprisonment in Dorchester gaol. But his curly hair and impetuous eloquence once more served him well—he married his gaoler's daughter, and the next time he appeared in Sheffield he was dressed as a lieutenant-colonel. The other members of the Sheffield Constitutional Society were acquitted on condition that they gave evidence at the trial of Henry Yorke. Though the rump of the society had expressed its approbation and condolences towards Joseph Gales, they could do little to help him professionally. For his sudden flight had led his principal creditor, George Robinson, of Paternoster Row, London, to clamor for payment. Nor if they could, were they able to ward off the impending trial.

Without Gales, the Sheffield Constitutional Society lost its voice. For though the *Register* was continued by Montgomery as the Sheffield *Iris*, Montgomery was determined not to suffer Gales's fate and did not openly espouse the reformers' cause.[87] The poet's corner which had set off the squibs of Mather, now housed the more respectable and ornate literary effusions of Barbara Hoole.[88] Only once did the dying embers flare up after the great debacle of 1794, and that was when Citizen Barrow of London took the chair at a meeting which petitioned his majesty to "restore the blessings of peace to this suffering, bleeding country." With Gales's departure the radical fires were damped down for another generation.[89]

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[87] As Montgomery's motto ran:
Ours are the plans of fair, delightful Peace,
Unwarped by party rage, to live like brothers.

[88] Later Mrs. Hofland. A greater contrast to Joseph Mather could not easily be found.

[89] A phenomenon which applied to the whole nation. As G. M. Trevelyan observed in his *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill* (London, 1920), 76, 80, "during the next generation the freedom of the press existed only in name" and "from 1794-1816 there was no political agitation of any kind."

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

From C. F. Sussdorff

Garysburg July 28th. 1866–

Madam,

I hope you will pardon the writer in addressing you this communication, I do so because knowing that the President being overwhelmed with business may not find convenient to read all the letters addressed to him. Knowing that a husband has but few secrets from his wife, and especially since in your case the world believes that you have been in no small degree to help him to the present high position he now occupies– I have the assurance to ask a request of you in the most respectful manner and that is that you be pleased to read this communication and if you find that it is not worthy his notice, please throw it into the fire. If otherwise however, and you should find it worthy his notice, I would beg of you to hand it to him at a leausur [sic.] moment when he is less engaged in his public duties as I would not add a feather's weight to his labours.

With the assurance of my great respect
I remain Madam

Your very humble serv.t

Mrs. President Johnson
Washington D. C

From C. S Sussdorff

Garysburg North Hampton Co North Carolina
July 28th 1866–

To the President of the U. States
Washington City,
D.C.

Excellency,

An unknown and obscure individual like myself may possibly be considered presumptious in addressing the President of the U. States except on official business, but my motive in writing I trust your Excellency will, at the end perceive, and pardon the freedom.

Opposed as you must be to circumlocution I will therefore go strait to the subject and tell you in the beginning why I write

these lines. I am in humble life and earn my bread by my own labour, have travelled for 30 years in N. Carolina, S. Car. Georgia, Virginia and Tennessee, am by profession a tuner and repairer of Pianoes and in this capacity have come, for these long years and do now come in contact with the best and most educated part to say the least "the most influential part" of the community every day. I hear their conversations and take part in it, and consequently form an idea of their feelings in reference to matters present, past or future. I am a German by birth, 59 years of age and came to South Car: in 1833 never held a slave, yet not by any means a radical.

In the Position your Excellency occupies it is absolutely necessary in order to act with wisdom to know the feelings and aims of the people over whom you preside and for whose benefit you are determined to risk all. In various documents emanating from your Excellency you have desired to have the support of the people every where, who love the Constitution and laws and to bring the government back to its original purity. For my own part, and I can say that for thousands, are in heart and hand with you in the plan of restoration and we bless you and pray for you that the *"Lord"* in his infinit goodness may take you in His special keeping in order to safe us and the Land from utter destruction. We owe you a great deal of gratitude for the stand you have taken in our behalf– We may have erred, still the people as a mass thought they had a right to cut loose from the old ship, but most of them have seen the folly and are perfectly willing to abide by the constitution henceforth.

Mr. President, the feelings that pass through my mind when I think of the position you have taken and maintained against a fearful and unscrupulous opposition, I can not explain to you– suffice is to say, without flattery or ostentation, that I carry your likeness next my heart in a small case and it shall ever gratefully be cherished there.

In Congress and in the News Papers North we hear a great deal said about the disloyalty of the people south &c. because the people will not take northren men that come among us by the hand at once and make a big to do over them, or lick their boots. You may have been somewhat missled in the matter, even by southren men (pardon me) but I tell your Excellency frankly, how it its. When some of these men or women come here, they conduct themselves in such a way as to disgust our folks. They boast what they can do, talk abusively about the sins of slavery and glorify the North.Well we have been punished severely enough, God knows and to be continually told that we are whipped and deserve destruction, is not calculated to put us in a very amiable mood towards them, is true. If disloyalty means to hate these noisy fellows and Radicals in Congress and out of it who mean to change the Constitution in a manner that not a vestige is left of the original document, then are we truly so; but on the contrary if loyalty means to be true to the Constitution as set

forth in the amnesty proclamation and oath – then are we truly loyal to that instrument and the Government.

Presidents, kings, and Rulers as a general thing are surrounded by flatterers, time servers and spies. Knowing these fact, and wishing to hear truths told them, they generally employed wise men and gave them the privilege of saying anything they pleased and to any lady without taking offence, and went under the name of "Court Fools"!

Your Excellency will pardon me when I allude to one person whom you appointed to office in this State I mean Ex Gov: Holden who tried hard to be made Governor by the vote of the people im[m]ediately before the war but failed. This soured his temper considerable still he preached the doctrine of Sesession took the State out of the Union and told us that it was a just, holy and righteous cause. He further more encouraged volunteering and said the last dollar and the last cent must be spent. He had a great share in imbuing the people with the right of sesession and had he been elected in place of Ellis at the second term would have made as strong a Southren as ever drew a sword. He praised Vance and recommended him to the people– For a year or so he worked in concert with him, at last though he grew cold, turned square round and did all to defeat the movement he had set in motion. He now calls himself a loyal and sitts in judgement over those he missled for recommendations for executive pardons. He speakes constantly about the disaffection in North Carolina and seems to make the Government believe that we can't be trusted,says: look at the election of Worth, who was elected by Sesesh! You Mr President appointed me and in rejecting me, they have rejected you and your policy! Not so fast I say Mr. Holden: The President was not rejected, but Worth being a Union man from first to last, they simple voted for him because they believed Gov. Worth was consistant and that it would please you better, supposing in appointing Holden, you knew of no other man, whom you could give the office on the spurr of the moment and before the smoke of the battle has cleared away.

I was at one time a sincere Holden man and believed as thousand did in his integrity, but he missled us forsooken and now sits in judgement over us. I ask you in all honesty, is it not humiliating and can you blame us, "the common people of having no more faith in him? Spare us this humiliation in future Mr. President and in rejecting W. W. Holden– we by no manner of means reflect upon you any disregard. We love and honor you and you might come among us unattended and no harm would befall you, but honour and respect would be heaped upon you, because you stand as firm as a rock upon what is just and merciful. Let Holden say what he pleases about Gov. Worth, he is nevertheless true to you and the Constitution. Were your excellency inclined to to change your mind and run a second term for President I am confident the whole South would vote for

you, with perhaps some few exceptions, and I do know, judging folks by their passed conduct– W. W. Holden might be of that class at last.

In order to safe the Government from going to wreck we must be united and all past differences laid aside for it will take herculean strength [to] right the ship of State. We have to deal with a party that aims at a central Government and whip out the individuality of the States– they have been hammering at it for 7 or 8 ms. and still continue their aim, and would have played havoc, if it had not been for your firmness. Surely the Lord raised you up to be our shield and bucklar, and with you as our Josuah of old we will follow you in into the the thickest of the field inscribing on our Banner the Constist. and the laws and Andrew Johnston our leader – and give the "Lord our God the Glory" His Holy name be praised!

With your Excellency permission I will now relate a few little incidents: That the people should be stunned by the great upheavings in the South, loss of property &c– is very natural, but that this lethargy should be hearlded forth to the injury and oppression is cruel in the extreme . In my intercourse with people I find that they are loath to take News Papers and I have to go sometimes for several weeks without seeing a sentence of what is going on in the outerworld. I ask what's the reason you don't take a paper? Well if we take one,we hear nothing but abuse– the Radicals have it all their own way any how! Thats not true, is not the President a whole team in himself to hold their radical wagon back and has he not done it? Yes he has done wonders, but they will prove too many for him in the end. Exactly so, if all were actuated by the same spirit they might, but that's not going to happen if we show as much moral courage as we showed brute–

One gentleman in a high social position kept no Papers, when asked the reason he said: he had kept at least ten before the war, but now he was done with politics &c. and if he had served his God as well as his political party would call himself a good Christian. I told him it was not worth while to jump from one extreme into another, and if you are afraid to hear of what the Radicals are concocting, you remind me very much of the Ostrich who when pursued and about being overtaken sticks his head into the Sand, believing that the enemy wont discover him and perishes foolishly. I told him I wanted him to fan the music under the President boldly– he said that was his doctrine too. I assure you Excellency that if we can make a tolerable good crop this year– The spirit will revive we will be able to pay our taxes readier and all will wear a new face.

In all your Excellency's reply to depudations I perceive an intimate knowledge of the southren Character, impulsive but chivalric, brave to a falt, giving no insult and taking none, constitution loving and forgiving when honour is satisfied. You said in one of your replys "The Southren People must be trusted"!

Never did Solomon utter a truer sentence and had your counsel been followed up by Congress, the Union and good feeling would have been almost perfect as of old, for every one was disposed to prove how sincerely repentant he could be. I speak of the Southren people– how it would have been in the North is quiet a different question.

I believe that in the providence of God it was so ordained that the Radicals should have overwhelming majority in order that they had full swing to show to the world what the[y] meant to do– if let alone. Their proceedings opened the eyes of all conservative men and made them pause and reflect and see the real design of these mad revolutionists. Had they been compelled to work more covertly, they might have undermined the political fabric stealthily by degrees. All is plain now and there is no excuse for them and they will reap their reward yet. I hope the Philadelphia Convention will be properly attended by every Southren and Northren State so that the people may once more come together and shake hands and they the Lord bless their doings! I want peace and harmony to reign over this land once more, and he who can produce that desirable object will live in history for ever , and I trust that Andrew Johnston Pres. of the U.S. will be that man.

Fearing that I have wearied you too long I must come to a close asking humble and reverently of your kind heart to favour and that is that you may be pleased in mercy to take into consideration the unpardoned condition of Ex Gov. William Graham, Ex Gov. Vance and Brigadier Gen.[1] Scals[68] all of this State. Allow me to say that more honourable men are no where to be found and if they pass to you their word that they will observe the Const. & the Laws they will surely do it– I know their character. You have pardoned many it is true but extend your to mercy a litle further , Recollect Mr. Pres! to *Err is human– to forgive divine"* and North Carolinians will love you the more for it and bless you, Now Mr. Johnston my honoured Sir, if I have said too much accord it to my ignorance– I am but a mechanic and never had a collegiate education. To write an english letter correctly is a difficult thing so do, but take, please, the will for the deed.

You are constantly in my thoughts and at night when I appeal to the throne of Grace to forgive my many sins and failings I inclose you and yours as I have heard the same done in many private families, to pray that the Lord may graciosly protect you and guide you in the proper way, and keep your mind sound

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[68] Alfred M. Scales (Nov. 26, 1827-Feb. 9, 1892) was born in Reidsville; attended Caldwell Institute and the University of North Carolina; was admitted to the bar in 1851 and two years later became solicitor of Rockingham County; was elected member of the North Carolina house of commons, 1852, 1853, 1856, 1857; served in the House of Representatives of Congress from 1857 to 1859 and from 1875 to December 30, 1884, when he resigned to become governor of North Carolina, serving from 1885 to 1889; engaged in banking business in Greensboro; and was one of the twenty-seven brigadier generals from the state serving in the military service of the Confederacy. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927*, 1497; Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 35n.

and steadfast to his Glory and Renown! With these humble remarks.

I am your Excellency's humble servant
My home is in Salem Forsythe Co. North Carolina. Gov Worth could tell you who I am

From William W. Holden

Raleigh, Aug. 1. 1866

My dear Mr. President: Enclose please find an Editorial of the Standard in relation to a recent letter of Judge Ruffin.

You may remember I told you, when in Washington, that the rebellious leaders in this State held that your whole plan of restoration was a usurpation, and that consequently they denied the validity of the acts of the Convention. Judge Ruffin[69] is the leader of these men, all of whom are high in favor with Gov. Worth.

Our people will vote to-morrow, and next day, and next, for the ratification or rejection of the new Constitution. All things considered, it is an excellent instrument. But there leaders are against it, first, because they deny the authority under which it was made, and secondly, because it abolished the black basis and institutes the white. They also hope that if they can invalidate the Convention they will be able to pay the rebel debt, much of which is owing to them. So far as slavery is concerned, they intend to try that in the Courts, at least for compensation for them, on the ground that they agreed to the amendment abolishing it under duress.

I hear from various parts of the state that there is a concentrated movement to defeat the new Constitution. Gov. Worth may vote for it, to hide appearances, but his newspaper organs are doing all they can against it, and the counties that gave him the largest votes last Fall, will give the heavist votes against the Constitution. I hear from the West that Graham is acting with Ruffin, while the whole East is against the Constitution.If adopted at all , which is doubtful, it will be done by the loyal men of the West.

I dislike very much, Sir, to be troublesome. I have been silent and quiet for many months, in the hope that our leaders and rulers here would prove themselves loyal, and would aid in good faith in carrying out your plan. But I have lost all hope in this respect, and hence the trouble I am giving you.

If you would aid us to the extent indicated by me, when in Washington, I am satisfied we could wrest the State from the hands of these men. Indeed if the new Constitution should be rejected, you would be justified in taking the State again into

[69] Judge Thomas Ruffin was the ablest leader of the opposition to the convention of 1866. He opposed in on the basis of white representation, but his chief argument was the lack of authority of the convention to act. Ruffin's correspondence, including newspaper comments on the subject, appears in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, IV, 62-130.

your own hands. Our loyal people would hail such a step on your part with shouts and rejoicings.

With much respect, Your Friend

From Jonathan Worth

Executive Dep^{t} of N C
Raleigh, Sepr 15 1866

Personal
Sir

Nobody, not demented by party rage, doubts your devotion to the Union. You have known, as I have known, the constant opponent of Secessionism and all other issues which fostered Sectionalism & Disunion.– When the terrible task devolved on you as the head of the nation to compose the jarring passions & restore a harmonious Union, your object doubtless was to select as your agents men who like yourself had constantly opposed Sectionalism & Disunion. In this State your selection was unfortunate. No man in this State had done so much to teach secession & create sectional alienation as W.W. Holden. Others had equal zeal, but not equal adroitness & opportunity to effect the end. Just before the breaking out of the war he took sides with the Union men, – an immense majority of this State; but sought a seat in the Convention of 1861, and voted to dissolve the Union, and fervently labored to make Disunion perpetual. In the Progress of the war he bacame alienated from the leaders of the Rebellion, and made *Peace & Independence his motto – but scouted Re-union.* As a consequence his former Secession friends hated him, & the bare Union men despised him. Your friends then & now excuse you for his appointment on the ground that you were not posted as to your antecedents. When you offered a free election to the people of this State the most constant Union men induced me to become a candidate & sustained me on account of my better Union record: but many of the best Union men of the State, who preferred me, voted for him, on the idea that you preferred him. Most of the Secessionist voted for me, because they hated him as a renegade from their ranks, who after deserting, reviled them : and as all regarded the Union restored and then intended, in good faith to sustain it, they preferred a more constant & consistent Union man. Every man in the State knows well that I never had any affinity , or gave the slightest conutenance to Sectionism, North or South, and that I adhere now, most firmly, to these convictions–, and hence I support your views because they look to National Conciliation & Concord. In Novr last you sent to Govr Holden a telegram which he published , declaring that the recent *elections* in this State, "had greatly damaged the prospects of the State, in the restoration if its governmental relations." – *Elections* had just been held for members of Congress and the Genl Asembly as well as for Govr. Govr Holden has kept the telegram as a standing article in his

paper, and construes it as a having special reference to *my* election . He insists that I have been a stumbling block in the way of your restoration policy. From his supposed intimacy with you many believe his interpretation is all right. For ought I known, it may be that you have confidence in him & not in me: – but I *know* that the great body of the intelligent Union men of this State have confidence in me; and have not confidence in him.

He now advocates the ratification by this State, of the Howard amendment:– and publishes without dissent, the electioneering documents of the Radicals, and is endeavoring to get up radical opposition to me, which he puts on the ground that my election would be unacceptable to you.

If there be any thing in my political record or private life, before, or since, or during the war, which warrants your alleged partiality for him, and aversion to me, I cannot imagine what it is. If the fact be so, it must rest on some misinformation. The unceasing reiteration of this thing by a man claiming , with much plausibility to be in your confidence, impairs the efficacy of my exertions to aid you in your noble efforts to restore a fraternal Union.

Yours very truly

His Excellency Andrew Johnson
I enclose the last issue of the Standard –

From George Carver

Huntsville Yadkin Co N C
October 10th 1866

To His Exce.[1] Andrew Johnson
Dear Sir

I have thought for sometime past that I would write you a letter, but am fearful you have forgotten me and will think I am writing for some favor, but such is not the case. I went from this state to Greenville Ten and lived with Dixon & Williams and was there about a week before you arrived. I made your acquaintance and was in the caucus that brot you out for the legislature against John McGaughty. I lived in Greenville five years You was my tailor and made me several suits of clothing– I am glad of the progress you have made and feel proud of the position you have gained. We look on you as our only friend who can save us from the radicals and hope you will stand by us in these uncertain times. We are all loyal and anxious to regain our former place in the union I myself was like many in the South for the union all the while, but powerless to do good. I am now the Post Master at this place, the only man who would be troubled with the office & that could take the required oaths I will feel proud to know you have not forgotten me and with many good wishes for your health and prosperity have the honor of subscribing myself your

Most Obt Svt

From Jonathan Worth

Copy

State of North Carolina

Executive Department,
Raleigh November 30 th 1866

To His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
Sir.

Col Bomford Military Commandant of this State has transmitted to me the enclosed Genl Orders from Genl Sickles No 15 dated Oct. 1st 1866. Col Bomford calls my special attention to paragraphs 5 and 6.

These orders seem to rest on the assumption that the Military Commandant of the Department has a right to suspend or annul such laws of the State within his Command as he may deem inhumane or unwise.

By the laws of North Carolina the penalty for Larceny, Bigamy, and sundry other infamous Crimes is Corporal punishment —to wit—whipping. If these orders are carried out, under our existing laws, some of these Crimes must go unpunished. The 5th and 6th paragraphs of these orders, are in Conflict, as I Conceive with your Excellencys proclamation, of the 20th Aug. last declaring that "Civil authority now exists throughout the whole of the United States."

I do not apprehend any Conflict under other paragraphs of these orders resting, as supposed, on the military orders of Genl Grant of the 12th January and 1st July last, but having seen it stated through the newspapers, that Genl Grant deems these orders so essentially modified by your proclamation aforesaid, I would be glad to know officially to what extent he deems them modified

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully
Your Obt. Servt.
Governor of N.C.

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh December 24th 1866.

His Excellency
Andrew Johnson,
Presdt. United States
Washington, D.C.
Sir:–

In obedience to a resolution of the General Assembly of this State, I have the honor to transmit, herewith an authenticated copy of a Resolution of that body "respecting the proposed

amendment, as the fourteenth article of the Constitution of the United States."[70]

I have the honor to be,
Very Respectfully,
Yr. Obdt. Servt.
Gov.r of No. Carolina.

From William Thompson

Raleigh [N.C.] January 8th 1867

Dear Sir

The bearer of this Handy Lockheart visits the North in behalf of his Colord Brethern as well as his own gratification. he has been a servant in my family forty three years, and has at all times during this long period, devoted himself to the interest of myself and family, with all the energy he could command. he has enjoyed all the confidence and good feeling that could be bestowed by myself and family in return. which relation has not been attended by what has taken place by obtaining his freedom during this long period of servitude on no one occasion has there been cause of any kind to find any fault in him it would be one of the greatest pleasures I could enjoy to call on you and take by the hand one who I believe has the honesty and hearty welfare of his Country's good above all other worldly hopes or desires may you not be disap[p]ointed of your hopes. I have a large share of sympathy for you in the great trials you must meet with in your exalted position as Chief of the greatest County that exists on the Globe if any opportunity should offer me I shall most certainly embrace it to gratify a desire much at heart this desire is evinced by the circumstances of the slight acquaintance I had with your early boyhood as I was a next door neighbor to you in the year 1819th I have not nerve sufficient to say any thing to you about these misguided people in those sorely afflicted part of the Country who brought all these evils of Self suicide upon us be assured Sir my prayers for the whole of this Great Country and your desires

With great respect I am again &c

From James McMahan

Marshall North Carolina Jan. 16th 1867

Andrew Jackson President of the United States:

Dear Sir:

I hope that you will not take it amiss, for an old Jackson Soldier to address you, believing as I do, that you are the imbodiment of the Constitution, and one of its ablest defenders, and

[70] The certificate signed by Governor Worth is in the Johnson Papers. The legislature of North Carolina rejected the Fourteenth Amendment on December 13. C. L. Harris and D. A. Jenkins went to Washington immediately to join W. W. Holden and John Pool who had already gone to Washington to confer with the radical leaders. On the same day that North Carolina rejected the amendment, Thaddeus Stevens, at the request of the radical leaders of the state prepared by Holden and others, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives for the reconstruction of North Carolina. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 186-187.

who honestly, and fearlessly adhears to its injunctions. And whose eventful history has universal[l]y attracted attention, and without doubt there is not one but many points in it, which deserve to be noticed. It is a strong plain example of the circuitous to providence of God, that is to say of bringing about the ends and purposes of his providence by seemingly casual and unsuspected means. That is a high doctrine both of natural and revealed religion, and is clearly exemplified in your own record. It is an useful example at the same time of the protection and final reward of virtue, though for a season oppressed and caluminated and carried through a long series of distress and misfortune, I say it is an useful example if rightly understood,and not carried too far. I mean that virtue is not always rewared alike this would be carrying the thing too far. But shows that the protection of providence will be with virtue in all its difficulties– And this being believed on good grounds is enough, for the virtuous man will be assured, that this protection will keep him in all stages of his existence, living and dying he is in its hands. And for the same reason that it accompanies him like an invisible guardian through his trials it will finally recompense him, This is the true application of that doctrine of a directing providence which is illustrated by the panorama of incidents connected with your importent career, If it could command appropriate language I would use it to appreciate the steady and uniform manner that you are steering the ship of State Although storms arise I am glad that you possess so much prudence and self command. I am also glad that our Chief Magistrate is acting so as to render his example worthy of emulation Even some professed ministers of the religion of the Bible, who are manifestly guilty of denouncing the president with unbecoming bitterness, ought to take lessons by his conciliating course. Compare the conduct of the president with the parable enunciated by Christ in reference to the good Samaratan, and contrast with those al[l]uded to above, you will find and the reader will be astounded

I would like to write a great deal but business men do not like lengthy letters. I would add a few lines about our State I recon the folks think about Washington that we folks are al[l] but dangerous but it is quite a mistake we have good Judges and Lawyers and peaceable Citizens All that is needed in our entire country is to become reconciled to live in peace with each other and act according to the golden rule, and be willing to forgive each other, And the work of reconstruction will be easy done–

Fifty two years ago the writer of this little scrap was in Jackson's army, as a private, & was honorably discharged and is the only one living in the County There are some few in Hawkins County Ten, from the county I went I never have had any pension–

My respects to Brother N.G. Taylor and Judge Patterson President Johnson

From Nathaniel Boyden and Lewis Hanes

Office of U.S. Military Telegraph
Telegram received at War Department
Washington, D.C. Feb. 15, 1867
from Raleigh N. C. " 1867

To His Excellency
Andrew Johnson
Prest U.S.

The new plan of adjustment is hanging fire in our legislature, A dispatch from you strongly urging it may secure its passage. Let us hear from you at once[71]

[Telegram]

From Nathan Boyden and Lewis Hanes

Raleigh N. C. Feb. 16, 1867

To W. G. Moore
War Dept

No action has been had. Strong hopes of success in a few days Let your friend come at once.When will he be here Answer[72]

From William Ware Peck

Salisbury– N. C.
Fy 20/ 67.

Hon. A Johnson
President of U. S.
D[ea]r Sir.

If the Bankrupt –Bill has been sent to you for approval–let me urge you to veto it without delay or, if you are disposed in favor of it, to delay for consideration. A few in the South want the law: the *great majority* of Southern debtors oppose it: & because they own the bulk of the real estate. have a defficient [sic.] but unavailable resources: are now protected only by home

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[71] In response to this telegram, President Johnson's secretary replied:
By U. S. Military Telegraph

Executive Office
Washington, D.C. Feb. 16, 1867

To Hon. N Boyden
Hon Lewis Haines
Raleigh, N. C.

Your despatch of yesterday received. It was hoped that there would be prompt action. It would do good at this time. A friend will be at Raleigh without delay, to confer with you, if no action shall have been had before this reaches you. Answer.

Wm. G. Moore,
who conferred with you the night before you left.

[72] Upon the receipt of this telegram, the White House replied:
By U.S. Military Telegraph

Executive Office
Washington, D.C., Feb. 17, 1867.

To Hon. N. Boyden,
Hon. Lewis Hanes
Raleigh, N.C.

Friend started this morning.

Wm.G. Moore

stay Laws– There is no extravagance in saying that, were the Bill to become a law, the Bulk of the Landed Interest at the South would under its *involuntary provision* be forced to change hands in 12 months. A more cruel measure towards the South could hardly be devised–

The parties, whose interests would mainly be advanced by the law, are Northern Speculators–

With respects

Mrs. W. H. Polk[73]

Warrenton March 4 [1867]

Mr President
Sr Sir

To-day I suppose important events are agitating the Political channels of our Republic, I left Washington the Monday after the Levee on the 22.d not however,without making an effort to pay my respects to yourself & the ladies of the White House but was not so fortunate in seeing you, being informed that the President was engaged so I concluded that my Pen might accomplish what my tongue failed to do–

What I now ask is–at your earliest convenience will you do me the kindness to give me a letter endorsing my faithful adherence to the Government of the United States, during the War–It may be of service to me hereafter, at all events a satisfaction–which I am sure will be granted

I remarked in the presence of a Radical that the President would endorse my Loyalty, to which he rather sneeringly replied that such an endorsement would avail but little–Woman like I must have the last word & I answered with more spirit than prudence "perhaps not go under radical rule but reason must resume its sway.& with it, a proper appreciation for one who has so fearlessly & nobly dared do his duty to his country while Radicalism Fanaticism & Heaven knows what other isms threaten its destruction. I find great depression here occasioned by the passage of the Military bill & anticipations of even more stringent measures–business dull–money scarce. "Cuffee" jubilant– altogether a state of affairs never dreamed of – my reverses have been quite as great as most persons– but I try to keep Hope at the helm & enspire others with the same feelings. But pardon my trespassing so long. With kind regards for the Ladies & best wishes for your happiness & success in sweeping every cloud from the Political horizon

Very truly

Warrenton N.Carolina

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[73] Lucy Williams married William H. Polk, the younger brother of President James K. Polk. Upon her husband's death in 1862, she returned from Columbia, Tennessee, to her old home in Warrenton, North Carolina, with her two children, William H. Polk, born in Columbia, Tennessee, in 1862, and Tasker, born in 1860. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton, North Carolina*, 267-268, 409.

From William T. Thomas

Telegram received at War Department
Washington D.C. March 7 1867
From Raleigh NC " " 1867
To President Andrew Johnson
Sir . Please inform me if my communication to you of yesterday has been received If so has a copy been sent to the speaker of the Senate

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

A Southern Lawyer; Fifty Years at the Bar. By Aubrey Lee Brooks. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 214. $3.50.)

This autobiography by Aubrey Lee Brooks, distinguished lawyer of Greensboro, North Carolina, and author of *Walter Clark, Fighting Judge,* is a readable, mellow, and interesting chapter in the contemporary history of the Tar Heel State. It possesses an authentic southern flavor which will be enjoyed by home-folk and read with profit by those in other sections who wonder why and how the South is "different."

The story has its beginning in 1871 on a plantation in the Old Bright Tobacco Belt of Person County, North Carolina. The author tells of his cavalier and puritan ancestors and his youthful Negro companion. After an experience of teaching in a country grade school at the age of seventeen, he attended the University of North Carolina where he finished the law course in 1893. He began the practice of law in Roxboro, but subsequently moved to Guilford County where he literally grew up with the City of Greensboro.

The volume is replete with courtroom anecdotes, political contests, such as the congressional race between Tom Settle and Will Kitchin, and the varied activities of a prosecuting attorney. Apprenticeship in the latter office was excellent schooling for the general practice of law.

Generally speaking, the author is to be classified as a southern "liberal," and he was usually aligned with Josephus Daniels and Walter Clark in fighting the railroads and the tobacco and power trusts.

During his half century at the bar, he participated in many important and some sensational trials. Among those discussed at some length are the Cole murder case, the North Carolina Public Service Company versus the Duke Power Company, the Cannon-Reynolds-Holman case, and the suit brought by the trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Greensboro against the Richardsons and the Vick Chemical Company.

The author tells of fox hunting, foreign travels, and friendships with William J. Bryan, John W. Davis, Franklin D. Roose-

velt, and Oliver W. Holmes. "The Romance of the Cigarette" is the title of a chapter on the development of this important industry. "The Hartford of the South" is a first-hand account of insurance companies which flourished in Greensboro, particularly the Jefferson Standard Life of which the author is critical.

Additional details could be given, but enough has been stated to indicate that the author writes with intimate knowledge and philosophical perspective. Mr. Brooks is to be congratulated on his labor of love. Better still, he is to be congratulated on a life and career which carry on the best traditions of the legal profession.

David A. Lockmiller.

The University of Chattanooga,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.

Addresses, Letters and Papers of John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus, Governor of North Carolina, 1933-1937. Edited by David Leroy Corbitt. (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina. 1950. Pp. xxxiii, 509. Illustrations, index.) Free upon application.

J. C. B. Ehringhaus was governor at a trying time in his state's history, for from 1933 to 1937 North Carolina was faced with many drastic depression problems. His *Addresses, Letters and Papers* indicate his efforts toward solving these and other problems of his term of office. That he was a hard-working executive is shown by the few examples of his activities which may be mentioned here. He attempted sincerely to reduce expenditures and to balance his state's budget during years of limited revenues. He was opposed to depression and "recession" deficit spending. Expenditures were cut by one-third, then by even more, thus causing state services to be curtailed. As an emergency measure and to balance his budget he supported a sales tax. He consolidated the Highway Department and the Prison Department, and he witnessed the first operation of the "greater" University of North Carolina. He showed particular interest in promoting the welfare of certain basic economic groups of the state, especially peanut and tobacco farmers as well as tobacco processors. He professed a belief in the principles and program of the "New Deal"; and in most respects he seemed to admire and support

Franklin D. Roosevelt, that is, as long as such a course seemed beneficial to local interests.

The North Carolina Council of State and the Department of Archives and History are to be commended for making available in printed form the official papers of the state's governors. As reference works, such compilations as the Ehringhaus papers serve many useful purposes for students of history and government, public officials, politicians, and others. Ehringhaus's private papers and additional types of historical materials of the years 1933-1937, when available, will some day undoubtedly throw more light on his activities. Until that time, however, the governor's record must rest on his officially recorded acts, most of which may be traced in his *Addresses, Letters and Papers,* and on the memories of his supporters and opponents who still live. At present too many of his contemporaries remain to permit an unbiased appraisal of his actions. Editor Corbitt has therefore presented Ehringhaus' papers and allowed them to speak for themselves. The editor has followed the general organization and arrangement of materials which he has utilized so effectively in publishing the letters and papers of six other governors. The book contains a biographical sketch of Ehringhaus written by W. T. Bost. The sketch is a eulogy of its subject, it is neither unbiased nor definitive in any sense, and it fails to maintain the high caliber of the rest of the publication. Corbitt has included gubernatorial messages, proclamations, addresses, statements to the press, letters and telegrams, and miscellaneous items. His compilation is concluded with a pertinent list of appointments made from 1933 to 1937 which should serve as a convenient reference tool. Included is an excellent index and numerous illustrations are incorporated. The work will be one of utility and should abundantly justify its publication.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Florida.

South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865. By Charles Edward Cauthen. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, no. 32. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 256. Bibliography, index. $1.25.)

Mr. Cauthen has made a thorough study of a segment of South Carolina history. His researches are based on thirty-four public documents, 119 books, pamphlets, and magazine articles, the files of nineteen newspapers, and the unpublished correspondence of twenty-two South Carolina leaders. He visited the great southern manuscript collections in the Library of Congress, in Charleston, in Durham, in Chapel Hill, and in Columbia. He worked under the exacting guidance of Professors David D. Wallace, Fletcher M. Green, and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, three teacher-scholars who, in the twentieth century, have helped to root in the region below the Potomac the German and Harvard methods of historical investigation.

I am tempted to say that the author of this monograph has been too thorough. The composing of these 245 pages on a small state during a few years of its existence must have taken many years. To paraphrase William McFee's remarks about the modern historical novel, this South Carolina study is lightly conceived and laboriously executed. Facts crowd out imagination and assertations are twice proved. No dominant idea or purpose is sustained unless the accumulation of more evidence on the subject than has been gathered before can be regarded as such. That the author wearied of his prodigious researches is evidenced by the fact that less than 100 of his 230 pages of narrative are devoted to the period after 1861.

Yet because of his thoroughness Mr. Cauthen has made a valuable contribution to the inner history of South Carolina during its crucial period. He writes with the utmost clarity and with sound judgment. The absence of an overall theme does not prevent particular conclusions based on ample evidence. Sometimes these conclusions do not conform to the South Carolina legend of bravery and devotion; more often they sustain the belief that the Palmetto State was among the most stalwart of the Confederate commonwealths.

The author shows that the state was not entirely guiltless of those domestic derelictions which recent historians emphasize

as potent causes of the failure of the Confederacy. Lack of promptness in manning the coastal defenses made possible the establishment by the Federals of a dangerous enclave at Port Royal. There was much selfish and unintelligent protest against the impressment of slaves and goods. An unseemly quarrel went on between Governor Pickens and the Executive Council created by the Convention of the People. R. B. Rhett emerges as an unattractive figure, a sort of anarchist who poured as much editorial venom upon the government at Richmond he helped create as upon the government at Washington he tried to crush.

Mr. Cauthen, on the other hand, demonstrates how ample was South Carolina's devotion to the Confederate cause. The state was more united than any other in taking the fateful step of secession. This is proved by the majority given every secessionist candidate in the election of 1860. This unanimity is convincingly ascribed to the propaganda of the newspapers and of a group of pamphleteers known as The 1860 Association. Unlike the Confederate government, South Carolina knew how to manage her war finances. She cooperated more fully with the Conferedate authorities than other states. She submitted without much complaint to conscription and furnished as many soldiers as she had white male population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Of the 104,428 men who deserted from the army only 3,615 were South Carolinians. The state was able to accept defeat with the memory of heroic effort.

The author grapples in the most satisfactory fashion with two important issues of the 1860-61 crisis. What was the principal motive for secession? Did Lincoln wish to solve the problem of Fort Sumter with violence? Fears for the integrity of slavery, Mr. Cauthen asserts, prompted South Carolina to leave the Union. He proves this point by citing a wealth of published and unpublished testimony in which South Carolinians, believing slavery was sacred, said they acted in its interest. The author, without ignoring the complexity of the issue, believes that Lincoln tricked the South Carolinians into firing the first shot at Sumter as a means of arousing the vengeful spirits of the North. He

sustains this belief by an elaborate array of evidence, cleverly including Lincoln's official biographers, Nicolay and Hay.

Francis B. Simkins.

Louisiana State University,
Baton Rouge, La.

The Houstouns of Georgia. By Edith Duncan Johnston. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 430. $5.00.)

Miss Johnston, after twenty years of careful and thorough research, has written a group biography of several of her noted ancestors and collateral relatives. Sir Patrick Houstoun, whose family tree is traced back into the shades of antiquity in the opening chapter, and his wife had five sons and one daughter, all of them prominent in Georgia's public affairs during the Revolutionary and early national periods. Part I of the book is devoted to Sir Patrick and Lady Houstoun, and Part II to their descendants, the latter constituting three-fourths of the book.

The Houstouns were constantly in public service for their colony and state from the arrival of Patrick (later Sir Patrick) in 1734 to the death of John Houstoun McIntosh in 1836. Sir Patrick was president of the council in the colonial period; of his sons, Patrick was a Loyalist, George a clubman and civic leader in Savannah, John a Revolutionary governor and later first mayor of Savannah, James a surgeon in the Continental army, and William a delegate to the Continental Congress and member of the Constitutional Convention. They were large property-owners, Episcopalians, Masons, and board members for eleemosynary institutions. The chronicle of their lives gives a picture, albeit somewhat confused at times, of the development of almost every social and political institution in and near Savannah.

The descendants of these five brothers and their one sister are also described by Miss Johnston unto the third and fourth generations. The most interesting of these was undoubtedly John Houstoun McIntosh, who was deeply involved in American attempts to annex East Florida. The pages dealing with this significant figure are probably the best written and the clearest in the entire book.

The plan of treating each brother and his descendants in turn somewhat destroys the continuity of the historical picture. The Houstouns during the American Revolution would be a topic easier of comprehension than the method of returning to the Revolution five successive times. All the information the author found on any member of the family is brought in, even to Mrs. Washington's having slept at the home of the uncle of the wife of William Houstoun (p. 338). Each new character is introduced by a family tree, although toward the end of the book the trees are mercifully relegated to the footnotes. Most of this material is irrelevant to the person reading the book for historical information; the relevant information would be more readily accessible if placed in a chart in the appendix. A map of Savannah and the coastal areas of Georgia locating various settlements and plantations would also be a valuable aid.

The book lacks consistency in its citations and there are several discrepancies between the citations and the bibliography. At times obviously unnecessary quotations from secondary sources are used; at times stray bits of information of doubtful relevancy and value are included. The author assumes the reader's complete familiarity with the purely local Bosomworth controversy of 1754 and of a certain commission of peace in 1760, giving no details; yet she gives an elaborate if somewhat confused explanation of the duties of the provincial assembly, in which matter Georgia did not differ materially from other royal colonies.

It is apparent that a thorough piece of research was done by the author and her late sister. As a genealogical study, it is more interesting than most; as a family biography, it should be recognized as a labor of love and read as such.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Joel Chandler Harris—Folklorist. By Stella Brewer Brookes. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1950. Pp. xvi, 182. $4.00.)

Although Joel Chandler Harris was not the first author to make use of the dialect and stories of the Southern Negro, he remains, in his Uncle Remus Tales, the best teller of the Negro's

legends in the most accurate reproduction of the Afric-American patois. That the tales continue to delight an audience which has all but lost contact with the civilization and the racial type exemplified in Uncle Remus is tribute enough to Harris' skill as a raconteur. But aside from their purely literary value, the tales have an equally great though not so generally recognized significance. Through them, Harris introduced into American literature the folk-tales of the Southern Negro and paved the way for scientific investigation of Negro folklore.

Harris was an "accidental folklorist." Interested in everything pertaining to the Southern Negro, the legends, the customs, the language, he set these things down as no one of his predecessors had cared or been able to do. That his re-telling of the legends aroused the interest of the scientific folklorist was a thing surprising and amusing to him:

> To be frank, I did not know much about folk-lore, and I didn't think that anybody else did. Imagine my surprise when I began to receive letters from learned philologists and folk-lore students from England to India, asking all sorts of questions and calling upon me to explain how certain stories told in the rice-fields of India and on the cotton-fields of Georgia were identical, or similar, or at least akin. . . . What answer could I make to them? None—none whatever. All that I know—all that we Southerners know—about it, is that every old plantation mammy in the South is full of these stories. One thing is certain—the negroes didn't get them from the whites; probably they are of remote African origin.

The character of Uncle Remus was, according to Harris, "a . . . human syndicate of three or four old darkies whom I had known. I just walloped them together into one person and called him 'Uncle Remus.' " Something of the origin of that character—and of the great lengths to which Harris went to insure accuracy in the tales—is here recorded, with a brief examination of the environmental and literary influences to which the folklore element in the tales is directly ascribable. Mrs. Brookes has not attempted to investigate the origins of the tales themselves.

Until the publication of this study by Mrs. Brookes, there had not been in print any attempt to analyze the folklore content of the tales. This work is, primarily, an examination of the ten

volumes which comprise the Tales and a classification of the folklore themes which abound there. These materials are systematically arranged under the headings Trickster Tales, Myths, Supernatural Tales, Proverbs and Folk-say, Dialect, and Songs.

For the author, this has been, obviously, a labor of love; but in spite of its undisguised hero-worship, the work is remarkably objective. It is carefully documented and scholarly; nevertheless it manages to capture something of the spirit and flavor of the Tales themselves and to provide delightful reading.

Lindsay R. Whichard.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

The Army Air Forces in World War II. The Pacific: Guadalcanal to Saipan (August 1942 to July 1944). Prepared under the editorship of Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate by the Air Force Historical Division, United States Air Force. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1950. vol. IV. Pp. xxxii, 825. Illustrations, citations. $6.00.)

Volume IV in a projected seven-volume history of the army air forces in World War II is the third volume to be published in the series being edited by Wesley F. Craven, professor of history, New York University, formerly chief, Operational History Branch, AAF Historical Office, and James L. Cate, professor of history, University of Chicago, formerly head of the Strategic Bombardment Section of the same office. The volume relates the progress of the war in the Pacific from Guadalcanal to Saipan, August, 1942, to July, 1944.

The first phase of the war in the Pacific has been told in volume I. Volume II describes the European theater from August, 1942, to December, 1943. This most recent volume tells the story of the AAF's role in the contest with Japan during two critical years when the barb of the enemy's advance was shorn and the slow, painful process of island-hopping was begun to provide bases within bomber radius of Honshu.

Two years of bitter fighting by air, naval, and ground forces are recorded in this volume because a history of the army air forces without an account of the interrelated and sometimes complex role which the AAF played in the total war effort otherwise would lose its perspective. It is a well-written, moving story

of the unfolding military strategy and tactics. Its perusal will give valuable new insights to the layman and will reward also the professional tactician.

The exploits of six Army air forces are narrated in this volume, that in the North Pacific, the Central Pacific, the South Pacific, the Southwest Pacific, India-Burma, and China. As the editors point out, the narrative reflects "inevitably something of the disjointed nature of the war." There was no unity of command in the war against Japan and "even more serious was the lack of a common objective (other than the defeat of Japan) among the Allied powers." Between the Army and Navy and even among the United States generals there was "a lamentable lack of accord."

Perhaps the most inhibiting factor of all was the pre-eminence accorded by the Combined Chiefs of Staff to the war against Germany. Naval forces in the Pacific were never limited in favor of the Atlantic because the prime concern of the Navy for about fifty years had been the Pacific, but Army air forces were kept at the minimum demanded for safety in the early phases of the war and thereafter were circumscribed by the needs of the European theater. Commanders in the Pacific ceaselessly pressed for reinforcements, and tended to question the validity of the over-all strategy whereby the European theater was given top priority. ". . . in some instances (as in Alaska and China) their reiterated and urgent requests for air reinforcements seemed to reflect a parochial view of a global war." The course of the war in the Pacific did not turn in favor of the Allies until they had built up preponderant air superiority.

The nature of the air war against Japan contrasted sharply with that being fought in Europe and the Mediterranean. Until the close of the events related in this volume there was no effort at strategic bombing of Japanese war potential, for, until the summer of 1944, the Allies held no bases from which they could reach Kyushu and Honshu. Nor was the AAF called upon frequently for close support of ground forces as in Africa, Sicily, Italy, and later so effectively in France and Germany. The AAF in the Pacific developed, however, great skill in support of amphibious forces in landing operations.

The pattern of tactics in the Pacific was laid down by the Japanese in their assaults upon strategic islands in the months immediately following Pearl Harbor, but the United States commanders greatly refined the techniques as they pushed the war closer and closer to Japan. The tactics followed the classical pattern of first gaining local air superiority, then isolating the battlefield, and finally assisting surface forces to move forward. The air task in these operations was performed by Army, Marine, and Navy air units, land-based, carrier borne, and seaplanes. Australian and New Zealand forces were frequently involved as well as American.

Aerial reconnaissance and aerial photography were two important functions of the AAF which contributed appreciably to shorten the war. For instance, by flying out of Port Moresby, New Caledonia, and Espiritu, AAF planes had kept watch on the enemy's movements and had helped to chart the area of one of the most critical battles in the Pacific.

The problems of logistics were staggering. Shops and depots were more than 7,500 miles from the United States and shipping space was scarce. During the early operations from Espiritu, for example, the supply of fuel was the most critical single item the AAF faced. Steel drums of fuel were dumped over the sides of cargo vessels and towed ashore. Since one single B-17 used fifty drums for each mission, everyone on the island had to help with fueling. On one occasion all available hands from the general on down worked a bucket line twenty-four hours straight through a driving storm to put 25,000 gallons aboard the bombers.

Commanders were also faced with the problem of morale. Despondency over their inadequate equipment and the poor performance of the P-40 in comparison to the Jap Zero, primitive living conditions, lack of recreation, war weariness, inexperience and inadequate training, stagnancy in the promotion list, all added to the difficulty of maintaining a high level of efficiency among the men who flew the planes.

The volume closes on an optimistic note. Guadalcanal had been won; the Papuan campaign was over; the Battle of Bismark Sea and Bougainville had been fought. The Japanese position in the Solomons and in the New Britain-New Ireland area had collapsed.

The Allies had won final victory in New Guinea. With the capture of the Marianas a new phase of the Pacific war had begun. Seabees and aviation engineers were at work on Saipan, Guam, and Tinian to begin construction of the bases for the B-29's of the Twentieth Air Force.

In a government such as the United States where national policy is so largely shaped by the will of the electorate, it is a pity that the vital information contained in such a volume as this does not become the common knowledge of all citizens.

Guion Griffis Johnson.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

Guide to the Study and Reading of South Carolina History: a General Classified Bibliography. By James Harold Easterby. (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina. 1950. Pp. xi, 289. $2.00.)

South Carolinians and others interested in study of the history of that state will welcome this guide. Its inclusion of many regional bibliographies and histories will make it useful for the study of other southern states as well.

Procedure for gathering the materials included searching bibliographies, contents of the better general historical journals, local journals, and card catalogues of the College of Charleston, Charleston Library Society, and the South Carolina Library of the University of South Carolina.

Arrangement of the bibliography is patterned on that of Grace G. Griffin's *Writings on American History* with a sectional classification by subject and indexes to authors and subjects affording easy access to material. Certain sections offer checklists to such serial publications as the session laws of the state and the series of state documents called "Reports and Resolutions." Sections especially interesting to genealogists are those under "Marriage and Death Records" and "Epitaphs." Source material is not separated from secondary.

No attempt is made to list every book which mentions the state. Works of fiction, articles in popular periodicals and newspapers and the contents of specialized bibliographies such as the national lists of newspapers compiled by Brigham and Gregory have been excluded. The editor who is Director of the Historical

Commission of South Carolina expresses a conclusion reached by all bibliographers that "the work of compilation might have been continued profitably for an indefinite time. . . . It seemed best, however, to fix a deadline . . . and . . . make a progress report." This bibliography is much more than that. It is an excellent guide to the better writing on the state and offers a stimulus to serious research as well as an example that other southern states might follow.

Mary Lindsay Thornton.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina has been awarded the President's Fellowship of Brown University for the coming year. He will be on leave of absence from the University of North Carolina for the academic year 1951-1952 to do research in England on the labor government.

Dr. L. C. MacKinney of the University of North Carolina has been appointed to the council of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

Dr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina has been awarded a grant from the Social Science Research Council for the coming year.

Mr. John Beeler and Mr. Lawrence Graves, instructors in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, have been called to active duty as reserve officers in the United States Army.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden on March 23 spoke to the High Point Kiwanis Club on the State Department of Archives and History and its program. On April 1 he delivered an address, "North Carolina and the Winning of American Independence," at the celebration of North Carolina State Sunday at the Washington Memorial Chapel, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania; and on May 19 he attended in Williamsburg, Va., a meeting of the Society of American Archivists' Long-Range Planning Committee of which he is chairman.

On April 30 the Unaka Chapter, Daughters of the American Colonists, unveiled at Tryon a tablet marking the site where Governor William Tryon and the Cherokee Indians signed a treaty, 1767, defining the boundary between North Carolina and the Cherokee country.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, addressed the Rotary

Club of Wendell, N. C. on May 22. His subject was the program of the Division of Publications.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting on April 14 in Chapel Hill. The afternoon session consisted of a brief business meeting after which Dr. L. F. London read a paper "The Episcopal Church in North Carolina from 1783 through 1865," and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe read a paper "The Beginning of Religious Journalism in North Carolina, 1825-1860." At the evening session Mrs. Inglis Fletcher spoke on the subject "The Use of Source Material in the Writing of Historical Novels."

The Student Branch of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers initiated through the Department of Archives and History the erection of an historical marker which was unveiled on May 7 at Mangum Terrace (in Wake County), an early soil-erosion-checking terrace constructed by Priestly H. Mangum about 1885. The Mangum Terrace has been widely used through the United States. The program consisted of addresses by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Dr. J. H. Hilton, and Dr. Clarence Poe.

Beginning this year the Mayflower Cup will be awarded one year for non-fiction and the following year for fiction. In 1951 the award will be made for non-fiction. All original works of non-fiction by persons resident in the state for the past three years and published during the year ending August 31, 1951, will be eligible. Three copies of each should be sent to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Box 1881, Raleigh.

In the past all types of works, both fiction and non-fiction, have been entered in the competition. The judges and others have commented that it was difficult to compare adequately books of such diverse types—for example, a novel with a study in economics or a volume of poetry with a book of sermons. It is believed that the new rules, approved by the Board of Assistants of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the state of North Carolina, will make it easier to reach a decision.

The award has been made annually since 1930 by the Mayflower Society through the State Literary and Historical Asso-

ciation. The winner last year was Max Steele of Chapel Hill for his novel "Debby."

The Mayflower Cup has been placed permanently in the Hall of History. The winning author each year receives a replica on which are inscribed his name and the name of his book.

The First Presbyterian Church of Fayetteville, N. C., celebrated its 150th anniversary the week of April 21-29. The church was organized in 1800 by the Reverend John Robinson of Cabarrus County, but the celebration was postponed until the arrival of a new organ, the gift of Dr. and Mrs. R. L. Pittman, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Pittman, Jr., and Dr. annd Mrs. Wade T. Parker and their sons. Several ministers from other states appeared on the program during the week's celebration.

Mrs. Maude Moore Latham, who died in Greensboro April 8, left the sum of $1,000,000 in her will to the Tryon Palace Commission for the reconstruction of the governor's mansion in colonial North Carolina. Mrs. Latham had previously given approximately $500,000 to this project and had in addition purchased some period furniture for the reconstructed building when it should have been completed. Mrs. Latham was a native of New Bern and had spent her early life there.

The Guggenheim Memorial Foundation on April 14 announced fellowship awards to Dr. Dougal MacMillan III of the University of North Carolina, who will study the dramatic works of John Dryden, and Dr. Norman E. Eliason of the University of North Carolina, who will study the history of the English language in North Carolina. Dr. MacMillan is a native of Washington, N. C., and was awarded the Ph.D. degree by the University of North Carolina. Dr. Eliason, before coming to North Carolina, was a member of the faculty of the University of Florida.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of the lower half of Bertie County on April 29. The group met at the courthouse in Windsor and from that point visited the following places: King House, which was built in 1763 by William King (the house has brick ends and is one of the few re-

maining houses with this type of architecture); Hope, built in 1770 by Zedekiah Stone and the birthplace of Governor David Stone; Windsor Castle, built about 1855 and formerly the home of the Winston family; Rosefield, the home of John Gray, who acquired the property in 1729; St. Thomas Episcopal Church, built in 1839; Shipyard landing, site of an early Indian village and early shipbuilding; Elmwood, a pre-Civil War plantation home; Avoca, the history of which dates to colonial times and which was originally known as Salmon Creek Plantation and the home of Seth Sothel, governor of North Carolina in the 1670's; and Scotch Hall, a plantation beautifully situated at the junction of the Albemarle Sound and the Roanoke River. This plantation dates to Governor Charles Eden's administration, and the present home was built about 1835. A picnic lunch was served the group in the yard beside the boxwood avenue. The plantation is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. George W. Capehart, Sr., who served as guides on the plantation. The Bertie County Historical Association was host for the entire tour and for the lunch. Persons from Anson, Harnett, Orange, Wake, Vance, Pasquotank, Chowan, and Franklin counties and from Brunswick, Georgia, and Richmond, Norfolk, and Portsmouth, Virginia, took part in the tour.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians on May 12 made a boat trip down the Cape Fear River from Fayetteville to Wilmington. The Daughters of the American Revolution at Elizabethtown served lunch on the trip down. In Wilmington a tour was made of the city. On May 13 the group continued the tour down the river to Southport and visited the old town of Brunswick and Orton Plantation, which was established in 1725 by Roger Moore. Approximately forty people went on the tour, representing sixteen counties of the state.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has announced that the David Clark Everest award of $1,000 will be made for the best manuscript on Wisconsin economic history submitted to the board of award by October 1, 1951. The manuscript must be submitted in triplicate.

The American Studies Association was organized March 22, 1951, by a group of professors and interested individuals meeting in the Library of Congress. Persons from the University of Pennsylvania, Smith College, Case Institute, Johns Hopkins University, the University of Maryland, Rutgers University, the University of Wisconsin, and the Library of Congress attended the organizational meeting. A constitution was adopted, and the object of the association was stated as follows: "The object of this association shall be to encourage the study of American civilization. Among the specific ways in which the society shall attempt to achieve its object are: the improvement of communication across those disciplines which deal with phases of American civilization; the fostering of inter-disciplinary research and of courses and programs in American civilization."

The American Council of Learned Societies announces a program of awards for individuals to be designated American Council of Learned Societies Scholars, to be carefully chosen from teachers in the humanities temporarily displaced from college and university faculties as a result of the defense emergency. The candidate must have demonstrated a high degree of scholarly attainment in one or more of the humanistic disciplines, interpreted in general as follows: philosophy, including the philosophy of science and the philosophy of law; philology, languages, literature, and linguistics; archeology; art history and musicology (but not applied art or music); history, including the history of science and the history of religions; and cultural anthropology, including folklore. He must have the doctorate of philosophy or its equivalent in training and experience. His university or college experience at the faculty level must promise, if it does not already demonstrate, distinction as a teacher and scholar. No candidate will be considered who, at the time of application, has an assured faculty position for 1951-1952. Appointments as American Council of Learned Societies Scholars are open only to men and women who are citizens of the United States. The stipend for an American Council of Learned Societies Scholar will normally be the equivalent of the salary earned by the candidate during the academic year 1950-1951, although in no case will it

exceed five thousand dollars. Application forms should be requested immediately from the Secretary for American Council of Learned Societies Scholars, American Council of Learned Societies, 1210 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

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Entered as second-class matter September 29, 1928, at the Post Office at Raleigh, North Carolina, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXVIII OCTOBER, 1951 NUMBER 4

DAVID CALDWELL AND HIS LOG COLLEGE[1]

BY AUBREY LEE BROOKS

I am not sure whether I was invited to prepare a paper on David Caldwell or on his log college which he conducted for forty years, but since things which are equal to each other are equal to the same thing, Dr. Caldwell and his log college form an inseparable and composite picture of one of the South's early educational institutions.

Judge Archibald Murphey in an address before the literary societies of the University of North Carolina in 1827 said: "The most prominent and useful of the early schools was kept by Dr. David Caldwell of Guilford County. . . . The usefulness of Dr. Caldwell to the literature of North Carolina will never be sufficiently appreciated."[2] Dr. Charles Lee Smith, in a sketch of Dr. Caldwell, said: "His history is more identified with the moral and educational history of North Carolina than is that of any other one man of the 18th century."[3] Notwithstanding these encomiums—which all of our contemporary authors confirm—the fact still remains that our memory of Dr. Caldwell seems to have gone into an eclipse.

In order to appreciate what the man did and the circumstances under which it was accomplished, it is important to know something of the history of his life. The early years of David Caldwell constitute a striking prelude to his accomplishments in later life. He was born on a Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, farm in 1725, the eldest of four sons. When he was seventeen years old his father apprenticed him to a house mechanic with whom he worked until he became twenty-one years of age. He then worked four

[1] A paper read at the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Nov. 4, 1949.

[2] William Henry Hoyt, editor, *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: The North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914), II, 355-356.

[3] Charles Lee Smith, *The History of Education in North Carolina* (Bureau of Education, Contributions to American History, No. 3. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 30.

more years on his own account as a house carpenter. Upon reaching the age of twenty-five he had but little education and was apparently unambitious. About this time he attended a religious revival and was converted. With his spiritual awakening came a consuming desire to obtain an education and to devote his life to the service of mankind both intellectually and spiritually. With a religious fervor and a supreme determination, he started from scratch, first in a grammar school through all the grades, and thence to the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) where he entered the freshman class. At the time he became a student at Princeton the requirements for admission to the freshman class were as follows: "Candidates for admission into the lowest or freshman class must be capable of composing grammatical Latin, translating Virgil, Cicero's Orations and the Four Evangelists in Greek—and by a later order must understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic." With these entrance requirements, imagine the requirements of the sophomore, junior, and senior classes. It is recorded that he frequently studied all night—sitting up with his clothes on—nothing daunted him, for he had a great vision and an insatiable desire for learning.

When Caldwell finally graduated from Princeton he taught school a year, then returned to Princeton to study for the ministry, and instructed classes in Greek while completing his course in theology. He thus devoted fourteen years of his life to becoming a finished scholar in the classics and in theology. Before actively entering the ministry he was submitted to the most gruelling tests by the Synods of Pennsylvania and New York (which he passed with honors) and finally in 1765 was ordained a minister. He was among the first of the Presbyterian ministers who came to North Carolina to join that ever increasing host of Scotch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who had taken up residence in the state and who have contributed so much to the intellectual and religious culture of the state.

While studying for the ministry at Princeton he had promised some of his neighbors who were removing from Pennsylvania to the North Carolina colony that when he had finished his education he would join them. This he did. Two churches—the Alamance and the Buffalo—had been organized in what was later to be Guilford County, and he was installed as pastor of both—

a position which he retained for sixty years—but more of this later on.

In 1766, four years before the county of Guilford was established, David Caldwell married Rachel Craighead, the daughter of Dr. Alexander Craighead, of Charlotte, and they established their home a few miles west of what is now Greensboro. His salary as minister of the two churches was only $200 a year, to be paid in grain. Since this meagre income would not support him and his family, he purchased a farm, built a two-story log cabin with a chimney in the middle, and opened there a school. With two short intermissions occasioned by the Revolutionary War, he continued to conduct this school for forty years—and what a school: Caruthers says that it attained the greatest reputation of any school south of the Potomac River. Students came there from many parts of North Carolina and from every state in the South. There were usually from fifty to sixty students in attendance and the majority of them found living accommodations in the homes throughout the scattered neighborhood.[4]

This log cabin schoolhouse served North Carolina and the South as an academy, a college, and a theological seminary and many of his pupils became eminent as statesmen, lawyers, judges, physicians, and ministers; some were congressmen and five became governors of states; seven were licensed by the Orange Presbytery in one day and there were not more than three or four members of that presbytery who had not been his pupils, while nearly all of the young men who came into the Presbyterian ministry in North Carolina and in the states to the south and west of it for many years had been trained in his school. It was said of him that Caldwell was instrumental in bringing more men into the learned profession than was any other man of his day in the southern states. There were among his students Judge Archibald D. Murphey, Judge Spruce McCoy, Governor John M. Morehead, Lewis Williams, and many others. His students were qualified for entrance into the junior class at Princeton University and to the University of North Carolina which was established later. Governor Morehead, who attended his school when Dr. Caldwell was eighty years old, matriculated at the University

[4] E. W. Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, D. D.* (Greensboro: Swaim and Sherwood, 1842), 30.

of North Carolina for the half-advanced junior class and was ever ready to pay homage to Dr. Caldwell's instruction and inspiration. But the fame of his school rests not only upon the excellence of his instruction but also upon the fact of its continuity and longevity and the further fact that the school was begun ten years before the Declaration of Independence was signed; all of the other academies in North Carolina came later and existed for a much shorter time.

As there were no doctors within a twenty-mile radius of his home, Caldwell took up the study of medicine and equipped himself, along with his other duties and accomplishments, for the practice of medicine, which he continued throughout his life.

The wisdom and judgment of Caldwell were not only demonstrated in his school and long pastorates of two churches but were conspicuously exemplified in the battle of Alamance, which was a historic event in the struggle for freedom by the North Carolina colonists. It was fought only a few miles from Alamance Church and nearly all of the male members of the congregations of both his churches were active Regulators and engaged in this battle. Governor Tryon came to the battle scene with a force of 1,100 well-trained and well-equipped men, supplied with a plenty of ammunition. The Regulators comprised an unorganized crowd of 2,000 poorly equipped men, with little ammunition and minus any outstanding leader, when they met in battle array. Caldwell was deeply interested in the outcome of the battle because he was sympathetic with the purposes of the Regulators, but he doubted seriously the wisdom of an open conflict at that time. He was present at this battle (but took no part in it) and as an envoy sought in every was possible to avoid bloodshed. He visited Governor Tryon's headquarters and undertook to bring about a settlement, but in spite of his every effort the conflict was inevitable and proved to be the bloodiest contest between the British government and the colonists prior to the Declaration of Independence.

Here again Caldwell displayed his sane leadership by advising the Regulators to surrender and await further developments. Some of the hotheads among the Regulators at first questioned his loyalty, but later he began a series of sermons to

his congregations on liberty and justice and as a result all of his congregation, when the climax came, joined with the other colonists in approving the Declaration of Independence. From then on he threw his influence and energies in support of the Revolution, and his name and fame was known throughout this section. When Cornwallis marched his army in, preparatory to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, he encamped his soldiers on Caldwell's farm and offered a reward of 200 pounds for Caldwell's arrest. From all accounts the depredation of his soldiers was complete. They took possession of his home, drove his wife and children away, destroyed the furniture, and, worst of all, they destroyed his splendid library. To make a complete job of it, they secured a big pot and carried his books by the armfuls out into the yard and burned them in it. Caldwell had to flee for his safety and for weeks lived in a swamp where he had improvised a hut. While he was in hiding an interesting incident occurred. A company of American soldiers came to Mrs. Caldwell with the story that they were revolutionists and wanted to establish a connection with her husband. After some parleys, she, being ignorant of the fact that they were Tories, told them where he was in hiding. They sought him out the next morning, but he had fled. He recounted afterwards that what had actually occurred was that while asleep that night he had a dream that Tory soldiers had captured him. He awoke in the night, startled from the dream, but went to sleep again; later he had the same dream —that he was being sought after. He got up and left his hiding place and thus avoided capture.[5]

Caruthers tells of another interesting episode which illustrated the character and courage of Mrs. Caldwell and occurred while Cornwallis's troops were stationed in her home. The troops were pillaging the house and came upon a valuable tablecloth which her mother had given her as a bridal present. She grabbed the tablecloth and a scuffle for its possession ensued. Realizing that she was about to lose it, but still holding on, she faced the crowd and with a womanly eloquence asked if they were not born of women; if they had no wives or daughters whom they respected and for whose sake they might treat others with more courtesy? A soldier standing a few feet away stepped up and said, "Yes, I

[5] Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 216-217.

have a good wife and you shall not be treated so rudely any more."[6] This turned out to be a doctor and after the battle of Guilford Courthouse Dr. Caldwell met him, they became friends, and he gave Dr. Caldwell a walking cane as a memento of friendship for assisting him in attending the sick and in cutting off legs and arms of the injured soldiers by the wagon load.

During these strenuous days his school, of course, was suspended, but when independence was achieved he resumed his teaching and took a prominent part in establishing a new government. He was a member of the Provincial Congress which met in Halifax late in 1776, and was likewise a member of the state constitutional convention that met in Hillsboro in 1788.

Caldwell and five other ministers organized the Orange Presbytery, which was the first presbytery in the South, and he was for many years its recording secretary. He was elected a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy in Charlotte in 1777, and when the University of North Carolina was being organized, he was offered the presidency of that institution. My authority for this statement was, first, Caruthers, then the historians Foot, Weeks, Dr. Charles Lee Smith, and a memorial address by Dr. Alphonso Smith at a celebration at Alamance Church.[7] On account of his advancing years and of his having already established a school which was drawing boys from all of the states south of the Potomac River, he declined the honor. The University later conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Dr. Archibald Henderson says that "During the early years of the University's history, a period when Tom Paine's *Age of Reason* exercised a blighting influence upon the people of the young republic, the Faculty was not immune to or unaffected by its demoralizing philosophy which flowed directly from the French Revolution. Indeed the first 'presiding professor,' David Ker, was a pronounced infidel, Professor Charles W. Harris was strongly influenced in the same direction, Professor Samuel Allen Holmes, according to President Caldwell, 'embraced and taught the wildest principles of licentiousness.' Nicholas Delveaux, Head-

[6] Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 243.

[7] Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 265; William Henry Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical* (New York: Robert Carter, 1846), 242; Stephen B. Weeks, "David Caldwell," *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, Charles L. Van Noppen, 1905), I, 212; Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina*, 32; C. Alphonso Smith, "Presbyterians in Educational Work in North Carolina since 1813: Address at the Centennial Celebration of the Synod of North Carolina in Alamance Church, Guilford County, October 7, 1913," *The Union Seminary Review* (Richmond), December, 1913-January, 1914, 3 (reprint).

master of the Preparatory School, was a recusant Roman Catholic monk, and even Davie, the founder of the University, was not a church member, had imbibed something of the prevalent scepticism, and entertained a strong antipathy to priests and pulpit influence."[8]

It is possible that the true reason for the saintly Dr. Caldwell's not accepting the presidency was that he decided that the company of these gentlemen would not be agreeable.

Dr. Caldwell's personal habits were most exemplary. He did not use tobacco in any form nor spirituous liquors. He regularly retired at 10:00 o'clock and arose at 4:00. His physical exercise was equally well ordered—consisted of going each day out on the meadows of his farm and digging ditches to drain his lands.

This sketch would not be complete without mentioning his wonderful helpmate. Mrs. Caldwell was a great Christian character, a faithful wife, and a devoted mother. It was said jocularly by some of their students that "Dr. Caldwell educated them but that Mrs. Caldwell made preachers of them." She had nine children—eight boys and one girl—and considering their joint labors and love, she is entitled to rank with him in his high accomplishments. She was blessed with fine health, as was evidenced by the fact that in four years she had five babies. One of the chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Guilford County is named the "Rachel Caldwell Chapter" in honor of her and they have erected a marker near the spot where the Caldwell home was located.

An interesting story is told of an occurrence which took place at the old Guilford Courthouse (now Guilford Battleground Park) before its removal to Greensboro. Judge McCoy was holding court and wished to appoint a permanent clerk of court. There were several candidates, but he finally sent for Dr. Caldwell, who had been his former teacher, and asked if one of his sons would not make a suitable clerk for the office. The doctor thought not, as none of them had had any special training for such a job. The judge insisted that he think it over and report to him the next day. Dr. Caldwell returned the next morning with his son, Thomas, saluted the judge, and said: "Well, Judge, here he is—I

[8]Archibald Henderson, *The Campus of the First State University*, 64.

have done the best I could." The judge appointed Thomas Caldwell, and he held the office for forty years.

Caldwell served the two churches—Alamance and Buffalo—for sixty years and was succeeded by Dr. Ely Caruthers, his biographer, who remained the pastor of these two churches for thirty-six years—making a total of ninety-six years by these two men. I doubt if there is any similar example to be found in the South. Caruthers quotes the Rev. E. B. Currie, one of Dr. Caldwell's oldest pupils, as saying that "Dr. Caldwell, as a teacher, was probably more useful to the church than any one man in the United States. I could name about forty ministers who received their education in whole or in part from him; and how many more I cannot tell; but his log cabin served for many years to North Carolina as an Academy, a College and a Theological Seminary. His manner of governing his school, family and churches was very much the same, that is, on the mild and paternal plan, generally attended with some wit and pleasant humor."[9] Caruthers records another interesting fact: that during the long period of forty years that Caldwell taught he never expelled a single student. They admired him, they loved him, and they reverenced him, and Caruthers cites another incident about a boy whom he had to chastize severely while in his school returning afterwards, an old man, riding 300 miles from Georgia to the scene of his childhood. Upon learning that Dr. Caldwell was still living he visited him to see him once more before he died.[10]

Dr. Caldwell lived to the ripe age of ninety-nine, and his wife followed him in death within a year, a fact which often is true of devoted couples.

While the scholarship, the learning, the devotion, and the service of this great man seem to have been forgotten, I cannot conclude this appreciation without recording the fact that David Caldwell, though dead, still lives. His influence as educator, theologian, and preacher has been profound in the subsequent life of Guilford County. It has taken up the torch of education which he held aloof so long, and has stressed education as one of the chief concerns of man; it established the first public school for both races supported by taxation in this state; it gave to the

[9] Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 37.
[10] Caruthers, *Life of David Caldwell*, 35.

state its first Superintendent of Common Schools; it has today more institutions of learning for both white and black than any other county in the state. In the religious world, the two churches which he served so long have continued to function with an ever growing influence. His spiritual zeal and example have survived throughout the years, until today there are more churches in Guilford County, including High Point, than in any county in the state, and it has the largest population of any county in the state.[11] His teachings laid the foundation for the county's sense of morals, justice and liberty—aided by the presence of a large Quaker element which likewise has stood for God and education.

[11] The 1950 census showed that Mecklenburg County ranked first in population in the state, with Guilford second. The Editors.

THE POEMS OF PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE TO FRANCES CHRISTINE FISHER

By Francis B. Dedmond

Late in 1870 Frances Christine Fisher's first novel, *Valerie Aylmer,* appeared under the pseudonym of Christian Reid.[1] So popular was the novel that "eighteen thousand, seven hundred copies were sold in a few months."[2] One of those who wrote to Miss Fisher, congratulating her on her success as a novelist, was the southern literary critic and poet, Paul Hamilton Hayne. Miss Fisher, obviously flattered, replied to Hayne's letter:

> I have you to thank for the greatest gratification, as a writer, which the publication of "Valerie Aylmer" has given me. "*This* is something to be proud of," was my thought, as I finished reading your most kind and flattering letter. . . . But your words of cheer, cheer me indeed. I thank you most heartily for them: for the generous warmth with which you extend your hand to welcome into the ranks where you have so long held honored place a young recruit, whose highest aspiration is to render some service, however little it may be, in the field you point out—the literature of our land.[3]

Hayne replied to Miss Fisher's letter, and between them developed a very warm literary friendship and lively correspondence which lasted until 1878. Hayne sent many of his poems to Miss Fisher for her criticism; and she, in turn, discussed with him the many problems which beset her as a southern novelist of the post-Civil War period. As a consequence of this friendship and because Miss Fisher seemed to have such a heartfelt appreciation for his poetry, Hayne wrote at least three poems to her,[4]

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[1] Under the pseudonym Christian Reid, Miss Fisher (later Mrs. Frances Christine Fisher Tiernan) published between 1870 and her death in 1920 no less than forty-one novels and four "novelettes." In addition to her fiction, she wrote a number of poems, many of which were published in *Appleton's Journal* but which have never been collected.

[2] Kate Harbes Becker, *Biography of Christian Reid* (n.p., n.d.), 20.

[3] Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., January 25, 1871, in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. All letters quoted in this article are in this collection. Permission to quote from this letter and other letters and material in the Hayne Collection was graciously given by the Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.

[4] A fourth poem, "Valerie's Confession," may have been written to Miss Fisher although this is pure conjecture since Miss Fisher nowhere mentions the poem in her correspondence with Hayne. The poem is inscribed "To A Friend." Whether this friend is Miss Fisher is impossible to determine. However, the heroine of the poem is not only identical in name, but in character with the heroine of *Valerie Aylmer.* The poem is a whimsical character study of the coquette Valerie, set, to a large extent, against the background of the plot and situations of Miss Fisher's *Valerie Aylmer.* Hayne included "Valerie's Confession" among the humorous poems in *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1882).

none of which, however, are included in the collected edition of the *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne,* which appeared in 1882, a few years before his death; and they have remained uncollected.

In his second letter to Miss Fisher, Hayne enclosed the following sonnet, which was published a few months later in *Appleton's Journal:*

SONNET

TO THE AUTHORESS OF "VALERIE AYLMER."

Flushed in the blended dawn of youth and art
Thou stand'st, sweet Priestess! their fresh splendors spread,
Half halo-wise, around thy radiant head,
And all their soft enchantments in thy heart;
Heaven grant thee grace to bear thy glorious part
In the brave toils to which thy soul is wed;
May all thy winged fancies, nobly sped,
Like birds of happy omen, range the mart,
And wild alike, to find their favored rest,
(Laden with olive-leaves, and sprays of love),
In many a troubled home and anguished breast;
And ever may thy mind's aspiring aim
Glance sunward, fixed on shining goals, above
The transient glowworm lights of mortal fame![5]

Again delighted and perhaps overawed, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne:

Dear Sir, how can I sufficiently express my sense of the honor you have done me! Praise from you in any shape is something that it is right hard to keep the head steady under, but praise in one of your matchless sonnets—I cannot help wondering a little if I am awake! The verse is most beautiful—what is not beautiful that comes from your hand, and comes in this shape?—and I thank you from my heart for putting in such graceful form the kind praise and warm wishes that have already cheered me inexpressibly, that would make me very vain, if I did not know so well that I am indebted to your partial kindness more than to my own merit for them. To say that I am proud of such an offering—such a poet's gift—as this, would be to say very little indeed. I was more gratified, more deeply touched than I can express. If words were only at my command—but, ah! words never are—I should like to tell you to what degree I felt your "token of good will."[6]

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[5] *Appleton's Journal,* V (May 6, 1871), 524.
[6] Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., February 9, 1871.

Later, after the publication of the sonnet in *Appleton's Journal*, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne from Baltimore, where she was visiting:

Necessity—the necessity of various pressing engagements—compels me to close this letter just here; yet I must first tell you that two or three of my most intimate friends came in last night, all flushed and smiling, and delightfully cordial, to congratulate me on—what do you suppose? Your beautiful sonnet which has at last made it's [*sic*] appearance in "Appleton."[7]

After exchanging a few very cordial letters which gave promise of an enduring friendship, Miss Fisher felt that some of the formality of the earlier letters could be dropped.

Dear Mr. Hayne:—
May I venture to call you so? 'Dear Sir' is exceedingly formal, and seems to me as if it should be used for ceremonious occasions and business purposes only. Your letters—which lie before me—are so very kind and cordial that I cannot believe you will think I have taken a liberty in addressing you as I address my old and dear friends.[8]

In his reply, Hayne enclosed "The Question," his poetic answer to Miss Fisher's question. A manuscript copy of the poem was sent to Miss Fisher; and, at the same time, Hayne sent a copy of it to the *Banner of the South and Planter's Journal*, an Augusta, Georgia, weekly newspaper, where it was published on March 11, 1871, just one week after Miss Fisher's original question. The poem as reprinted here is from Hayne's own clipping of the poem, on the margin of which he corrected in pencil the obvious typographical errors which the newspaper had made.

THE QUESTION

BY PAUL H. HAYNE

To.....

Wilt be my friend?—your fresh young mind,
As healthful* as this vernal wind,
Breathes o'er my life, and sweeps apart
Some morbid mists that clogged my heart;
In youth like yours, *my* youth I see

[7] Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Baltimore, Md., April 26, 1871.
[8] Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., March 4, 1871.
* For *healthful* the newspaper had erroneously printed *beautiful*, and Hayne corrected this in the margin.

Revived in golden verity:
In faith like yours, my faith returns,—
While strong, aspiring fancy burns
Toward those cordial heights of Art,
(Whose glory made my pulses start,
And first uplit the generous fire
Of young ambition's fair desire)—,
Whereto, I see your steadfast eyes
Upraise their quiet energies,—
Born of a soul that God hath passed
Thro' torturing sorrow's furnace blast,—
Till nerved to will and sealed with power,
It grasps Occasion's pregnant† hour,
And o'er a Hebe's forehead lifts
That helmet, with the snow-white drifts
Of wisdom's plume, whose stainless grace
Makes soft the cold Minerva's face!

Wilt be my friend? I ask you this,
Because tho' wealth of married bliss
Hath dowered‡ me with a peace divine—,
No sister's hand e'er thrilled on mine;
And oft a vague want dimly guessed
Hath stolen like twilight thro' my breast,
And made my soul a place of sighs;
Pardon me then: not all unwise
Those mystic instincts, which to some,
(Me often), with weird whispering come,
To warn of present friend, or foe;
Toward You at once my heart did flow,
Ruled by such spirits as decree
The banns of serious sympathy,—
Or yet, the priestly Fate unites,
'Mid music, and rich altar-lights,
Those by his gracious will consigned
To sexless union of the mind.

I wear your colors in the list
Of Art and Fancy! On my wrist
The sword guard hangs, the blade half bare
To do you service—when the air
With golden clarion peals shall ring;
But 'mid hot strife, and trumpeting,
Ever I know the end shall seem
Clear, keen, and joyous as a dream
In our youth's prime; the end wherein,
Upreared above the applauding din
Of thousands, on your forehead glows

† Hayne also corrected the erroneous *fragrant* to *pregnant.*
‡ The word *dowered* had been erroneously printed *drowned* and was corrected by Hayne in the margin.

All woven of lily, and red rose,
Art's crown of sweet and sovereign grace;
Enough! the high Patrician race
Of genius, with its royal blood
In *you*,—shall make my prescience good;
So, maiden of the wonderous eyes,
Like Hebe's soft, Minerva's wise—,
Farewell! my knightly faith is yours![9]

Shortly after receiving his letter and the poem, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne:

I wish I was [*sic*], for this occasion, at least, a poet! I wish I was [*sic*] able to thank you in words as musical and graceful as your own for the charming verses you have done me the honor of addressing to me, and for the sentiments contained therein, which (making all due allowances for poetical license,) are sufficiently flattering to merit a most cordial acknowledgment, and warm return. The friendship which you offer me in such beautiful form, I am only too glad to be able to assure you that your repeated kindnesses scarcely make me feel it more, scarcely make me more grateful, or more truly your friend, than did your first generous cordial letters. . . . I am so glad that I said "Dear Mr. Hayne," and I feel inclined to say it over again, on the strength of the sweet and graceful things which you have said to me! . . . I should not be human, and above all, I should not be a woman if I was [*sic*] not flattered by your compliments, and by the pledge of friendship which is the highest compliment of all.[10]

The friendship continued to grow; and in June, 1873, Hayne, accompanied by his son William Hamilton Hayne, spent several days at the Fisher home in Salisbury, N. C., which he described to his wife as "the most unique family circle you can possibly imagine."[11] In January of the next year, Hayne enclosed in a letter to Miss Fisher a sonnet in which he reminisced about his visit of the summer before.

TO "CHRISTIAN REID"

A summer's morn of calm and deep repose
An ancient house, whose rafters, dark and vast,
Speak in mute language of the perished Past—
While at open window, whence the rose

[9] *Banner of the South and Planter's Journal* (Augusta, Georgia), March 11, 1871. Hayne's own clipping of the poem with his corrections is in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University. The date here assigned for the publication of the poem is not absolutely certain. Hayne's clipping is not dated, and no other copy of the poem is known to exist. The date here given is the earliest date on which the poem could have been published.

[10] Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., March 15, 1871.

[11] Paul Hamilton Hayne to Mrs. Mary M. Hayne, Richmond, Va., June 18, 1873.

Throws its soft shadow from the garden "close."
Sits one, the very rose of maidenhood!
Her face is pensive, for a thoughtful mood
Doth touch its beauty, as on stainless snows
Rests the mild shade of a half-clouded sun;
Ah, me! what earthly vision lovelier seems
Than this wherewith mine earnest gaze hath met?
The uplifted brow! eyes bright with tear-lit dreams
Of love, and fame, and passion yet unwon;
A virgin Flower, with Fancy's dew-drops wet![12]

Modestly, Miss Fisher wrote to Hayne:

I am afraid—indeed I know—that your memory paints ourselves and our home in much too flattering colours, my dear friend, but I thank you very much for the cordial feeling which induces this, and you may be sure that it will be long before I shall forget those pleasant days in June, in which we became acquainted. In this connection, let me also thank you for the beautiful sonnet which you enclose. . . . A poet's fancy never, I am sure, did more to idealize than you have done in this, for the house and garden and face in question might all fail utterly to recognize themselves in the graceful and daintily touched picture, if it were not possible to look through the golden glamour of the poet's fancy to the kindly friendship of the poet's heart.[13]

This sonnet, it seems, Hayne never published; and the manuscript was probably destroyed with Miss Fisher's papers following her death in 1920.[14] Fortunately, however, Miss Fisher allowed the poem to be printed in the *Carolina Watchman*, Salisbury's weekly newspaper, soon after she received it; and there it was preserved.

The friendship between the novelist and poet continued for at least four more years; but no more poetry to Miss Fisher came from Hayne's pen, as far as we are able to ascertain from the letters which Hayne preserved of his correspondence with her.

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[12] *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury, N. C.), February 5, 1874.
[13] Frances C. Fisher to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Salisbury, N. C., January 19, 1874.
[14] Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, a cousin of Miss Fisher's, has, however, in his possession a copy of the poem in Miss Fisher's handwriting. Dr. Henderson also has a few of her letters, but the bulk of her letters and papers were thoughtlessly burned after her death. This tragic error has deprived us of Hayne's letters to Miss Fisher—half of the interesting correspondence.

I am indebted to Mrs. Lyman Cotten of Chapel Hill, also a cousin of Miss Fisher, for her invaluable aid in the preparation of this article.

CATAWBA SPRINGS—CAROLINA'S SPA

By Chalmers G. Davidson

The most fashionable society in North Carolina congregated at old Catawba Springs in Lincoln County in the days before the War Between the States. Few piedmont family papers in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill fail to give some reference to this "spa," as the mineral springs resorts were called, between the 1790's and the 1850's.

How early the seven mineral springs of Lincoln County were patronized as a resort has not been established. André Michaux, the French botanist, recorded in his journal that he "Slept at Catawba Spring [*sic*], eighteen miles from Lincoln," on the night of September 12, 1794,[1] but failed to enlighten us with respect to either accommodations or companions. The letters of the Brevard family give evidence of the popularity of the Springs as a health resort during the same decade. Joseph Brevard of Camden, South Carolina, wrote to his brother, Captain Alexander Brevard of Lincoln County, on October 16, 1796: "Next summer will probably be so hot and uncomfortable here as to make me languish for the covert of your shady hills and the refreshment of your cooling Springs." Two years later Joseph wrote a letter of introduction for his brother-in-law, Ely Kershaw, who, he says, "intends to visit the Catawba Springs." The bearer of these letters, at a time when there was no postal service, was Captain John Reid.[2]

Captain John Reid is the earliest known proprietor and probably the originator of Catawba Springs as a resort. He was an outstanding man in Lincoln, a veteran of the Revolution, a state legislator, and an elder in Unity Presbyterian Church. His position in the community is attested by the fact that he and his family occupied one of the two hooded pews, facing the congregation, in Unity Church. The other was owned by Captain Alexander Brevard.[3] This was before the day of the pretense of social democracy in Presbyterianism. Across the Catawba River, in

[1] "Extract from the Journal of André Michaux," in Shepherd M. Dugger, *The Balsam Groves of the Grandfather Mountain* (Banner Elk, N. C., 1907), 257.

[2] MS. Brevard Papers 1787-1869, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[3] F. Brevard McDowell, *The Broad Axe and the Forge or a Narrative of Unity Church Neighborhood* (Charlotte, 1897), 3.

Mecklenburg County, Hopewell Church had raised tiers for its elect.[4] The slaves in both churches, of course, sat in the galleries. Captain John Reid died on January 28, 1821, at the age of sixty-five and his monumental stone in Unity churchyard is inscribed with his many virtues, among them that he was "an officer of the Revolution and an honest man."

Immediately after his death, Catawba Springs was put up for sale. One advertisement mentions that the property includes "The Mineral Springs and Bathing House" which would indicate that the patrons not only drank the healing waters but also bathed in them.[5] The most detailed advertisement is found in the *South Carolina Gazette and Columbian Advertiser* (Columbia, S. C.) for February 20, 1821:

Valuable Property for Sale

The Catawba Springs, so well known to a large number of the citizens of South Carolina, as the resort of invalids and fashionable persons, who wish to avoid sickness and spend the summer agreeably, are now offered for sale. Attached to the Springs, is a tract of land containing about 600 acres, consisting of a large proportion of good meadow and other low grounds, already in cultivation. On the premises are built two two-story framed houses, well fitted up for the accomodation of single gentlemen, and a sufficient number of cabins for the accomodation of families, together with all the outhouses, stabling, &c necessary for carrying on the public business of the place. Should a sale not be previously made, the business of the next summer will be conducted by Mr. Rufus Reid, who is preparing, with great care to render the situation of those who may call on him comfortable. Adjoining this place, there are for sale, two other small tracts of land, containing, one of them 150, the other one hundred acres. These places afford high healthy situations, sufficiently near to enable the purchaser to enjoy the benefit of the mineral springs. . . . For terms, apply to John Reid, Esq. in Columbia, or Mr. Alexander M'Corkle, near the Springs.

Mr. Charles Jugnot took over the Springs as proprietor in 1825.[6] He was popularly known as "Monsieur Juggernaut," which suggests a penchant for running over his customers, but probably derived only from the Scotch-Irishmen's intolerance and infelicity with "foreign" names. His brief reign witnessed a period of considerable popularity. Thomas G. Polk of Charlotte

[4] S.C.P., "Hopewell Church," newspaper article, January, 1863, in scrapbook of E. L. Baxter Davidson, Davidson College Library, Davidson, N. C.
[5] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), August 28, 1821.
[6] *The Southern Chronicle* (Camden, S. C.), May 14, 1825.

wrote his father on July 17, 1825, "I shall take up my quarters occasionally at the Catawba Springs where there is at this time a very large assemblage of visitors."[7] The noted Dr. Elisha Mitchell "drank of the water of those celebrated Springs" in July, 1827,[8] and in the same year Mrs. Henry W. Conner, a Charleston belle who had married into the piedmont, found the house on the summit of a steep hill and the distant view of the little mountains delightful—colored no doubt by the rosy hue of her honeymoon.[9]

The wealthy James Chestnuts of Mulberry Plantation near Camden sojourned for three weeks in the summer of '25 and according to Frederick A. Porcher it became traditional for low-country families around Pineville to repair to the Catawba Springs to escape the hot weather.[10]

Essential for the cost to the Calvinistic conscience, the therapeutic value of the Springs was constantly played up in the journals, although there is little evidence that the healing of more than *ennui* was accomplished. Professor Denison Olmsted, the State Geologist, was quoted in the advertisements as having made, in 1824, "a strict analysis of the water and pronounces its foreign ingredients to be Sulphuretted Hydrogen, Sulphate of Lime, Sulphate of Magnesia, [and] Muriate of Lime."[11] It was later asserted that Professor Olmsted, who had since joined the faculty of Yale, recommended the waters for the use of all complaints of liver and debility.[12]

In 1831 Charles Jugnot sold the Springs to William S. Simonton. In the following year a new post office was established in Lincoln County to be called "Catawba Springs" and Simonton became postmaster as well as proprietor.[13] It was under his direction that the most ambitious social event in the history of the Springs was staged. According to the *Miners and Farmers Journal*, the dinner and ball at Catawba Springs on July 4, 1831, would be an affair of style and elegance never surpassed, if ever equalled, in this section. "Among Mr. Simonton's decorations," announced the *Journal*, "there are several paintings designed by

[7] MS. Polk Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
[8] Kemp P. Battle, ed., *Diary of a Geological Tour by Dr. Elisha Mitchell in 1827 and 1828.* The James Sprunt Historical Monographs, No. 6 (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1905), 66.
[9] Mrs. Henry W. Conner, Diary (typescript), 1827, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.
[10] Lawrence Fay Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters* (Durham, 1947), 89.
[11] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), June 15, 1838 (advertisement).
[12] William L. Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County North Carolina* (Charlotte, 1937), 103.
[13] Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County*, 103-104.

Mrs. Justis and executed by Mr. Welfart of Salem which does credit to his genius and taste. The Eagle is a neat, elegant painting, they are all really beautiful and cannot fail to please. The decorations and embellishments of the room and table will be novel, tasteful and appropriate. The dinner will be on the table at three o'clock and will consist of every delicacy that the country and market affords. Mr. Baron, a first rate cook, is engaged to prepare the dinner and the epicure may promise himself a rich repast prepared to his own taste. Good music is engaged for the Ball, and the Ladies 'man's last, best gift' will find their pleasure and amusement not forgot."[14]

After five years as proprietor, William S. Simonton advertised the Springs for sale: "700 acre plantation, houses want no repair, are sufficient for entertaining 60 or 70 boarders with fine Stablery, Carriage-house and Threshing Machine. Application may be made to the following agents: Maj. H. W. Conner of Salisbury; James A. Johnston, Esq., Charlotte; C. C. Henderson, Esq., Lincolnton; A. M. Burton, Esq. of Beattie's Ford."[15]

In 1838 Joseph W. Hampton became proprietor and notified prospective patrons that he was repairing and fitting up the Springs "at considerable expense and in a superior style" and would be ready for company by May 20. He reminded the readers of the newspapers that the resort was "situated on the great Eastern and Western line of Stages, from Salisbury, via Lincolnton to Asheville, etc. . . ."[16]

For the period of the Hampton proprietorship, the guest registers are preserved in the library of Davidson College. These date from 1838 to 1854 and are a gold mine for the social historian, especially one who writes with a capital "S." Names occurring frequently from the North Carolina piedmont are the Grahams, Brevards, Guions, Ramsours, and Shipps from Lincoln; the Chamberses and Lockes from Rowan; and the Alexanders, Caldwells, Davidsons, and Polks from Mecklenburg.

Apparently, students at Davidson College caught the coach to the Springs as they now thumb rides to the beaches and mountains. The registers are full of guests giving Davidson College as

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[14] *The Miners and Farmers Journal* (Charlotte, N. C.), June 29, 1831.
[15] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), November 14, 1835 (advertisement dated Sept. 26, 1835).
[16] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), June 16, 1838 (advertisement dated March 16, 1838).

"Home." Signing the register provided an irresistible temptation to college humor. "Maj. G[l]. Tommy A. Wilson, Esq." of the sophomore class was a guest in the fall of 1847. His martial ambitions tragically bore fruit in the Confederate Army, where he died as a lieutenant in 1862.[17]

Since proprietor Hampton was of the same family as the famous Wade Hamptons of South Carolina, he knew how to attract the elite from the Palmetto State. From the up-country came the Hemphills, Gastons, Springses, and Lattas; from the sandhills Boykins and Canteys; and from the low country the Pawleys, Sinklers, Hugers, Warings, and Deases. There were frequent guests also from the deep southern states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

Among the more notable autographs is that of the mysterious exotic of the Carolina piedmont, P. S. Ney, who enjoyed his legend in his own day and delighted in it. On September 20, 1841, in the column allotted to home identifications he inscribed, "An atom floating on the atmosphere of chance." During the early '40's Ney conducted a school for boys at the resort. The academy was known as "Stewart's Seminary" and left an indelible impression on the many students later called upon for reminiscences by the Reverend James A. Weston. In 1895 Weston published his volume, *Historic Doubts as to the Execution of Marshal Ney,* in order to substantiate his belief that P. S. Ney of Carolina and Marshal Ney of France were one and the same. Time worked to the advantage of the subject. In 1892 Alexander F. Brevard wrote Weston that "There could be no better teacher, and everybody had the sincerest esteem for him whether he was drunk or sober."[18] But in 1842 he had written his father (in a letter preserved in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History at Raleigh) : "I do not like him much as a teacher because he does not teach like any other person." And his brother had added a note: "Mr. Ney does not parse a bit he is old and crabit he makes the boys stand about & when he whips he whips them over the head and beats them with his fist."[19]

Other local notables in the realm of the arts were Philo Henderson, the poet, and Mittag,[20] the portrait painter, who no doubt

[17] T. W. Lingle, ed., *Alumni Catalog of Davidson College 1837-1924* (Charlotte, 1924), 58.
[18] James A. Weston, *Historic Doubts as to the Execution of Marshal Ney* (New York, 1895), 200.
[19] Alexander F. Brevard to R. A. Brevard, March 19, 1842, MS. Brevard Papers, 1787-1869.
[20] MS. Catawba Springs Registers 1838-1854, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C. Henderson. August 4, 1845; Mittag, Sept. 4, 1838.

found ready sitters amongst the boarders, as there does not seem to have been a great deal else to do. Fox hunts were indulged in by the younger spirits while the more sedate took their pleasure in attending meeting at Unity Presbyterian Church a few miles distant.

Among the most valuable records preserved by the Catawba Springs registers are the names of the plantations from which many of the patrons came. It appears that Alexander F. Gaston called his home site "Ravenna" (formerly "Ingleside" of the Forneys). The Forneys lived at "Mount Welcome" and the Grahams at "Vesuvius Furnace." The Stirewalts' small gem of a house, "Mill Hill," is still in good preservation in Cabarrus County, as is the Reid mansion, "Mount Mourne," in Iredell. Many of these names were later taken over to denote the villages which grew up around the plantations.

Tragedy at the Springs rarely found its way into the records, but there is more than a hint of it on the most elaborate gravestone in Unity Churchyard. The young wife of William J. Dennis of St. Johns Berkeley, Charleston District, "departed this life when on a visit at the Catawba Springs the 29th September 1833, aged 23 years. . . ." A wedding journey might end as well as begin at Catawba Springs.

There was also at least one murder.

Early in the history of this hotel, one of the proprietors retired about 11 o'clock, after snuffing out the candle. Next morning, he was found in bed with his throat cut from ear to ear, a lifeless corpse, his blood saturating the bed and much under the bed on the floor. It is claimed that those blood stains remained on the floor until recent years when this part of it was chiseled out and replaced with clean boards. An old saying is "The blood of the murdered cannot be washed up." This death remained a mystery until many years after, when the self-confessed killer on his death bed, told his story. Aggrieved by a serious social sin committed by the dead man, he had been seen among a number of people in Salisbury during the evening and night until about ten o'clock when he went to his room to retire. Immediately thereafter, in disguise, he mounted his horse and ran from one relay station to another, going and returning, arriving back in Salisbury and returning to his bed without a person ever knowing he had left his room after entering it.

The rider was an aristocrat, knew the horse at every stage relay station and could pick the best without disturbing the horses or their keepers. Determined to carry out his mission of

revenge against a man whom he did not consider worthy of even the consideration he might give a mad dog, armed with a blade of truest and sharpest steel and urged on by an unforgivable offense, he raced forth and back on his mission of death, unknown, undiscovered and unsuspected until his own lips in death revealed the tragedy and its cause. It is claimed that even today ghosts walk about this old house, strange noises are heard, and haunts lead dogs from their trails both during the day and night.[21]

The extensive accommodations which tradition ascribes to Catawba Springs must have been additions during the Hampton regime. When William S. Simonton advertised the resort for sale in 1835 he claimed only that the houses were sufficient for entertaining sixty or seventy boarders. As the later hotel is now remembered, and it was not demolished until the present century, it consisted of one hundred rooms (very small) and "was built on a large hill adjacent to the springs, bath houses were erected across on the opposite bluff and slave houses were scattered over the place at convenient points. The building was two stories high, in the formation of a 'T.' Wide porches stretched all around the house and as many as from 200 to 500 guests would at times assemble there . . . during the Christmas holidays and New Year festivities hard liquor was passed around among the guests."[22]

The War between the States put an end to the prospects of Catawba Springs and to the planter class which had patronized it. The leisurely life of the ante-bellum Carolinian who was lord of a hundred (or even a dozen) slaves was destined never to reappear. When wealth came again to the South it came to a people who had never known or who had largely forgotten the plantation tradition. Towns had grown up and business men and their families felt no urge to flee from the isolation which had been the lot of the planters. The "city rich" preferred a house in the country to a hotel at the Springs. Also, railroads and good highways opened mountain resorts which had not been accessible during the stagecoach era. It is safe to predict that "a summer at the Springs" is as much a part of the closed past as are the elaborate manners which characterized its clientele.

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[21] Hazel Mizelle, "Legends of Catawba Springs and the Old South," *The Charlotte Observer* (Charlotte, N. C.), October 13, 1929.
[22] Mizelle, "Legends of Catawba Springs."

THE CAROLINA BRIGADE SENT AGAINST THE CREEK INDIANS IN 1814

By John K. Mahon

During the second war with England, North Carolina—like the other states with Atlantic coastlines, though to a lesser degree—placed several thousand men in federal service.[1] Some of the men were used to guard the great port of Norfolk, Virginia, but most of them were placed along the coast of their own home state. Only a few ever saw the enemy.

In 1814 the state was also called upon to provide a regiment to fight against the Creek Indians in the portion of the Mississippi Territory which is now Alabama. The composition of the regiment, as we shall see, was unusual; and so was the brigade of which it was to form one half. The quality that made the brigade unusual was the fact that the two regiments in it came from different states: one from North Carolina, the other from South Carolina. Although not unknown, it was uncommon, in the War of 1812, to brigade regiments from different states.

The Secretary of War, John Armstrong, sent the order creating the brigade to Major General Thomas Pinckney, who was federal commander of the military district which included the two Carolinas.[2] Nearly two years of war had taught Armstrong to explain in detail the organization of the troops that he requested from the states. Otherwise he could not be sure of the number of men, and particularly of the number of officers who would turn out. As recently as 1809, for example, North Carolina had had regiments which varied in size from 290 to 1921 men.[3]

The regiments of the Carolina brigade were each directed to consist of eight companies of infantry, one of cavalry, and one of artillery. These regiments were unusual, for the reason that it was rare to combine infantry, cavalry, and artillery in one regiment. The secretary directed that a brigadier to command the

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[1] North Carolina militiamen formally enrolled in federal service: 1812—595; 1813—5524; 1814—4021; 1815—2042, *A Statement of the Number of Militia from Each State . . . during the War of 1812, Senate Executive Document*, Feb. 15, 1821, 16th Congress, 2d session.

[2] Thomas Pinckney to Gov. Hawkins, Jan. 28, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers, MS., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[3] Adjutant General's office: Letters, Orders, Returns, etc. 1807-1812, 106-107, MS., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

expedition was to be chosen from North Carolina by the governor of the state.[4] South Carolina made no complaint.

The adjutant general of North Carolina promptly took the steps necessary to organize a regiment. He called on eight of the western counties to provide a company each. The method by which the men were selected within each county is not known, but the adjutant spoke of "drafts." The men were either raised by calling for certain classes or by drawing lots, but not by volunteering.

Since there were no artillery companies in western North Carolina, the adjutant directed that a company be drawn from the infantry.[5] It was up to the lieutenant colonel, who was to command the North Carolina regiment, to figure out the details of the infantry-to-artillery metamorphosis. The cavalry troop, like all militia cavalry, would have to be raised by volunteering. The adjutant general, however, did direct that the colonel of cavalry, who commanded the cavalry regiment of the standing militia in the western region, was to command the company as a captain in United States' service; but his temporary loss of rank was not to jeopardize his permanent grade in the state organization. Following the lines drawn by the adjutant, the North Carolina regiment was formed.

The governor, William Hawkins, had a little trouble securing a brigadier to command the Carolina brigade. The first man to whom he offered the job, a major general of the standing militia, declined it because of ill health.[6] His second choice, Joseph Graham, a brigadier in the militia organization, accepted. Graham's first concern was to clothe himself in the proper uniform.[7] As a conspicuous representative of the state of North Carolina before troops from South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi Territory, and the United States Army, he had to look like a general. This did not prove to be easy, for other officers had bought all the available officer-supplies. Graham was finally forced to buy a secondhand dress uniform from Governor Hawkins, but, as the governor had only worn it to five county reviews

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[4] Adjutant General to Col. Pearson, Jan. 13, 1814, Adjutant General's office, Militia Returns, letters to officers, 1813-1817, 94, MS., North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[5] See Note 4, above.

[6] Gen. Davidson to Joseph Graham, Feb. 18, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

[7] Will Polk [or Folk] to Joseph Graham, Feb. 22 and Mar. 8, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

during the previous summer, it was in good condition, and no doubt as resplendent as any general could desire.

Late in March the North Carolina regiment was in central Georgia, at Fort Hawkins,[8] and at last was ready to start for the Creek country. It had been delayed waiting for federal supplies.[9] There were, however, federal arms on hand at the fort, which had been used by Georgia troops lately returned home. General Graham directed that the men fire one round by platoons to prove their muskets, and that faulty muskets then be replaced by good ones.[10] Next, the militiamen were mustered into federal service by an officer of the United States Army. Although the regiment was delayed in starting on account of supplies, when it finally began to march it appears to have been unusually well equipped.

Late in April or early in May, the two Carolina regiments made their junction in the very heart of the Creek country.[11] One of General Graham's first acts was to weed out the physically unfit and permit them to go back to the settlements. Most of the handicapped men seem to have come with the South Carolina regiment. They suffered from a wide variety of complaints, many of which now have a quaint sound: general debility, consumption, dropsy, deafness, inflammation of the liver, weakness of the system, inflammatory rheumatism, general emaciation of the system, asthma, blindness from an accidental bayonet wound, reduced habit, sore legs, and nervous weakness.[12] The afflicted were supplied with rations and transport back to Fort Hawkins. The bumpy wagon transport, with which they were probably furnished, must have tortured those with general emaciation of the system and reduced habit.

The Carolina brigade reached the Creek country too late to take part in the final destruction of the Indians at Horseshoe Bend,[13] but General Pinckney directed them to clear the enemy from the region of the Alabama River.[14] To accomplish this the

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[8] Fort Hawkins was on the ground where the city of Macon, Georgia, is today.

[9] See [J. G. deR. Hamilton], "Joseph Graham," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII (1943), 479.

[10] General orders, Mar. 27, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

[11] They met at Camp Jackson in the "V" formed by the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa rivers. This was the area where the principal towns of the Creeks had been.

[12] List taken from Orderly Book begun May 14, 1814, at Camp Jackson. Kept by H. W. Connor, aide-de-camp. Joseph Graham Papers.

[13] Andrew Jackson's army from Tennessee had destroyed most of the Creek warriors at the battle of Horseshoe Bend, Mar. 27, 1814.

[14] Orders, April 28, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

men were split up and sent to build and then garrison seven small forts. North Carolina troops garrisoned four, South Carolina, three.

Citizen soldiers nearly always grew restless and unruly in static situations. They were at their worst in garrison and camp. Unfortunately, the good work done by the Carolina militiamen in patrolling and fort building does not appear in the documents; but, as is usual in militia records, misconduct is embalmed in the minutes of courts-martial. From the court-martial records, one unavoidably gleans the impression that there was much disorder. Men were charged with drunkenness, disobedience of orders, taking the name of the Lord in vain, firing guns in camp, selling powder to the Indians, swindling, and, of course, absence without leave.

Convicted of the first three charges listed above, a militiaman was sentenced to have the left side of his face dry-shaved, to be chained to a mall, and to beat the dirt with the mall for three days.[15] A soldier convicted of swindling had to forfeit half of his pay for two months, lose his liquor ration for the rest of the campaign, and—with his bayonet reversed and the right side of his face shaved close to the skin—be drummed up and down the lines to the Rogue's March three times.[16]

Many men were put at hard labor for a few days. One man, having served four days of labor, was required at the company parade, with his hat in his hand, to ask pardon of the officer whom he had disobeyed, and to finish off his request with a respectful bow. For an upcountry man, this must have been hard.

Even the lieutenant colonel in command of the South Carolina regiment was tried by court-martial. He was charged with stealing from an Indian, peremptorily ordering the release of a man who was confined, attempting by force to get the key to the store-room, charging drayage to the United States for hauling a sutler's goods,[17] and taking a soldier out of the ranks to drive his own team employed in the public service.[18] Unfortunately, the judgment of the court has not been preserved.

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[15] Taken from the Orderly Book. See Note 12.
[16] Taken from the Orderly Book.
[17] Sutlers were private merchants who followed an army and sold delicacies and luxuries at high prices to the soldiers. They operated the nearest equivalent to the modern field P.X.
[18] Papers on the Court-Martial of Lt. Col. Nash, June 18, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

The Carolina brigade, in its patrolling duty, was thrown into close association with the Thirty-ninth United States Infantry. The finest harmony prevailed between the regulars and the Carolina irregulars, and the example of the Thirty-ninth was salutary.[19] General Graham said he hoped it would ". . . rescue the character of the Militia when properly managed from that of being disorderly and mutinous."

Early in June Graham notified Pinckney that provision ought to be made to relieve his men the minute their time was up. They would probably behave until then, he said, but would not stay one day beyond the legal tour.[20] He then directed the federal quartermaster and the contractor to begin to accumulate the provisions and transport necessary to return his men to their rendezvous in the Carolinas.

By July 16 the brigade was back at Fort Hawkins, and soon the South Carolina regiment was on its way home. The campaign of the Carolina brigade was over. It had been bloodless and unimportant, but noticeable, nevertheless, for one reason: citizen soldiers from the two Carolinas had been associated together in a brigade and had worked together without excessive friction. This cooperation would be important should the British attempt to land in force somewhere along the southern coast.

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[19] Gen. Graham to Gen. Pinckney, May 21, 1814, Letter Book of General Graham, May 10 to July 29, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

[20] Graham to Pinckney, June 7 and June 22, 1814, Joseph Graham Papers.

THE GENESIS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1701-1823

By Sarah McCulloh Lemmon

The charters of 1663 and of 1665 granted by Charles II to the lords proprietors of Carolina contained the fundamental principles of the establishment of the Church of England. They provided that the proprietors were to have the patronage of all the churches, that is, the right to grant the livings, and that all the churches and church buildings in the colony were to be dedicated according to the English ecclesiastical law. These principles were stated by the proprietors in the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina in 1669, with other provisions for liberty of conscience. No one was to be punished for his form of worship unless he disturbed the peace. Any seven people could organize a church, as long as they acknowledged God and worshipped him publicly. As this was a very liberal attitude and presumably would include almost every person, the Fundamental Constitutions further provided that any person seventeen years of age or older who did not belong to any church was to be denied the protection of the laws. The only statement made as to financial support of the church was that 100 acres of glebe land should be granted to each parish. These provisions were more liberal than those of England at the same time, but it is to be noted that they did not guarantee political equality for all faiths along with freedom of conscience.[1]

The part of the colony which was to become North Carolina, especially the Albemarle region, was being slowly settled before 1700, particularly by persons from Virginia. They had probably been reared within the English church, but there was no minister nor any church among them.[2] In fact it was necessary in 1669 for the proprietors to pass an act permitting civil marriages for lack of clergy to perform the ceremony.[3] Henderson Walker, deputy-governor in 1703, wrote to the Bishop of London: "We

[1] Elizabeth H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies* (Durham, 1936), 47-48.
[2] Stephen B. Weeks, *Religious Development of the Province of North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins, 1892), 21.
[3] Weeks, *Religious Development*, 22.

have been settled near this fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years, on my own knowledge, without priest or altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse."[4] In 1701, however, the Assembly took action to establish and provide for the church in the province. By an act of that year, five parishes were created and vestries named for each. These vestries were to levy poll taxes of not more than five shillings each to pay the clergy, build churches, and buy glebes. The salary of each minister was fixed at £30 yearly.[5] This act, however, was disallowed by the proprietors because the salary was considered inadequate.[6] Some of the vestries seem to have been active nevertheless, because a church was erected near the present site of Edenton and another was begun in Perquimans.[7] Henderson Walker, in his letter to the bishop, said that three churches were being built under the act and that Governor Nicholson of Virginia gave £10 to each of them.[8]

In 1703 an act was passed creating a commission of twenty laymen who were to dismiss any ministers guilty of misconduct.[9] One can only conjecture that this provision resulted from a sad experience with the Rev. Mr. Daniel Brett,[10] and from a recognition that ecclesiastical authority in the colonies was very remote and hence could not care for such matters. Apparently a commission was chosen because the Assembly would not wish the governor to hold so much power in his own hands. The same act also required all members of the Assembly to receive the Holy Eucharist according to the rites of the Anglican Church, or not be allowed to hold office. Three years later, however, the queen in council disallowed the act.[11]

The next act passed was in 1711, after the settlement of the Cary-Glover affair. It announced that all laws in force in England for the establishment of the church and for granting indulgences to Protestant dissenters were also to be in force in North Caro-

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[4] *Colonial Records*, I, 571-572.
[5] De Rosset, *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina* (Wilmington, 1892), 52.
[6] *Colonial Records*, I, 601.
[7] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 52.
[8] *Colonial Records*, I, 572.
[9] *State Records*, XXV, 151.
[10] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 52.
[11] *State Records*, XXV, 151.

lina.[12] Dissenters were allowed by the English law[13] to hold office if they would take the qualifying oath. This oath affirmed the belief in the Trinity and subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, with reservations permitted on ecclesiastical government and infant baptism. Designed to exclude Unitarians and Roman Catholics, in North Carolina it was practically a universal grant of religious and political liberty, as there were here almost no members of those two religious groups.[14]

Four years later, in 1715, a new Vestry Act was passed creating nine parishes instead of the original five, raising the rector's salary from the former £30 to £50 per year, permitting the levy of a five shilling poll tax to purchase glebes, and requiring the vestry to take the oath as above described. The act opens with an interesting statement of the two reasons for its passage: first, "This Province of North Carolina being a Member of the Kingdom of Great Britain; & the Church of England being appointed by the Charter from the Crown to be the only Established church to have Publick encouragement in it"; and second, to express thanks to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for its aid to the province.[15]

No change was made in the provisions for the church until 1741. In that year the Assembly provided that the vestry, instead of being named by the Assembly, should be elected by the freeholders of each parish every two years. Each vestryman so chosen was to take the following oath: "I, A. B. do declare, that I will not oppose the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is by law established." Should he refuse the oath, he was to be fined £3, unless he were a known dissenter.[16] The latter provision was changed in 1764 to include the fining of dissenters also.[17] Other provisions of the act of 1741 were that the vestry could suspend immoral clergymen, and that they could levy distress on property in order to collect delinquent taxes.

In 1754 it was necessary for the Assembly to increase the number of parishes to twenty-four and to fine freeholders twenty shillings for failure to vote for the vestry. A collector

[12] *State Records*, XXV, 153.
[13] I William and Mary St. 1 c. 18. See De Rosset, *Sketches*, 59.
[14] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 59-60.
[15] *State Records*, XXIII, 6-10.
[16] *State Records*, XXIII, 187-191.
[17] *State Records*, XXIII, 603.

of parish taxes was created, to be appointed by the vestry for that purpose instead of letting the wardens collect the levies. Again the vestry was instructed to purchase glebes and to erect churches. The rector was to receive another salary increase, this time up to £80. The power to select the rector was left to the vestry; but it was interesting to note that if the vestry did not choose one within twelve months, then the governor was to appoint one for them.[18]

Apparently much discussion followed on the salary question and the right of the vestry to choose its rector, for in 1762 another act was passed raising the salary to £133. 6s. 8-ld. plus marriage and burial fees. On the second question, the selection of a rector, the act expressly stated "That the sole Right of Presentation of a Minister to every Parish within this Province, shall be and remain in the several Vestries thereof. . . ." Each clergyman must possess a license from the bishop of London. This requirement probably reflected a disappointment in the characters of some of the churchmen who had been officiating in the colony. Finally, the governor was given the power to suspend offending ministers.[19] Normally, only a bishop has this authority, but in the absence of a bishop or even of a commissary in North Carolina, the governor was granted this power. There is no indication as to what happened to the idea of a commission of twenty men to discharge this duty.

The bishops of London had steadily objected to the vestries' claim of the right to choose rectors, and had advised the Board of Trade to recommend disallowance of all such acts to the crown. Two North Carolina acts of 1760, entitled "An Act for establishing Vestries" and "An Act for making Provision for an Orthodox Clergy,"[20] had been disallowed for this reason.[21] In 1765 a new Orthodox Clergy Act was passed which omitted any reference to the choice of clergymen, but with all other provisions substantially the same.[22] Essentially this was a mere evasion by the colonists; nevertheless the law was approved by the bishop of London and eventually by the crown.[23]

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[18] *State Records*, XXV, 298-304.
[19] *State Records*, XXIII, 583-585.
[20] *State Records*, XXIII, 510.
[21] *Colonial Records*, VI, 723.
[22] *State Records*, XXIII, 660-662.
[23] *Colonial Records*, VII, 150-153.

Through the passage of these laws, then, the attempt was made to establish the legal support of the Church of England in North Carolina. Parishes had been created, the oath to support the Anglican liturgy had been required of the vestries, and taxes and glebe lands had been provided for financial aid and endowments; but the right to appoint the clergy was left indefinite in order to circumvent disallowance, although theoretically it remained the privilege of the crown.

Some of the provisions regarding dissenters have already been touched upon. The application of the English laws for dissenters took place in 1711, with all worshippers except Unitarians and Roman Catholics being able to qualify under their provisions. These provisions were reenacted in 1715 and 1749, with the additional qualification that Quakers might affirm instead of swearing an oath. But they could not testify in criminal court cases, serve on juries, or hold office.[24] While Quakers did not succeed in removing these disabilities before the Revolution, more recognition was gradually extended to the Presbyterian clergy. In 1760 regularly called Presbyterian ministers were excused from militia duty in addition to the Anglican clergy who did not have to serve.[25] This privilege was renewed in 1764 and 1766; and in 1774 the wording was extended to all "Protestant Dissenting Ministers regularly called."[26] In 1766 all marriages performed by Presbyterian clergy were retroactively legalized, and in the future they would be acceptable if the requirements concerning banns or license were obeyed. The fees for all such ceremonies, however, were reserved to the Anglican clergy in each parish.[27]

It was extremely difficult, however, to enforce the establishment of the English church. While there was no open outbreak against the Church,[28] there was a great deal of evasion, indifference, and sabotage of the laws. An examination of the many

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[24] *State Records*, XXIII, 11.
[25] *State Records*, XXIII, 519.
[26] *State Records*, XXIII, 597, 761, 941.
[27] *State Records*, XXIII, 672-674.
[28] Joseph Blount Cheshire says that the troubles of 1704 and following were not because the Quakers objected to the establishment of 1701 and 1703, but because they objected to the oath of allegiance to Queen Anne. See his essay in De Rosset, *Sketches*, 53-55. Weeks, on the other hand, attributes it entirely to religious causes; see his *Religious Development*, ch. V. There is also a good discussion in S. A. Ashe, *Chapter of North Carolina History Revised* (Raleigh, 1886), 2-3.

vestry acts passed between 1711 and 1774 illustrates these difficulties.

Many parishes refused to hold vestry elections. Thus in 1720 it was necessary for the Assembly to pass a law directing Northwest Chowan and Craven parishes to hold their elections immediately.[29] By 1751 the method of election had been found "inconvenient and detrimental," so that thereafter the sheriff was to call elections.[30] Three years later it was necessary to pass a law ordering a fine of twenty shillings for freeholders who did not vote.[31] In 1758 an order was issued that all parishes without vestries were to elect them within twenty days after the passage of the act.[32] The order to elect vestries where they had not been chosen was repeated in 1766.[33]

Even where vestries had been chosen, the men so elected seem frequently to have refused to qualify. A fine of forty shillings was imposed in 1754 upon an elected vestryman who so refused.[34] This fine was raised to £3 in 1764, if the vestryman were a dissenter,[35] and applied to everyone in 1766.[36] Special elections had to be ordered in 1771 for Unity Parish (Guilford County) and St. Margaret's (Wake County) because they had elected vestries who refused to qualify.[37] Thus it is apparent that parishes which were strongly dissenting would either fail to hold elections or would deliberately choose vestrymen who refused to qualify, and in this way would avoid the laws of the establishment.

Even where vestries had duly qualified, there was difficulty in levying and collecting the poll taxes. In 1720 the provision of 1711 was repeated to the effect that the church wardens had the authority to collect taxes by distraint if necessary.[38] Eventually, in 1754, a collector of parish taxes was created, with the same power.[39] Four years later it was necessary to declare that the forced sale of property for non-payment of parish taxes must take place within three to six days after notice of sale.[40]

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[29] *State Records*, XXV, 166-168.
[30] *State Records*, XXIII, 369.
[31] *State Records*, XXV, 299. Quakers were excused from this in 1764; *State Records*, XXIII, 601-617.
[32] *State Records*, XXV, 364-365.
[33] *State Records*, XXIII, 759-760.
[34] *State Records*, XXV, 300.
[35] *State Records*, XXIII, 603.
[36] *State Records*, XXIII, 759-760.
[37] *State Records*, XXIII, 856.
[38] *State Records*, XXV, 166-168.
[39] *State Records*, XXV, 301.
[40] *State Records*, XXV, 364-365.

In 1764 the tax was raised from five shillings to ten, and its collection became a duty of the sheriff.[41] Governor Tryon wrote in 1769 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that "The disturbances in the province have inspired no religious sentiments among us, and the difficulty of raising the taxes for want of a medium to pay them, makes many parishes very slack to encourage public worship."[42] It would seem to have been less the lack of a circulating medium, however, than an unwillingness on the part of the numerous dissenters and even Anglican communicants to be taxed for an established church.

Nor were the instructions to purchase glebes, repeated in every vestry act, often carried out. It was not until 1763 that the first and probably only glebe house was erected, this being in St. Thomas's Parish, Bath.[43] It has not been possible to find out how much land was actually purchased by each parish for its church, but that there was some will be shown later.

The establishment of the church was also hindered by the controversy over the right of appointing the clergy. As stated earlier, this had occasioned the royal disallowance of several vestry acts. The Rev. Mr. Daniel Earl blamed this for the sad condition of the church at Edenton. In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel written in 1765, he said:

> The church in this town which was built at a considerable expence, is in a very ruinous condition, Chiefly occasioned by want of a vestry, our vestry Laws, for some years past being repealed in England as soon as they appear there, which is a great obstruction to the Building & repairing places of worship, and is a very great Prejudice to the Clergy.[44]

The Rev. Mr. John Barnett ran into difficulties at Brunswick for the same reason. In 1768 he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel thus:

> The people of this Parish do still so violently oppose the presentation of the Crown to the Living, that I believe it will be found necessary for me to remove to another part of the province as my settling here, contrary to the inclination of the people,

[41] *State Records*, XXIII, 601-607.
[42] *Colonial Records*, VIII, 14.
[43] Jarvis Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America, Particularly in North Carolina* (reprinted from *American Church Review*, July, 1876), 13.
[44] *Colonial Records*, VII, 7-8.

must render my situation very disagreeable, and also prevent my being any longer useful here.[45]

Even the forceful Governor Tryon, who stated that "Some Vestries idly imagine the power of presentation is still vested by implication in them,"[46] was unable to budge these vestries. In the case of St. James', at Wilmington, the governor in 1770 wished to induct the Rev. Mr. John Wills, who was very well liked by the residents. The parish kept Wills but refused flatly to accept the presentation, and Tryon was forced to drop the whole matter.[47]

Having established the Church of England, however inadequately, the next problem was to secure clergymen. The venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, was almost the sole source of supply from that date until 1783. In colonial North Carolina there was a total of forty-six Anglican missionaries and rectors,[48] of whom the Society supplied thirty-three.[49] The Society also assisted a total of twenty-two central stations.[50] The salary ordinarily allowed a missionary was £50 a year, plus a library worth £10 and an allowance of £5 for books to be distributed free among the parishoners.[51] The amount of aid granted to a clergyman by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may be compared with Cheshire's estimate that from 1701 to 1711 the parish of St. Paul's, Chowan, paid its clergy a total of £55 in commodities. During this same period the Society's missionaries brought into the colony something between £300 and £400 sterling.[52]

Many letters may be found in the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel from vestries, wardens, and governors thanking them or asking for clergymen or financial aid. Thus the vestry of Queen Anne's Creek thanked the Society for "their great Care of our Souls' health in sending over Missionaries to preach the Word of God and administring the Holy Sacrament among us." Without the missionaries they would have

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[45] *Colonial Records*, VII, 789-790.
[46] *Colonial Records*, VIII, 14.
[47] Taken from the vestry minutes, quoted in the *Church Messenger*, April 21, 1881.
[48] Edgar Legare Pennington, *The Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina* (Hartford, 1937), 35-37.
[49] C—F— Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901), 86-87.
[50] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 86-87.
[51] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 837.
[52] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 58.

been "in danger of becomeing like the Indians themselves without a God in the World."[53] Governor Eden wrote the Society that "without your nursing care the very footsteps of religion will, in a short time, be worne out, and those who retain any remembrance of it will be wholly led away by the Quakers. . . ."[54] Eden also asked for schoolmasters and more missionaries; and the vestry at Bath asked for a missionary for their parish.[55] The fact that only thirteen of the colonial clergy were not Society missionaries indicates the poverty of the support given by the colonists to the church. Without the aid of the Society a man could hardly afford to labor in North Carolina. Illustrations of the clergy being forced to leave are numerous. The Rev. Mr. William Gordon returned to England after only a few months.[56] The Rev. Mr. Giles Rainsford moved on to Virginia,[57] having written: "I am ashamed to tell you of my fare, for the whole year is one continued Lent—fish being the constant attendant on the table." For a "large part of the time" he was forced to sleep in an old tobacco barn.[58] The Rev. Mr. John Urmstone wrote the Society that he and his family had "liv'd many a day only on a dry crust and a draught of salt water out of the Sound, such regard have the people for my labours—so worthy of the favour the Society have shewn them in providing Missionaries and sending books."[59] This statement is not to be taken at face value, however, because Urmstone was an exceedingly controversial figure and somewhat given to exaggeration, to say the least. The Rev. Mr. J. Garzia, however, was aided by the Society through an appointment to the Pamlico area, because he had been induced to come there from Virginia with his wife and three children and then was not paid his promised salary of £20 a year.[60]

The Society continued to support missionaries in North Carolina until 1783, at which time the sole remaining one, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Earl, was removed from their rolls because it was

[53] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 23.
[54] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 23.
[55] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 24-25.
[56] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 21.
[57] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 23.
[58] Quoted in Marshall Delancey Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1910), 8.
[59] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22-23.
[60] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 23.

believed that he had "a very sufficient maintenance" from other sources.[61]

The character of the clergy, whether Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries or not, was somewhat varied. The first minister to the colony, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Brett, acquired a bad reputation and "brought great grief and shame to the friends of the Church."[62] The reputation of the brilliant and cynical Urmstone was that of being "quarrelsome, selfish, and covetous."[63] John Blacknall fell into disrepute because he performed the marriage ceremony for a white man and a mulatto woman, but Sir Richard Everard commended him for his sobriety and ability.[64] The Bishop of London, on his list of licensed clergy, marked "Bad man" by the name of John Barnett;[65] and by that of Theodorus Swain Drage he wrote, "Never heard of him after."[66] The Rev. Mr. Taylor wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel concerning Daniel Earl that the public houses were "his places of Rendezvous" and that he had rejected Earl's offer of "familiarity" because of "his manner of life not concurring with mine."[67] Taylor further accused this gentleman of charging fees for administering the rites of Holy Communion and baptism to persons *in extremis* and went on to say:

> This misbehavior in the Clergy has induced the people to be very cautious of having a Minister inducted to their parishes, as they see so much misconduct and no remedy easily to be obtained since every one of them dislikes being the first complainant.[68]

Either these charges were not sustained or they were ignored by the Society, for it was Mr. Earl who remained on their rolls until 1783.

On the other hand, several very fine men served the Church in North Carolina. At least seven native North Carolinians made

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[61] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 25.
[62] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 52.
[63] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 22.
[64] John Clement, "Anglican Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies, 1710-1744," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVII (1948), 221.
[65] George Woodward Lamb, "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies by the Bishop of London: 1745-1781," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIII (1944), 132.
[66] Lamb, "Clergymen Licensed . . . ," 134. He seems to have served in Rowan County for four years, however; see R. B. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County* (Charlotte, 1921), 5.
[67] *Colonial Records*, IX, 21-22.
[68] *Colonial Records*, IX, 22.

the arduous journey to London in order to be ordained.[69] Men like Thoman Newman died of their labors and exposure.[70] The Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Taylor was adrift in an open boat ten days on the Sound during the winter, dying as a result (although there was also a suspicion that he was robbed and murdered).[7] Clement Hall, during seven or eight years of work, journeyed 14,000 miles, preached 675 sermons, and baptized 6,195 men, women, and children, both black and white.[72] John Boyd's parish, that of Bertie in Albemarle County, was 100 miles long and fifty wide, with seven places in which to hold service; so that he rode on horseback as much as 260 miles each month. Yet in 1735 he was able to baptize 1,030 people.[73]

Of the forty-six Anglican clergymen in colonial North Carolina, some are mere names in the records, having stayed a year or less. Of those for whom more information is available, five were casual visitors, two were of poor character, and one was so weak that he gave up and left. Six suffered from an early death or were so broken in health that they were compelled to retire from their labors.[74] It must not be forgotten that for native-born Englishmen, as nearly all of these men were, acclimatization to America, especially in the Southern colonies, was a definite problem. Malaria and other sub-tropical diseases seized upon them, and the death rate was very high. "In the moral collapse which some of these British-born clergy experienced in America, their physical debility may have been a factor and must be taken into account."[75] North Carolina must have been regarded as one of the worst possible assignments, for of something over 700 clergymen licensed by the Bishop of London for colonial service, forty-four only were for North Carolina, and not all of these came.[76] The Rev. Mr. Miles Gale, a resident Eng-

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[69] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 83-84.
[70] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 26-27.
[71] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 25.
[72] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 49.
[73] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 30-31.
[74] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 35-37.
[75] John Clement, "Clergymen Licensed Overseas by the Bishops of London, 1690-1710 and 1715-1716," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XVI (1947), 321.
[76] See the two Clement lists and the one by Lamb, cited above. Some early clergy were licensed to other states and passed through North Carolina, and others before 1711 were not licensed. Thus there are discrepancies in the figures.

lishman, wrote to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

I have made all the Enquiry in my power after some to go as missionaries, they like the terms but dread y voyage and the heat of the climate. I heartily wish & hope Religion may be taken care for in that Heathenish Country.[77]

The state of religion prospered but slowly. About the year 1700 North Carolina's population was about 5,000 white persons plus Negroes and Indians, with no clergyman or regular form of public worship. "The children had grown up unbaptized and uneducated; the dead were buried without Christian ceremonies."[78] A few years later the Rev. Mr. John Blair found the inhabitants of four types: the Quakers, those of no religion, those something like Presbyterians, and Anglican churchmen, the fewest in number.[79] In 1712 the Rev. Mr. Gale wrote to the Bishop of London:

I am informed by letters from my eldest son, Mr. Gale, who has been an inhabitant of North Carolina these eight years, and borne several offices in that unsettled government, that the religion of that country is at a very low ebb, and that little stock carried over, in danger to be totally lost without speedy care of sending ministers to teach the word of truth.

That North Carolina has been inhabited by the English eighteen years, and in all that space they have had but one clergyman, and he left them for want of encouragement; and that for these last eight years they have had none; so that all the children under that age remain unbaptized, of which many have been cut off by a late massacre. . . . [He asks for] your assistance in so pious a work as the establishment of Christianity in a heathenish country.[80]

A decade later, Hugh Jones wrote in *The Present State of Virginia:*

Religion cannot be expected among a Collection of such People as fly thither from other Places for Safety and Livelihood, left to their own Liberty without Restraint or Instruction. The common *nominal Christians* live there not much better than *Hea-*

[77] Gertrude S. Carraway, *Crown of Life* (New Bern, 1940), 23.
[78] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 14.
[79] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 18.
[80] *Colonial Records*, I, 867-868.

thens; the pious Endeavors of the Society having been frequently disappointed either by their not having full Knowledge of the Country and People (and so pursue not the most proper Methods) or else because they have had the Misfortune sometimes to pitch upon Persons, that have not answered the End of their Calling and Mission.... [North Carolina needs help, not only for Indians and Negroes, but] for the Christening and Recovery to the Practical Profession of the Gospel great numbers of *English,* that have but the *bare name* of God and Christ; and that too frequently in nothing but vain Swearing, Cursing, and Imprecations.[81]

In 1727 and 1728, although eleven parishes had been created by that time, there was not a single Anglican clergyman serving in the colony.[82] In a still later period, both the difficulties of the church and the reliance upon the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are clearly shown in a letter, dated 1762, from the Rev. Mr. James Reed to the secretary of the Society:

The hardships we labor under in this Province are so great that were it not for the benevolence of the Society, we could not subsist with the least decency, Every Clergyman that has attempted to settle in this Province, for these 10 years past, upon the sole dependence of the legal stipend, have been obliged to leave it, and 'tis our misfortune at Present to have no legal Stipend at all; or rather there is no law at present by which any stipend can be recovered. At an Assembly held at New Bern in Novr last a bill for the encouragement of an Orthodox Clergy and a bill for the establishment of Vestries, were presented to his excellency the Governor for his assent, the latter of which was rejected on account of some exceptional Clauses, and as the 2 bills depended on each other in such a manner, that the one cannot operate without the other, we are therefore at present without any legal encouragement. Very probably something may be done in our favor at the next Assembly, especially if it should please God to prolong the life of our present worthy Govr. But we cannot expect his abode with us much longer, for he is far advanced in years and has lately had a slight stroke of the Palsy; so that I every day expect to hear the disagreeable news of his death, in whom the Clergy will lose a faithful friend, and the Christian Religion an able advocate.[83]

As late as 1771, when the church was on a much firmer footing, the Rev. Mr. Earl wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

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[81] Quoted in Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina,* 27.
[82] Carraway, *Crown of Life,* 27.
[83] *Colonial Records,* VI, 745.

Our Church at Edenton is so much out of repair that neither minister nor congregation can stand the inclemency of the weather in it without greatly risking their health, but I am in great hopes it will be repaired before next Winter, . . .[84]

Yet there was progress. Beginning with five original parishes in 1701, the number increased to seventeen in 1741[85] and to twenty-nine in 1760.[86] The first church was erected in 1705, although it is not now standing.[87] Churches had been erected by the time of the Revolution at Bath, Edenton, New Bern, Brunswick, Williamsboro, and Wilmington,[88] and there were many "chapels of ease" including New Hope Chapel at Chapel Hill.[89] Many French Protestants, as well as Swiss and German Calvinists, who came to the colony after 1710, gave their support to the Anglican Church.[90] The Moravians, having been accepted by Parliament in 1749 as included in the Established Church, were allowed by the North Carolina assembly to set up their own parish in Wachovia in 1755.[91] The church achieved its greatest expansion while Governor Tryon was in office. During his term the number of clergymen rose to eighteen, serving that many parishes, although this still left eleven parishes without ministers.[92] It was estimated that just before the Revolution the majority of the inhabitants were, nominally at least, members of the Church of England.[93] Tryon's attempts, however to exercise the legal right of presentation irritated the Anglicans, while his partial success in strengthening the establishment aroused the Dissenters. Thus his failures outweighed his achievements for the church.

While it might be said with justification that the whole province of North Carolina was a missionary field, nevertheless work with the Negroes and Indians was especially so regarded. At first the conversion of Negro slaves was much opposed locally

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[84] *Colonial Records*, VIII, 542.
[85] Joseph Blount Cheshire, *The Church in the Province of North Carolina* (n.p., n.d.), 67-68.
[86] Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 13.
[87] Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 12.
[88] Cheshire, "How Our Church Came to North Carolina," reprinted from *Spirit of Missions*, XVIII (1918), 350-352.
[89] Archibald Henderson, "The Church of the Atonement and the Chapel of the Cross at Chapel Hill, N. C.," *Story and Pageant Quarterly*, no. 59 (1938), 14-15.
[90] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 22.
[91] Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina*, 23.
[92] Cheshire, *Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 80-81.
[93] Charles Comfort Tiffany, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1895), 247.

because of the superstition that to baptize a slave was to free him.[94] Toward the end of the colonial period, however, this belief subsided and many slaves were received into the church. The Rev. Mr. James Reed stated in 1760: "I baptize all those [slaves] whose masters become sureties for them, but never baptize any Negro infants or Children upon any other terms."[95] Giles Rainsford baptized "upward of forty negroes in this and the neighboring government [Virginia]."[96] Alexander Stewart baptized thirty-five Negro slaves in a period of six months, Richard Marsden "many," and John McDowell five free mulattoes.[97] "As the prejudices of the masters were overcome, a Missionary would baptize sometimes fifteen to twenty-four negroes in a month; forty to fifty in six months; and sixty-three to seventy-seven in a year."[98] At services held by the Rev. Mr. Clement Hall at Edenton, Negroes generally attended and behaved "with great decorum."[99]

Attempts to convert the Indians were less successful. Giles Rainsford had several conferences with the "king" of the Chowan Indians, who seemed "very inclinable to embrace Christianity,"[100] but there is no record that either the king or his subjects did so. Although the Rev. Mr. Newnam found the Indians "very quiet and peacable," he almost despaired of converting them. Later a few Catawbas who had settled among the planters were baptized.[101] The most successful work seems to have been undertaken in Hyde County by Alexander Stewart, who held services attended by "many of the remains of the Attamuskeet, Roanoke and Hatteras Indians." On one occasion he baptized twenty-one of them, and later established a schoolmaster among them, paid for by Dr. Bray's Associates.[102] These are the only comments that have been found relative to missionary endeavors among the Indians.

The duties of the clergy, and especially of the vestries, often extended beyond the ecclesiastical into the civil life of the parish.

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[94] John Hope Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians in Ante-bellum North Carolina," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XIII (1944), 219.
[95] Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians in Ante-bellum North Carolina," 220.
[96] Haywood, *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina*, 8.
[97] Franklin, "Negro Episcopalians . . . ," 219.
[98] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.
[99] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.
[100] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.
[101] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.
[102] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 22.

The vestries were the keepers of standard weights and measures, and also overseers of the poor.[103] In 1774 they were given the authority to erect workhouses for the poor and to allow the keepers to whip those inmates who proved refractory.[104] One unusual function is found in the minutes of the Edenton vestry, July 10, 1742:

> Mr. Jacob Butler produced a certificate to the Vestry for eight wolf scalps, three wild-cat scalps, and four hundred and seventy-seven squirrel scalps, ordered that he be paid for said scalps forty-six pounds, eighteen shillings and sixpence.[105]

By far the largest number of civil or civil-ecclesiastical duties fell under the head of education. The earlier schools were not supported by parish taxes in any way, but probably by the tuition of pupils. Charles Griffin, a lay-reader in the church, conducted a school in Pasquotank precinct during the years 1706-1709 at least. There was a school in Chowan in 1712 run by a certain Masburn. The Rev. Mr. James Moir, one of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries, had a school at Brunswick in 1745, and Alexander Stewart established the Colonial Church School in Hyde County in 1763. These seem to have been merely elementary schools. The Rev. Mr. Daniel Earl, aided by his daughter Nancy, maintained a private school for higher education at his home on the Chowan River, a school which was held in very high regard at the time.[106] In addition to the classics, he taught the people better methods of cultivating flax as well as the proper way to prepare it for the loom and to weave towels and tablecloths.[107] He was a very versatile teacher, for he instructed the men in shad and herring fishing, gaining thereby the nickname of the "Herring-catching Parson."[108] The Assembly in 1766 passed an act establishing an academy at New Bern, providing that no one should be schoolmaster there except a member of the established church.[109] The act attempting to establish Queen's College in Charlotte contained a requirement that its

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[103] Cheshire, "How Our Church Came to North Carolina," 347.
[104] *Colonial Records*, IX, 1015.
[105] Quoted in the *Church Intelligencer*, Nov. 22, 1866.
[106] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 163-171.
[107] Richard Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," *North Carolina Booklet*, V (1905-1906), 25.
[108] Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," 27-28.
[109] *State Records*, XXIII, 679.

president must be of the established church, although the fellows and trustees need only take the test oath.[110] This act, however, was disallowed.[111]

The causes for the weakness of the establishment in North Carolina are not hard to find. One obvious reason is the lack of clergymen. Tryon reported, on first coming into office: "For lack of ministers justices of the peace marry people and bury them, and in 1765 Governor Dobbs was buried by a magistrate, there being no clergyman in 100 miles of Brunswick."[112] Concerning the condition of the churches, he wrote:

Brunswick, outside walls built and roofed; Wilmington, walls only finished; New Bern, in good repair; Bath and Edenton, considerable repairs needed. No British colony stands so much in need of regular moral clergymen. There are now 32 parishes and 28 more ministers are required. Chapels are established in every county, served by a reader where no clergyman can be procured.[113]

Two years later Tryon was forced to say:

There are in the Province of North Carolina 30,730 taxable persons . . . which at 4 persons to a family, deducting the heads or taxables, are 122,920 souls, and but one or two ministers of the Church of England are among them.[114]

But the parishioners too were weak. The Rev. Mr. Drage found them "disheartened, and dispersed like sheep."[115] The disrepair in which Tryon found the churches also indicates their lack of energy and zeal. Neither the proprietors nor later the royal governors, except Dobbs and Tryon, appeared to take any interest in the promotion of religion. Brydon says the people "were in a leaderless and chaotic state" because of the lack of vestry laws with authority to collect taxes.[116] This is not the case, however; the laws existed, but not the will to enforce them or obey them. It has already been shown how they were circumvented, evaded, and sabotaged by Dissenters and by others who objected

[110] *Colonial Records*, VIII, 488.
[111] *Colonial Records*, IX, 284-285.
[112] F. A. Olds, "The Parishes in North Carolina," *North Carolina Booklet*, XXI, (1921-1922), 86.
[113] Olds, "Parishes in North Carolina," 86.
[114] Olds, "Parishes in North Carolina," 87.
[115] Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, 24.
[116] G. MacLaren Brydon, "The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XII (1943), 327.

to taxation. This lack of popular support is one of the main factors in the weakness of the establishment.

There was also active opposition from Dissenters. In the early years of the eighteenth century it seems to have been the Quakers who led the campaigns against the establishment.[117] During the Cary troubles, the church was frequently a target of attack.[118] Hostile denominations at the time of the Stamp Act used it as a ground upon which to challenge the establishment, both in the colonies and in England. A London committee of correspondence with a kindred American committee formed an anti-episcopal "League and Covenant."[119] This would surely have had some repercussions in North Carolina.

Perhaps the greatest cause for the weakness of the church, throughout all the continental colonies, was the lack of a bishop. By custom, the Bishop of London had become the bishop of the American colonies. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries as well as all others were licensed by him. Commissaries were sent to represent the bishop in Maryland and Virginia, but not elsewhere, and even this custom fell into disuse before 1760.[120] The two greatest reasons for needing a bishop were for ordination of clergy and for removal of unfit ministers. The creation of a colonial episcopate would have quickly increased the supply of ministers and also would have relieved the people of those whose moral life had sagged in the New World. Yet because of the political situation in England, the crown consistently blocked the creation of a bishopric. The American church stood "helpless, blind, paralyzed," and had to await a new generation of churchmen to summon the energy for sound organization.[121]

In a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in connection with Barnet who was charged with "crimes, too base to be mentioned," the Rev. Mr. Taylor said:

It is a great pity but an American Episcopate were established, if it tends to no other purpose than to take cognizance of the

[117] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 15.
[118] Pennington, *Church of England and the Reverend Clement Hall in Colonial North Carolina*, 19.
[119] Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 4.
[120] Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 2-3.
[121] Cheshire, *The Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 87-88. The best discussion is A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (New York, 1902).

behavior of the Clergy, some of whom (I am sorry to say) are the greatest scandal to religion we have.[122]

The lack of a bishop was more surely felt in North Carolina and Maryland than in Virginia, according to Brydon, because the churchmen were so scattered that they could not get the full backing of the assemblies, and, it might be added, of the inhabitants.[123]

From these weaknesses of the established church, it can be seen that in North Carolina the church was in no position to withstand the shock of the Revolutionary War.

In North Carolina the class and sectional conflicts which were an integral part of the American Revolution began to take form with the Regulator movement. The effect of the war on the church was adverse for two reasons: first it decreased the financial support of the church, and second it caused many citizens to regard the church as too conservative.

The Reverend Mr. Charles Cupples wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel requesting that the Society pay a bill for him, "and the reason is, the disturbances of our country has made it impossible for the collectors to get either public, parish, or County Taxes, to discharge the several creditors." After describing unsympathetically the recent disturbances, he added:

Now it is, Reverend Sir, on the account of these Disturbances and the scarcity of money that makes me apply to the Society in a humble manner praying for relief, otherwise I can not long be able to support my family.[124]

The deprivation of their salaries would naturally have tended to align most of the Anglican clergy on the side of the royal governors, in desiring peace and order as well as salaries. As the open break with England drew nearer, the general population regarded the clergy more and more as Tory rather than as Whig.

The activities of the Reverend Mr. George Micklejohn would strengthen such a view as to the attitude of the clergy. Micklejohn was rector of St. Matthew's Parish in Orange County from

[122] *Colonial Records*, IX, 21.
[123] Brydon, "Origin of the Rights of the Laity," 328.
[124] *Colonial Records*, VIII, 551-552.

1766 to 1776.[125] The Regulators gave to him their Paper Number 6 to deliver to the colonial officials, which he did, returning with a message that they were to choose any number of "reasonable men" to meet the authorities in Hillsborough on May 11, 1768.[126] In spite of this apparent initial sympathy, Micklejohn was on the side of the government; for when the troops were assembled at Hillsborough in September to suppress the Regulators, he preached the sermon to them at Governor Tryon's request. The text of the sermon indicates his attitude:

> Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God; the Powers that be, are ordained of God.
>
> Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.
>
> [Romans 13:1-2.][127]

Pleased with his effort, Micklejohn had 100 copies of his sermon printed, which he distributed to the assembly.[128]

The clergy, as well as other colonists, found it difficult to choose sides as the year 1774 ushered in the gathering storm. Many, no doubt, tried to pursue a middle path, although it became increasingly difficult so to do. On the one hand, their salaries were substantially aided by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the majority of the North Carolina clergy had been born overseas. The church was tied to the crown and hence to the royal governor as the crown's representative. The liturgy was filled with prayers for those in authority. Yet their parishioners were putting more and more pressure upon these ministers to avow themselves in the American cause. It was a trying situation.

The Reverend Mr. James Reed hesitated to recommend repeal of the 1774 act permitting the whipping of inmates of the workhouses because, as he said, "I need not inform you that all America is in a most violent flame and every good man would forbear as much as possible adding the least Fuel to the Fire."[129]

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[125] Cheshire, *Church in the Province of North Carolina*, 82.
[126] *Colonial Records*, VII, 764-765.
[127] R. D. W. Connor, ed., "A Sermon by Rev. George Micklejohn Preached before Governor Tryon's Army at Hillsborough, September 25, 1768," *North Carolina Booklet*, VIII (1908), 57.
[128] Henderson, *The Church of the Atonement*, 16-17.
[129] *Colonial Records*, IX, 1015.

Daniel Earl also walked circumspectly. In 1775 he wrote:

> As for my own part I have as yet kept clear of any censure among my parishioners, and I never introduce any Topic into the Pulpit except exhortations and prayers for peace, good order and a speedy reconciliation with Great Britain.[130]

Governor Martin sent a last-minute appeal to the Earl of Dartmouth to strengthen the church as a means of preventing armed rebellion. He believed that the Anglicans posessed more loyalty, moderation, and respect for the government than did the Presbyterians; and therefore urged placing the clergy on a more secure footing. He was convinced, he said, "that order and good government are nowhere so well maintained as where the duties of religion are carefully observed and inculcated. . . ."[131] His appeal, however, was too late.

The formation of local Committees of Safety forced the clergy to take sides. Daniel Earl wrote of the attitude of these Committees toward his profession thus:

> The situation of the clergy in this part of the world is at present truly critical, on acount of the difficulty of comporting themselves in such a manner as to give no umbrage to the Inhabitants. Some of them have been suspended, deprived of their Salaries, and, in the American manner proscribed by the Committees, and thereby rendered incapable of getting any settlement in any part of the united Colonies, and all this on account of charges against them of opposing the general cause of America, and how far they are to blame I am not able to determine, but verily believe that if the most learned and eloquent Divine in England was to endeavor to dissuade the Americans from their present Resolutions he could make no impression upon them, but contrarywise rather inflame them, so tenacious are they of the measures they have adopted.[132]

A convenient method of dividing the sheep from the goats was the proclamation by the Continental Congress setting aside July 20, 1775, as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer. James Reed, by refusing to hold services on that day, was promptly aligned by the Committee of Safety with the goats. Their resolution of the very next day read:

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[130] *Colonial Records*, X, 238.
[131] *Colonial Records*, IX, 1086-1087.
[132] *Colonial Records*, X, 238.

The Committee taking into consideration the unaccountable behavior and conduct of *Mr Reed,* in deserting his congregation yesterday, when almost all ranks and denominations of Christians among us were assembled at the church by order of the Continental Congress, to humiliate ourselves before *God,* by fasting and prayer, to avert from us his heavy judgments now hanging over us; have

Resolved that the Vestry of this Parish be earnestly requested to suspend the said *James Reed* from his ministerial function in the said parish and that they immediately direct their churchwardens to stop payment of the said *Mr Reed's* salary as minister of the said Parish.[133]

In February of the following year, however, Reed was allowed to resume the holding of services,[134] and there is no other evidence that he took part one way or the other in succeeding events of the war.

The Reverend Mr. John Wills, at Wilmington, resigned in 1775 but remained quietly in the vicinity and performed marriages when desired to do so.[135] He presented a petition of some sort to the Provincial Congress in December, 1776,[136] perhaps asking to be allowed to take the oath. No action is recorded, and Wills vanishes from sight. Francis Johnston, on the other hand, preferred to leave the state. James Buchanan wrote concerning it to Governor Caswell, September 22, 1777:

Enclosed is three certificates from the Clerk of our County Court, certifying that the Revd. Mr. Francis Johnston, Mr. Robert Lenox, and myself, have given bond and security, to depart the State in sixty days from the date, having refused to take the oath prescribed by this State.[137]

He requested passes for the West Indies.

Micklejohn at first remained Tory. While serving as chaplain for the Loyalists at Moores Creek Bridge, he was captured and paroled to Perquimans County.[138] He failed to go and was ordered to be removed by the commanding officer of the Second Regiment of Orange County.[139] In November, 1776, he petitioned the

[133] *Colonial Records,* X, 115-116.
[134] *Colonial Records,* X, 428.
[135] Samuel A. Ashe, "Sketch of Colonial Church in North Carolina," reprinted from the *Carolina Churchman,* XX (December, 1929), 9.
[136] *Colonial Records,* X, 976.
[137] *Colonial Records,* XI, 633.
[138] *Colonial Records,* X, 560.
[139] *Colonial Records,* X, 646.

Provincial Congress to be allowed to take the oath,[140] which they granted. Micklejohn was thereupon "discharged."[141] By 1779 he was evidently completely accepted as a patriot, for in that year he was named by the Assembly to the board of trustees of the newly established Granville Hall or Academy.[142]

Daniel Earl's sympathies are controversial. In 1774 he presided over the meeting at Edenton which, while pledging allegiance to the king, declared British taxes and the Boston Port Bill to be unjust, and urged non-importation.[143] Yet a year later he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he had not taken sides, and he it was who continued to receive his salary from the Society until 1783. His daughter, however, married the patriot Charles Johnson and there is no record of any family quarrels.[144] It would appear that Earl was more successful than most in keeping on good terms with everyone.

Of the eleven members of the clergy who were residents of North Carolina in 1776, three were loyalists: James Reed, John Wills, and Francis Johnston. One, George Micklejohn, changed from loyalist to patriot. One, Daniel Earl, seems to have been almost neutral, but from lack of any action against him must have leaned a little to the patriot side. Of the remaining six men, there is conflicting evidence on one other, Charles Pettigrew.

Pettigrew, a native of Pennsylvania, was requested by the Senate of the state to preach before them in 1777, which he did.[145] When the Senate attempted to pass a bill remunerating him for his services, which was customary, the House twice refused to concur.[146] This would indicate some question in the mind of the House as to his political views. He, too, continued to receive his salary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for several years, and when drafted by the state for the army, he sent a substitute.[147] Certainly he was not burning with zeal for the Revolutionary cause.

Four of the five remaining clergymen are frequently mentioned in the *Colonial and State Records* as having aided the patriots

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[140] *Colonial Records*, X, 917.
[141] *Colonial Records*, X, 932.
[142] *State Records*, XXIV, 297.
[143] *Colonial Records*, IX, 1037-1038.
[144] Dillard, "St. Paul's Church, Edenton," 26.
[145] *State Records*, XII, 149.
[146] *State Records*, XII, 155, 159, 321, 322.
[147] Bennett Harrison Wall, "Charles Pettigrew," (unpublished master's thesis, Chapel Hill, 1940), 12-13.

in one way or another. Charles Edward Taylor was at one time chairman of the Safety Committee of Northampton County, at one meeting of which Anthony Warwick was condemned for carrying powder clandestinely from Virginia to Hillsborough, and was voted "an object to be held in the utmost detestation by all lovers of American freedom."[148] Taylor also read evening services for the Provincial Congress for a period of time.[149]

Charles Cupples was chosen chaplain to the Senate in 1779[150] and again in 1780.[151] A resolution to pay him $20,000 for his services in 1781 was defeated;[152] but at this late date it was probably not because of a question of his patriotism but of economy. Nathaniel Blount, a native North Carolinian, held services in 1775 at the request of the Safety Committee of Pitt County,[153] and also for the Assembly at New Bern in 1778. He was asked by the Assembly to "deliver a discourse suitable to that important occasion," which occasion was a day of national humiliation, fasting, and prayer.[154] Nevertheless, the dislike of the people of the state for the legal establishment of the church was revealed in 1775 when even the patriotic Blount was asked by the Safety Committee to resign his twenty-year contract with the parish. The Committee felt that the contract had "much Divided the United plans of this county."[155]

Only one clergyman saw military service. Hezekiah Ford was chaplain to the Fifth Regiment of the North Carolina Continental Line, commissioned on April 20, 1776. He seems to have served about seventeen months.[156] Concerning the eleventh and last clergyman, Thomas Burgess, there is no record.

Among the Anglican laity who supported the Revolutionary cause there are a few outstanding names. General Robert Howe, of Brunswick, served throughout the war. John Harvey was state chairman of the Committee of Correspondence and also Speaker of the House. He issued the call for the first Provincial Congress held at New Bern. Samuel Johnston was the first

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[148] *Colonial Records*, X, 140.
[149] *Colonial Records*, X, 169; V, 1214.
[150] *State Records*, XIII, 788, 789, 815.
[151] *State Records*, XV, 196.
[152] *State Records*, XVII, 705, 782.
[153] *Colonial Records*, X, 64.
[154] *State Records*, XII, 675.
[155] *Colonial Records*, X, 122.
[156] *State Records*, XVI, 1056.

chairman of the Provincial Council, a position equivalent at one time to that of governor. James Iredell was also a churchman. Colonel Richard Buncombe was killed in action at Germantown; Joseph Hewes signed the Declaration of Independence; Thomas Jones had a large part in drawing up the State Constitution of 1776.[157] There is very little information available on Anglican loyalists. From these facts one may conclude that membership in the Church of England was not a factor in deciding the political views of its laymen.

Independence brought a revolution to the church as an institution. The citizens, as one of their important considerations in drawing up a constitution in 1776, decided to separate church and state. The Orange County delegates to the Halifax convention were instructed to "insist upon a free and unrestrained exercise of religion to every individual agreeable to that mode which each man shall choose for himself," and to abolish all required financial support, permit marriages to be solemnized by all clergy, but to exclude Catholics from office-holding.[158] The Mecklenburg delegation was similarly instructed to permit all professing Christians to enjoy freedom of worship and conscience, but it was to exclude from office-holding all atheists, Catholics, and Unitarians. The delegation was also to work for the repeal of all the vestry and marriage laws as they then existed.[159]

The constitution of 1776 contained three articles which related to separation of church and state. Article 31 provided that no active clergyman might be a member of the Assembly or the council. Article 32 limited office-holding to persons who did not deny "the Being of God, or the Truth of the Protestant Religion." Article 34 provided that no one church should ever be established, nor any person be compelled to attend church or pay for a glebe, church, or minister unless he voluntarily agreed to do so.[160]

Several ordinances affecting the church were passed at the same time. Ministers of all denominations were granted the right to solemnize marriages.[161] Protection in property rights was provided by granting that all glebes, churches, lands, etc.,

[157] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 140-155.
[158] *Colonial Records*, X, 870g.
[159] *Colonial Records*, X, 870d.
[160] *Colonial Records*, X, 1011.
[161] *State Records*, XII, 726; XXIII, 997.

"heretofore purchased . . . shall be and remain forever to the Use and Occupancy of that religious Society, Church, Sect, Denomination. . . ."[162] All arrears in salaries or other claims due the clergy up to December 18, 1776, were validated and were to be paid.[163]

As the establishment of the church was already weak prior to 1776, it is doubtful if the new constitutional provisions and ordinances weakened it much further. The loss of support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was a more severe blow. The war itself, too, contributed much to the physical destruction of churches and property which the congregations were either unable or unwilling to repair. In spite of the provision guaranteeing continued possession of church property, the counties sometimes sold glebes and lands and kept the money. A petition sent by Tyrrell County to the Assembly for restoration of its property was not approved.[164] The Bible and prayer book belonging in the Edgecombe County church were sold by the county court and the money therefrom given to the Overseers of the Poor.[165] Trinity Church in Scotland Neck, after the death of Parson Burgess, fell into disuse and was taken over by a Baptist congregation.[166] St. James's in Wilmington suffered from the British occupation.

The enclosure of the graveyard was removed and burnt, while the church itself was stripped of its pews and furniture, and converted into a hospital for the sick, then into a blockhouse for defence against the Americans, and finally into a riding-school for Tarleton's dragoons.[167]

It is not to be wondered at that the congregations drifted to other churches. Apparently many irreligious persons attempted to prevent the holding of services, for in 1785 the Assembly deemed it necessary to levy a fine of five pounds on any person trying to obstruct the roadways leading to a house of public worship.[168]

The clergy, of course, did not receive salaries from the state after 1776, nor had they been doing so for at least three years

[162] *State Records*, XXIII, 986.
[163] *State Records*, XXIV, 91.
[164] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 208-209.
[165] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 263.
[166] *The Church Messenger*, Aug. 25, 1881.
[167] *The Church Messenger*, April 28, 1881.
[168] Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 98.

prior to that in many cases. The interruption of trade with England prevented funds or goods from arriving from that source.[169] The clergy did not starve, but they were forced to turn to other occupations, such as farming and teaching, in order to earn a living, and their care for their parishes gradually diminished.[170] The vestries also vanished, that of St. Paul's at Edenton becoming known as the Court of Overseers of the Poor, and then finally ceasing to function altogether.[171] Especially in the rural areas of the state, one found in 1783 only "roofless and forsaken churches, with broken altars and a scattered and diminished Clergy!"[172]

By 1790 there were five Episcopal clergymen resident in the state: Charles Pettigrew, Nathaniel Blount, and George Micklejohn, of colonial days, and two new ones, Wilson of Martin and Dr. Cutting of New Bern.[173] So demoralized was the church that even these men were not sure if there were other ministers or not. Pettigrew sent a list of the names just given to Dr. Cutting saying: "These are all the clergy of the Episcopal order that I have heard of in the State. Should you know or hear of any to the Southward of New Berne, I must request the favor of you to acquaint them with the matter [of a convention]." To which Dr. Cutting replied that he would "diligently enquire whether there are any of their Episcopal brethren to the Southward of New Berne."[174] Dr. Cutting's congregation was completely disorganized and there was no one possessing any authority. He wrote to Pettigrew:

> How it may be in other Parishes or Congregations in this State, I know not; but here we have no Church-wardens, vestrymen, nor any officer to take any charge or care of the Church. Whatever meetings therefore we may hold in the Church will be spontaneous, unbacked by proper authority.[175]

In the face of all this, the clergy of North Carolina attempted to organize a diocese within the new Protestant Episcopal

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[169] Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 87; see letter from Earl, *Colonial Records*, IX, 1251.
[170] Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 5; F. L. Hawks, "Early Church in North Carolina," *American Church Review*, III (1850-1851), 307.
[171] *200th Anniversary of The Building of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edenton, North Carolina* (The Chowan Herald Print, 1936), 11.
[172] Buxton, *Early History of the Church in America*, 5.
[173] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 183.
[174] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 184.
[175] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 184.

Church of America. It will be necessary here to sketch briefly the creation of the American church in order to understand the situation in North Carolina.

Beginning with a meeting at Chestertown, Maryland, in 1780 steps were taken to draw together all the Episcopal churches in the various states and to adopt a constitution providing for their liturgy and government. The first general convention was held in New York in 1784, but neither North Carolina nor New England sent delegates. At Philadelphia in the following year the revised liturgy and the new constitution were adopted.[176]

The next problem was to secure bishops for the United States. The English church was not too eager to consecrate bishops for America, so that Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, chosen by the church in that state, was forced to seek consecration from the non-juring bishops of Scotland. This he did in 1784.[177] Meantime, John Adams, then minister to England, had ascertained that the bishops of Denmark were willing to "confer holy orders on American Candidates without any Tests which (like those insisted on in England) would be improper for Americans to comply with."[178] It did not prove necessary to accept this offer, however, for the British Parliament in 1786 passed a law granting to the English bishops the permission to consecrate Americans, and in 1787 Bishops White of Pennsylvania and Provoost of New York received that sacrament in Lambeth Palace, England.[179] In 1789 James Madison, president of William and Mary College, was elected Bishop of Virginia and was consecrated in England the following year.[180] Also in 1789 the New England churches ratified the constitution and Bishop Seabury was added to the American episcopate.[181] As soon as there were three bishops, the episcopate could be self-perpetuating, so that by 1790 the American church had become independent.

North Carolina had taken no part in any of the above events. Bishop White, however, had written to Governor Johnston in 1789 asking him to have the clergy consult on church interests.

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[176] William Stevens Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church* (Boston, 1885, 2 vols.), II, 26-32.
[177] Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 52-53.
[178] *State Records*, XVII, 435.
[179] Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 66-73.
[180] Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 124-125.
[181] Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, II, 98.

The bishop apparently knew of no minister to whom he might address the letter. The governor seems to have given it to Pettigrew, who wrote to Dr. Cutting and others urging a state convention in Tarborough in 1790.[182]

The first meeting was held on June 5, 1790, attended by two clergymen and two laymen: Charles Pettigrew, the Rev. Mr. James L. Wilson, Dr. John Leigh, and William Clements. The last of these was very active in the next few years in the attempt to establish a diocese.[183] The smallness of the meeting must have been very disappointing. Pettigrew wrote to Bishop White explaining it:

> The Clergy of this State find it necessary to engage in the business of farming, for the support of their families, as contribution has ever been found so precarious a dependence; and this is perhaps the most busy season of the year, which I did not consider when I made the appointment. This is perhaps a principal reason why our Convention has been so small.[184]

Nevertheless these four men proceeded to business. They ratified the constitution of the General Convention, called a new meeting for November, and planned to advertise it in the papers.[185] They sent an address to the General Convention in which they regretted not having known of its last meeting in time to send a delegate; approved the actions of the convention, and "cheerfully subscribe[d] and accede[d] to the union." The address continued:

> The state of our Church in this Commonwealth is truly deplorable from the paucity of its clergy and the multiplicity of opposing sectarians who are using every possible exertion to seduce its members to their different communions. This grievance, however, we hope will be reduced in time by the energy of its faithful labourers. . . .[186]

With this, the convention adjourned.

The second convention met in November as scheduled, but the delegates are not named or numbered except for the Rev. Mr. Micklejohn who was elected president. Six delegates were named

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[182] Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., Comp., *The Early Conventions, Held at Tarborough, Anno Domini 1790, 1793, and 1794* (Raleigh, 1882), 2.
[183] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 2-3.
[184] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 186.
[185] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 9-10.
[186] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 10-11.

to attend the next General Convention, which would be in 1792; a committee for the state was named; the laity were to have right of representation in the state convention; and a convention was to meet every year.[187]

The work of this convention was in vain. The meeting scheduled for 1791 was not even held. A letter from Pettigrew to Bishop White endeavored to explain:

> . . . I had determined to be at our next *Episcopal Convention,* which was to meet in October, 1791, and not far off when I received your letter: I therefore, defered answering it, in hopes that would furnish some new communication, which might render my letter more acceptable.
>
> But being seized with a certain ague, two or three days before I was to have set out, I found it out of my power to give my attendance, as the distance was about a hundred miles. I soon after wrote to one of my brethren, to know what was done on that occasion, that I might transmit to you the particulars. But his letter having fallen into the hands of some careless person, I received it but a few days ago. It informs me, that there did not convene members sufficient to proceed to business.[188]

Nor did any of the delegates to the General Convention attend. Only James Wilson started on the journey; but meeting with contrary winds on the voyage from Norfolk to New York, he arrived after the convention had adjourned.[189] However, a letter from the North Carolina convention and a copy of the proceedings of their 1790 meeting were read before the General Convention.[190] The list of all clergy which is appended to that body's journals for each meeting does not include any names from North Carolina, presumably because it had received no official communication containing such information.[191]

Yet a few brave souls did not give up hope. They tried again to hold a convention in November, 1793, this time with six persons in attendance. The meeting planned an advertisement and circular letter to urge each county to choose a vestry and name a lay reader; and they issued a call for another meeting the following spring.[192]

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[187] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions,* 13-15.
[188] De Rosset, *Sketches,* 188.
[189] *Journals of the Early [Protestant Episcopal] Conventions* (Claremont, N. H., 1874, 2 vols.), I, 173.
[190] *Journals of the Early Conventions,* I, 154.
[191] *Journals of the Early Conventions,* I, 175-179.
[192] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions,* 17-18.

There were twelve delegates at Tarborough when the convention met in May, 1794. Present among the clergy were several of familiar name: Pettigrew, Wilson, Nathaniel Blount, Dr. Halling, and Robert Johnston Miller.[193] The decision was made to elect a Bishop of North Carolina, which office fell to Charles Pettigrew. A constitution for the diocese was drawn up and approved, the preamble to which stated their purposes as follows:

> *Whereas,* There are numbers of good people in this State who have been educated in the faith of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and many other religious and well-disposed persons who appear to be desirous to worship God according to the forms used in said Church; We, the Clergy and lay deputies in Convention met, have thought it advisable to frame a Constitution for the future government of said Church; and humbly pray at the throne of Heavenly Grace that our endeavors may prove effectual to the promotion of virtue and true religion.[194]

These papers, together with the testimonial of election of Charles Pettigrew, were sent to Bishop White, who promised that although the certificate of election was irregular and would have to be voted on by the next General Convention, "we may presume on their entertaining an inclination to do whatever is in their power for the increasing of the respectability, and the providing for the further increase of our Church."[195]

The efforts to organize a diocese, however, were but the faint glow of a dying flame. Bishop Cheshire wrote later that the church was looking backward to the establishment with a hopeless and powerless feeling concerning the future. Self-reliance had been destroyed and the spiritual life of the church had been obscured by the civil relationship to the state which had existed prior to the Revolution.[196]

For Bishop-elect Pettigrew to be consecrated, it was necessary that he attend a General Convention. This he never did. Although he set out in 1795 to take ship at Norfolk, he found yellow fever

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[193] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 21-23. Miller had been ordained in the Lutheran Church that year with the understanding that he regarded himself as an Episcopalian. He was finally ordained by Bishop Moore in 1821. See De Rosset, *Sketches*, 378-400.
[194] Cheshire, *The Early Conventions*, 25.
[195] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 205.
[196] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 243-254.

so rampant there that he returned home. In 1798, the year of the next meeting, Philadelphia itself experienced a yellow fever epidemic and the convention was postponed a year. There is no evidence that Pettigrew had planned to attend, however. In 1799, 1801, and 1804, his "poor crazy constitution," as he once called it, prevented any journey on his part.[197] It was impossible for any great growth to take place in the church without a bishop. Pettigrew, while held in great esteem both then and since, possessed no authority and seems almost to have retired from service. Occasionally he sent letters of instruction to Dr. Halling and Blount, and once urged the organization of a congregation in Person County; but that was the extent of his activity.[198]

The decline of the church became ever more pronounced. From 1783 to 1817 only six North Carolinians were ordained to the ministry.[199] Frequently, as in the case of Christ Church, New Bern, schoolmasters served in the church in an attempt to hold it together.[200] Congregations stayed together sometimes because of the perseverance of some member; thus Elizabeth and Susan Wainwright in Rowan County "were a tremendous power in their church" and kept it from being scattered until 1817 when the Rev. Mr. Miller finally organized it.[201] By 1803 the chapel at Skinnersville was in so unsafe a condition that the congregation was in danger while in it. Pettigrew himself financed the replacement of the building.[202] St. John's Church in Williamsboro was the scene of rope-dancing, punch-and-judy shows, and public theatricals until 1819.[203] The will of the Rev. Mr. John Alexander, dated 1795, illustrates the well-nigh hopeless feeling of churchmen of the time:

The manly, masculine voice of Orthodoxy is no longer heard in our land; far therefore from my grave be the senseless rant of whining Fanaticism, her hated and successful rival. Cant and grimace dishonour the dead as well as disgrace the living. Let the Monitor within, who never deceives, alone pronounce my funeral oration, while some friendly hand deposites my poor

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[197] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 197-201.
[198] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 205, 208.
[199] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 249.
[200] Carraway, *Crown of Life*, 112-119.
[201] Robert B. Owens, *Christ Church, Rowan County* (Charlotte, 1921), 6-7.
[202] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 215.
[203] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 211.

remains close by the ashes of my beloved daughter Elizabeth, with whom I trust to share a happy eternity.[204]

When Charles Pettigrew died in 1807, there was no Episcopal minister left in the state except Nathaniel Blount, who lived too far away to hold the funeral services.[205] When Blount died in 1816, there was left not a single minister of the church in North Carolina.[206]

The darkest hour, however, had passed. After 1812 several young clergymen from the North had come to parishes in North Carolina; and while they were not there in 1816, the year of Blount's death, they soon returned to continue their work. Chief among these was Adam Empie, who was rector of St. James's in Wilmington. Upon his urging, a convention was held April 23, 1817, at New Bern, with four parishes represented. This convention, made up of nine delegates, adhered to the constitution of the General Convention, invited Bishop Moore of Virginia to serve their diocese too, adopted a state constitution, chose two delegates to the General Convention, and agreed to support a missionary in the state.[207]

This time the work was not to fail. Moses Jarvis, the lay delegate, attended the General Convention of 1817, held in New York, the first time a North Carolinian had been present.[208] The new diocese was recognized, Jarvis was put on the committee on the state of the church,[209] and the first list of North Carolina clergy appeared in the convention journals.[210] The report on the state of the church contained a section on North Carolina. This section stated that three parishes had settled ministers; namely, Fayetteville, Wilmington, of "considerable size and generally well attended," and New Bern, which was "numerously and respectably attended." None of the clergymen were from North Carolina. Edenton possessed a church but had had no rector for two years past, while Washington had lately lost Blount.[211] This

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[204] Quoted in *The Church Messenger*, Aug. 7, 1884.
[205] *Centennial Ceremonies Held in Christ Church Parish, Raleigh, N. C., A.D. 1921* (Raleigh, 1922), 14.
[206] De Rosset, *Sketches*, 262.
[207] *Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina*, 1817, 3-6; hereinafter cited as *N. C. Journals*.
[208] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 452.
[209] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 457.
[210] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 508.
[211] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 476.

would appear to be a small basis on which to erect a strong church, no bigger in fact than that in 1794; but a new generation had taken charge which had no concept of any type of church except a freely and voluntarily supported one.

It is also interesting to note that the initiative and leadership came from persons who were not North Carolinians by birth or up-bringing. Adam Empie, of New York, and Bethel Judd, of Connecticut, came south for their health. Empie was asked to take charge at Wilmington and Judd organized a new congregation at Fayetteville. Of that new congregation, the North Carolina *Journals* for 1818 reported:

> The zeal of that congregation, of which young men form a principal part, has been eminently evinced by their regular and devout attention to the worship of the church; by their liberal contributions for the support of their minister; and by their donations and exertions for the erection of a church, which will soon be completed. . . .[212]

Hopefully the 1818 convention met at Fayetteville. It reported:

> It is now but little more than a year since there has been a hope of the revival of the church in this state. Never was there a more gloomy season to its friends, than that which preceded this period: But the prospect has greatly brightened; and, by the blessing of Heaven, perseverance will crown their efforts with abundant success.[213]

One new church was admitted, $316.30 was reported for the missionary fund, delegates were chosen to attend the next General Convention, and a constitution was adopted for the Missionary Society.[214]

The following table of statistics will show the growth of the church, 1817-1823, as reported in the *Journals* of the annual conventions of the Diocese of North Carolina. As some parishes made no reports or were absent, the figures are not complete.

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[212] *N. C. Journals*, 1818, 8.
[213] *N. C. Journals*, 1818, 9.
[214] *N. C. Journals*, 1818, 6-14.

	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823
Clergy attending	3	4	5	5	7	11	7
Laymen attending	6	6	7	5	10	21	23
Parishes represented	4	4	5	6	7	10	13
New parishes admitted		1	2		3	6	7
Baptisms		61	83	105	76	143	202
Communicants		168	250	326	332	370	432
Deacons ordained			2	2	2		3
Priests ordained				1	1		
Confirmations				221*			
Missionary fund		$316.30	1,100	1,000	1,200	210	1,105.34
Missionaries			1		2	5	4

* This represents the visit of Bishop Moore to the diocese.

Statistics do not tell the whole story. In the 1819 report on the state of the church, the committee on that subject stated:

Her interests have continued to advance with a success equal to every reasonable expectation; a considerable accession has been made to her numbers. The churches represented in this convention are in a more flourishing state than they were at our last meeting. . . . For many years, little has been done, because all seemed to despair of success. The friends of our church, regarding her state as hopeless, contented themselves with mourning over her ruins without making any efforts to raise her from her desolations. But the happy change which has lately been made, has called into action the zealous endeavors of many of her followers; and there is good reason to believe, that [they] will continue to increase.[215]

The new spirit was revealed in the sermon delivered before the 1820 Convention by the Rev. Mr. Gregory T. Bedell. He described the decree of Cyrus by which the Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. Comparing that situation with that of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, he concluded: " 'Who is there among you?' The way is prepared. Our God is with us. Let us go up."[216]

The report on North Carolina made to the General Convention of 1820 stated, in part:

At a period no more remote than the fall of 1816, the Protestant Episcopal Church in this state, was nearly at the lowest point of depression. There were, indeed, some who felt a lively

[215] *N. C. Journals*, 1819, 10.
[216] *N. C. Journals*, 1820, 17-31.

interest in her welfare and who wept when they remembered Zion. But, like Israel of old, they hung their harps upon the willows in almost hopeless anguish. Even those few houses of God, which had, for some years before, occasionally or statedly resounded with his praise, were closed and deserted; and the pious of our communion, though attached both by education and principle to the Church of their fathers despairing of seeing her ever again arise from the dust, stood ready to abandon her cause, and to unite themselves with any among whom they could enjoy, in any measure, the benefit of divine ordinances. But, blessed be the name of the Lord, the set time for Him to have compassion upon this part of Zion had come. He viewed with an eye of relenting mercy, the desolations with which his justice had visited her sins. The prayers of the faithful were heard by the Great Head of the Church, and the decree was sent forth—Let Jerusalem be rebuilt.[217]

The new diocese also participated in the affairs of the Episcopal Church as a whole. Delegates attended the General Conventions of 1817, 1820, and 1823, and the special convention of 1821. Moses Jarvis, Jr., served on the committee for the theological seminary.[218] Later Duncan Cameron served as chairman of that committee and was chosen a trustee of the new institution.[219] The Rev. Mr. Gregory T. Bedell was named as one of the managers of the newly established Missionary Society.[220] When funds were being raised for the seminary, North Carolina subscribed nearly $10,000 toward endowing a professorship, the largest amount raised in any diocese. The Convention reported that the new diocese "has manifested a distinguished zeal and liberality in the cause of the seminary."[221]

The organization of the diocese would not be completed, however, until it had secured its own bishop. By 1821 it was felt that the time had come for such action and in the convention of that year a committee was appointed to discuss the financial support of the episcopate.[222] The next year the committee assured the convention of the feasibility of the project, and a new committee was named to begin raising funds. A resolution was adopted to elect a bishop the following year.[223]

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[217] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 541.
[218] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 461.
[219] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 524, 551.
[220] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 553.
[221] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, I, 629-632.
[222] *N. C. Journals*, 1821, 19-20.
[223] *N. C. Journals*, 1822, 24.

The 1823 North Carolina convention was held in Salisbury, on April 10-14. The finance committee having made a satisfactory report, the clerical deputies unanimously nominated John Stark Ravenscroft, of Virginia, to be Bishop of the Diocese of North Carolina. The laity approved, and his salary was fixed at $750 annually.[224]

On Thursday, May 22, 1823, at St. Paul's Church in Philadelphia where the General Convention was meeting, the consecration service for Bishop Ravenscroft was held, and the sermon was preached by Bishop Griswold of the Eastern (New England) Diocese.[225] Thus at last, after years of struggle, the church in North Carolina was firmly established—not on the old basis of state support, in which it had failed, but on the new basis of an independent, voluntary church supported by the desires, energy, and labors of its clergy and its congregations.

[224] *N. C. Journals*, 1823, 21-23.
[225] *Journals of the Early Conventions*, II, 18-19.

THE PROFESSIONAL THEATER IN WILMINGTON, 1900-1930*

By Donald J. Rulfs

As indicated in a previous survey of the professional theater in Wilmington from 1870 to 1900,[1] the trade of the port in the chief commodities of cotton, lumber, and turpentine increased steadily during the 1880's and 1890's, with the result that the number of theatrical offerings per season increased gradually until the final season of 1899-1900 when there were 108 performances. During the first seasons of the new century, all types of entertainment that had been popular in the last decade of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the spectacular melodramas, continued to draw good audiences.

During the period covered by this survey, Wilmington increased in population from 20,976 in 1900 to 33,372 in 1920 and then receded to 32,270 by 1930. By 1909 it had become the third largest naval stores port in the world and the fourth largest cotton port.[2] After 1910 in spite of the competition of Norfolk, which was enjoying the benefits of low freight rates on the trunk lines of the Norfolk and Western and the Chesapeake and Ohio to the Middle West,[3] the volume of shipping continued to increase. According to U. S. Government reports, the tonnage and value of merchandise passing through Wilmington almost doubled during the decade 1916-1926. In 1916 the tonnage was 521,530 with a value of over thirty-four million, while by 1926 the tonnage had risen to 951,337 with a value of fifty-nine and a half million.[4] During the 1920's the leading industries of the port were the distribution of petroleum products, the exportation of cotton, and the manufacture of fertilizer.[5] Furthermore, with the

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* This is the last in a series of three articles dealing with the professional theater in Wilmington, 1858-1930. The Editor.

[1] Donald J. Rulfs, "The Professional Theater in Wilmington, 1870-1900," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (July, 1951), 316-331. In preparing the present survey, I have found newspapers missing from the files for the following dates: September 25, 1900, through March 21, 1901; October 6, 1903, through December 31, 1903; and April 1, 1904, through December 31, 1904. Papers for these dates are not available in the main depositories of Wilmington newspapers—the Wilmington Public Library, the University of North Carolina Library, Duke University Library, the State Library, and the Library of Congress.

[2] Wilmington *Morning Star*, October 3, 1909; December 14, 1909.

[3] R. D. W. Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1929) II, 577.

[4] *Economic Survey of Wilmington, North Carolina*, University of North Carolina Extension Bulletins, VI, No. 14 (June 1, 1927), 115.

[5] *Economic Survey of Wilmington*, 24.

improvement of state highways during the 1920's, Wilmington became the central retail and wholesale market for at least nine counties in southeastern North Carolina.[6]

It should be noted in passing that the name of the theater, which had been changed from The Wilmington Theater to the Opera House at the beginning of the season 1871-1872, was again changed from the Opera House to the Academy of Music at the beginning of the season 1902-1903. In 1929 it was changed to Thalian Hall, as will be indicated below.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, one of the most popular of the long-run hit attractions on tour was the serious play, which was usually advertised as "a great emotional drama" and which was almost always labeled a "strong" play by the reviewers. The first of the most successful of these to visit Wilmington was Charles W. Chase's dramatization of Marie Corelli's novel *Thelma*, which appeared on October 7, 1901. The play had a setting in Norway and Finland and featured a realistic snow storm. Equally popular was W. E. Nankeville's *Human Hearts*, which was offered on September 18, 1902, and which was advertised as "A Tale of Life in the Picturesque Arkansas Hills." Next appeared *An Eye for an Eye*, adapted by L. Du Pont Syle from Dumas, *fils*, on January 19, 1903, with Kathryn Kidder in the leading role of Francine. The review stated that "Miss Kidder's portrayal of the stricken wife and her part in the final reconciliation was perfect, and supporting her was a clever and capable company."[7] During the next season, Will C. Murphy's *Why Women Sin*, advertised as "a stirring society melodrama," was offered on March 31, 1904, and at the beginning of the season 1905-1906, Eugenie Blair appeared on September 20 in Ibsen's *A Doll's House*. She was followed within a month, on October 5, by Effie Ellsler in a costly revival of Steele Mackaye's *Hazel Kirke*. Equally well received was Charles Mayor's recent London success *Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall* on October 20, 1906, matinee and evening, with Laura Burt and Henry Stanford. A month later, on November 23, Helen Grantley appeared in Channing Pollock's *The Little Gray Lady*, and she was found to be "one of the most charming and delightful actresses seen in this city in a long time."[8]

[6] *Economic Survey of Wilmington*, 79-91.
[7] *Morning Star*, January 20, 1903.
[8] Wilmington *Messenger*, November 24, 1906.

Perhaps the most elaborately staged serious play during these years was Denham Thompson and George W. Ryer's *Our New Minister,* which appeared for matinee and evening performances on January 26, 1907, with Joseph Conyers. It was advertised as a "$15,000 production," and it was touring in its seventh season. Next, Henry W. Savage's adaptation of Ferenc Molnar's *The Devil* was offered on October 9, 1908, by a capable touring company while the original production was still playing as the triumph of the season in New York. This was followed in the same month, on October 26, by William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide,* featuring John E. Ince and Claire Krall, and it was considered to be "strong, engaging throughout, and is put on with a wealth of scenic embellishment typifying the abandon of the great West and the culture of the refined East."[9] Within a month, on November 12, another hit appeared in the form of Henry V. Esmond's New York and London success *Under the Greenwood Tree,* with Florence Davis and Elliot Dexter. During the remainder of the season 1908-1909 two more outstanding serious plays appeared: George H. Broadhurst's *The Man of the Hour,* on February 13 with James A. Marcus, and Ibsen's *A Doll's House* on the following April 17 with Florence Davis. Although there was no review of the latter play, the writer for the *Morning Star* stated on the day of the performance that it was "a play penned by the oddest genius of modern times," and he discussed Ibsen's condemnation of "obnoxious customs" and "the hypocritical existence of unthinking folks."

The last season of the decade opened on September 4, 1909, with Eugene Walter's *The Wolf,* which returned on February 12, 1912, and it was followed by five other hit plays through the middle of February. On September 10, Henry Savage's *Forgiven* was presented with Lionel Lawrence, and it was described as "a play of the South . . . full of heart interest, mingling the tears with the smiles."[10] Next appeared on October 2 Thomas A. Wise's *A Gentleman from Mississippi,* dealing with an old-time Southern senator in Washington. This drama was mentioned in the advance notices as being "the most successful American play of the last 20 years, with the possible exception of *The Man of the Hour,*"[11] and after the performance itself, the piece was declared

[9] *Morning Star,* October 27, 1908.
[10] *Morning Star,* September 10, 1909.
[11] *Morning Star,* September 29, 1909.

to be "one of the best attractions ever seen here."[12] It returned later in the season on February 2. On October 16, 1909, Charles Klein's *The Lion and the Mouse,* starring Carolyn Elberts, was presented at matinee and evening performances, with a return engagement on March 7, 1912. On January 14, 1910, Eugene Walter's *Paid in Full,* which had run for two seasons in New York, was offered, and it returned on January 12, 1912, and December 15, 1913. The last serious play was *St. Elmo,* an adaptation by Neil Twomey of Augusta J. Evans's novel, presented on February 14, 1910, matinee and evening, with Burton King.

The very successful religious plays which had been popular during the 1890's continued during the years 1900-1910. The first of these, Charles W. Chase's dramatization of *Quo Vadis,* had first appeared in Wilmington on March 14, 1900, and it returned on April 8, 1901, for matinee and evening, and on the following November 28. The next of this type, on October 5, 1903, was *When Her Soul Speaks,* described as being "on the order of *The Christian* but not so radical as *Ben Hur.*"[13] On September 30, 1905, appeared an elaborate production of Hall Caine's *The Eternal City* with music by Pietro Mascagni. Later in the decade four religious plays appeared in rather rapid succession, the first being Richard Ganthony's *Message from Mars,* which had played for three years in London and two in New York, on January 21, 1907, matinee and evening. It offered a strong preachment against selfishness and was found to be "of absorbing interest."[14] During the next month, on February 7, *Parsifal,* advertised as "a sacred festival play," made a profound impression, and it returned the following October 26. It was followed on March 18, 1907, by Wilson Barrett's *The Sign of the Cross,* which so deeply moved the audience that there was no applause, ". . . the theme being too stirring in a soulful way for expression to be given by outward sign."[15] At the beginning of the next season Clarence Bennett's *The Holy City* on October 24 and 25, 1907, had the same general effect. Two years later, on November 9 and 10, 1909, Charles R. Kennedy's *The Servant in the House* presented a study of human relationships applying the teachings of Jesus to modern life.

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[12] *Morning Star,* October 4, 1909.
[13] *Morning Star,* September 26, 1903.
[14] *Messenger,* January 22, 1907.
[15] *Messenger,* March 19, 1907.

During the first decade four plays with historical themes were offered. The first of these, Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman,* which appeared on October 10, 1905, matinee and evening, provoked more unfavorable comment than any other production that visited Wilmington during the early twentieth century. In addition to the regular theatrical review, the *Messenger* carried a lengthy editorial, in which the writer showed disappointment in that he did not believe *The Clansman* gave a true picture of reconstruction problems and would therefore prove a failure as "an instructor of the present generation." He continued to the effect that "While exciting and calculated to arouse animosity between the two races, it does not teach a lesson to either."[16] In addition, the regular theatrical reviewer for the *Messenger* reported two "enormous audiences," but he found the company to be an "ordinary" one and felt that this was probably a good thing because accomplished performers could have made the appeals to prejudice even stronger than they were. The play returned on April 13, 1907, and February 27, 1908, but produced no further comment. Ivy Ashton Root's *Mozart* was presented on January 11, 1906, with Howard Kyle in the leading role. The piece was considered the best offering of the season up to that date, and the effects of Kyle's acting were strong: ". . . at times there was a stillness over the house like a death chamber, and at others tears stood in the eyes of his auditors."[17] During the next season, on March 14, 1907, Julia Marlowe's adaptation of Charles Major's *When Knighthood Was in Flower* appeared with Anna Day in the role of Mary Tudor. Every aspect of the production was praised, especially the scenery and costumes, which were considered "ample and gorgeous."[18] The last play was Thomas Dixon and Channing Pollock's *The Traitor,* a sequel to *The Clansman,* which was presented on October 21, 1908, but made no great impression.

Although many comedies were offered during the years 1900-1910, only a few were outstanding. The first was H. V. Esmond's *When We Were Twenty-one* on December 9, 1902, with a return engagement on November 14, 1905, for matinee and evening. Next, Henry G. Carlton's *That Imprudent Young Couple* with

[16] *Messenger,* October 11, 1905.
[17] *Messenger,* January 12, 1906.
[18] *Messenger,* March 15, 1907.

May Sargent proved a hit on September 25, 1903, and during the same season two additional comedy successes were Kirke La Shelle's *The Earl of Pawtucket* on January 11, 1904, and Robert Marshall's *His Excellency, the Governor* a week later on January 18. Few plays, however, could match the wide appeal of Alice Hegan Rice's *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch,* on March 14, 1906, with Mrs. Madge Carr Cook in the leading role. *My Wife's Family* by Hal Stephens and Harry Linton, on January 14, 1907, also pleased, as did *The Man on the Box,* an adaptation by Grace Furniss of Harold MacGrath's story, which was offered on April 6, 1907, featuring Max Figman. Sol Smith Russell's *The Peaceful Valley* on the following November 1 and 2 was perhaps the best of several rural comedies which depended largely on character acting and dialect. Satirical comedy was represented by George Ade's *The County Chairman* with William T. Chatterton on January 31, 1908, and we are told that "The keen satire and humor . . . were a constant source of delight, especiallly to those interested in the wire-pulling of politics."[19] George H. Broadhurst's *A Fool and His Money* was also well received on October 19, 1909, together with Margaret Mayo's *Polly of the Circus* on the following December 2. This elaborate production, featuring Fay Wallace as Polly, offered circus acts on the stage and carried three ponies, a trained donkey, and a horse.[20] Finally, the most successful of all the comedies, Pierre Veber's *The Girl From Rector's,* translated by Paul M. Potter, appeared on February 15, 1910, with Carrie Webber. The play had run for over one thousand nights in Paris, and three companies had run for one year each in Berlin, Vienna, and New York.

Just as numerous as serious plays and comedies were musical comedies, which became more and more elaborate in staging. Among the most successful of these was *The Belle of New York,* on December 16, 1901, which had enjoyed over two thousand performances in New York and London and was said to be "second only in all the world to the enormous vogue of *Pinafore* a generation ago."[21] *Miss Simplicity,* with a company of seventy performers, also packed the Opera House on December 16, 1902, as did *The Telephone Girl,* which opened the season on August

[19] *Messenger,* February 1, 1908.
[20] *Morning Star,* December 3, 1909.
[21] *Morning Star,* December 15, 1901.

31, 1903. It had been running in various cities and on tour for seven years and was described as "a magnificent production."[22] The beginning of the season 1905-1906 brought three hits in rapid succession: Charles H. Hoyt and Gus Bothner's *A Bunch of Keys* on September 21; *The Office Boy* with Frank Deshon on September 25; and *Fritz and Snitz,* featuring the comedy team of Mason and Mason with a company of sixty, on October 5. The show with the greatest number of return engagements, however, was *Buster Brown,* which first appeared on March 2 and 3, 1906, with Master Gabriel as Buster, and his dog Tige. A matinee for children was offered on November 3, and the show returned on January 10, 1907; January 25, 1908; and January 23, 1909. *Sergeant Kitty* with Helen Byron and a company of sixty opened the season on October 3, 1906, and the next hit was *The Runaways,* which had completed a long run at the Casino Theater in New York, starring George Ovey on October 23, 1908. *The Cat and the Fiddle* appeared on January 20, 1909, and February 21, 1910. On March 20, 1909, came *Fifty Miles from Boston,* the first of the George M. Cohan hits to come to Wilmington, and at the end of the same year, on December 13, appeared *The Red Mill,* an elaborate production by Henry Blossom and Victor Herbert.

The first of the star performers to appear was R. D. MacLean, who played opposite Odette Taylor in *The School for Scandal* on October 15, 1901. He was followed on December 9 of the same season by Rose Coghlan in Oscar Wilde's *A Woman of No Importance,* and she was found to be "all that the ecstatic press criticisms have proclaimed her."[23] She was also well received when she returned on January 7, 1904, in *The Greatest Thing in the World,* an adaptation of Henry Drummond's story. On January 2, 1902, James O'Neill, father of Eugene O'Neill, appeared in his perennial *Monte Cristo,* which advertised "the most magnificent scenic encompassments ever seen on the American stage." The review of the performance stated that "Almost every member of the cast is a star, and the performance may well be termed the gem of the theatrical season thus far."[24] The production returned four years later on February 15, 1906. Otis Skinner, who had first visited Wilmington on January 11, 1894, returned on

[22] *Morning Star,* September 1, 1903.
[23] *Morning Star,* December 10, 1901
[24] *Morning Star,* January 3, 1902.

February 28, 1902, in George H. Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* (1855), which was accurately described as "the most brilliant example of the poetic drama ever achieved by an American," and Skinner's interpretation of the leading role was also highly praised.[25] In the field of musical comedy, Wilmington theatergoers had the opportunity of seeing and hearing the vivacious reigning queen, Eva Tanguay, who appeared on February 15, 1905, in *The Sambo Girl.*

One of the most popular stars with Wilmington audiences, however, was Creston Clarke, nephew of Edwin Booth, who first appeared on January 5, 1906, in *Monsieur Beaucaire.* His very polished acting was praised as were the elegant sets and costumes of the period of George II.[26] He returned in the same year on December 11 in *The Ragged Messenger,* and again on December 27, 1907, in *The Power That Governs,* at which performance, we are told, "The applause of the audience reached such a high pitch at the end of the second act that the actors were forced to respond to several curtain calls."[27] Next came Mme. Helena Modjeska, who had first visited Wilmington on January 30, 1884. She returned on April 7, 1906, in *Mary Stuart,* of which performance it was said that "There were those present last night who had seen Modjeska 20 years or more ago, and they said she was the same artist only lacking, of course, the fire and life of youth. But the power over her audience was still hers. . . ."[28] On November 22, 1906, the famous Ben Greet Players offered *The Merchant of Venice,* and they returned on April 18 and 19, 1910, to present *A Midsummer Night's Dream, Twelfth Night* (matinee), and *As You Like It* on the lawn of the high school.

John Griffith, advertised as "America's leading tragedian," was well received in *Richard III* on November 8, 1907, and he returned on October 25 and 26, 1909, in *Macbeth,* with Edyth Totten as Lady Macbeth, and in *Faust.* The next star was May Robson in Anne Warner's *The Rejuvenation of Aunt Mary* on December 11, 1908. Concerning this performance we are informed that "The piece fairly scintillates with bright lines and clever situations, and Miss Robson and her support were clearly equal and more to each and every one of them."[29] The last noted

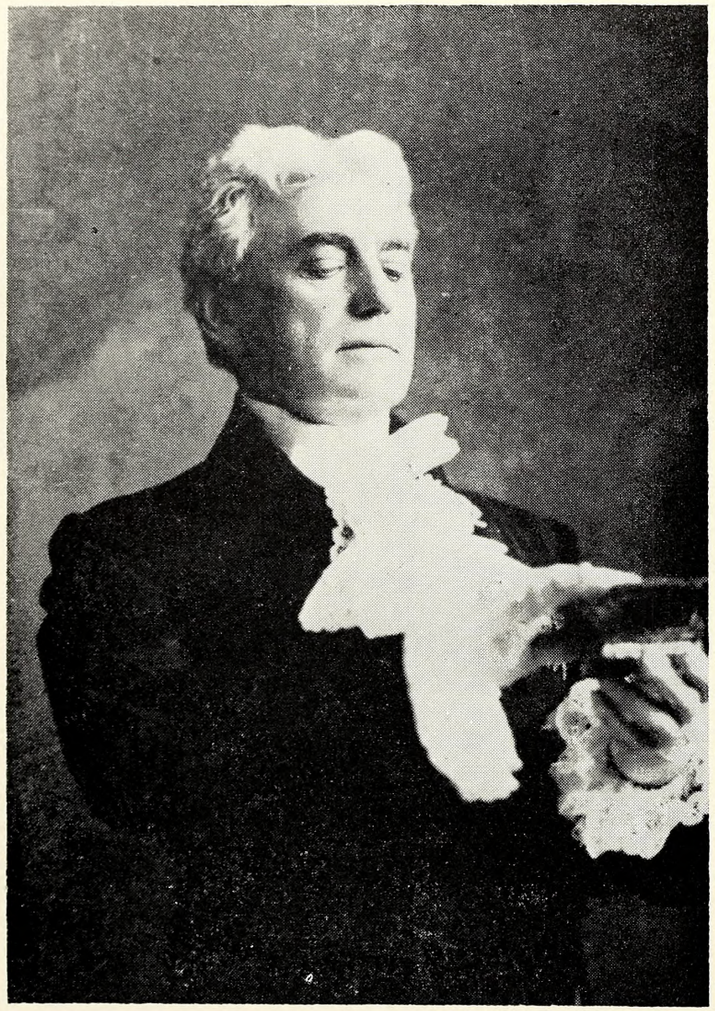
[25] *Morning Star,* February 25, 1902.
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[28] *Messenger,* April 8, 1906.
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[28] *Messenger,* April 8, 1906.
[29] *Morning Star,* December 12, 1908.



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JAMES O'NEILL as the Count of Monte Cristo.



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OTIS SKINNER as Lanciotto in *Francesca da Rimini.*

performer during the decade was Lillian Russell, who appeared on January 6, 1910, in *The First Night,* a comedy adapted by George V. Hobart from the German. She was found to be not only "beautiful and bewitching, gorgeously gowned," but also "a finished and capable actress."[30]

The repertoire or stock companies which had increased in number during the last five years of the nineteenth century continued to supply a large portion of the day-to-day entertainment between the appearances of hit plays and star performers. The companies continued engagements by the week, offering eight performances, with matinees on Wednesday and Saturday, and charging popular prices of 10, 20, and 30 cents. The engagement of a hit play or star performer, however, took precedence over the stock company and could break in on any night of the week. During a typical full season, such as that of 1906-1907, when there were exactly one hundred performances, the stock companies supplied fifty-one of the total offerings. Throughout the decade the plays given by these companies usually consisted of well-worn melodramas and farces, though occasionally an old hit play no longer on tour was attempted. The most popular troupes were the Mabel Paige, Osman's, the Peruchi-Gypzene, the Davis-Godwin, and the Four Pickerts.

In addition to plays and musical comedies, the decade witnessed some outstanding concert artists and two grand operas. The first artist was Blind Tom, the talented Negro pianist who had been appearing in Wilmington since 1862. He offered three concerts, including a matinee, on November 14 and 15, 1901. The next event was the Innes Band, sixty in number, on January 8, 1902, and November 8 of the same year. John Philip Sousa's Band played on February 7, 1902, and later on January 6, 1908. Another talented colored musician was Black Patti and her Troubadors, who were well received on September 29, 1902; March 3, 1904; January 1, 1907; and September 13, 1907. *Carmen* was offered on October 8, 1902, by the Gordon-Shay Grand Opera Company, featuring Cecelia Shay. This was followed on May 2, 1903, by the noted soprano Lillian Nordica, who appeared with the J. S. Duss Metropolitan House Orchestra. Next the pianist Edward Baxter Perry offered a recital on January 30, 1905, and returned on February 3, 1908. The second

[30] *Morning Star,* January 7, 1910.

opera, *Dorcas,* on November 18, 1905, featured Pauline Hall, and the same opera was repeated on November 16, 1907, by the Ethel Morton Opera Company. The New York Symphony Orchestra, with Walter Damrosch conducting and Marguerite Hall, contralto, as soloist, appeared on April 24, 1906. Beginning in the spring of 1909, the Wilmington chapter of the North Carolina Sorosis sponsored on May 26, 27, and 28 the first annual May Music Festival and presented several outstanding artists who performed with local musicians and choral groups. The Festival was repeated on June 1 and 2, 1910, though the artists were not of the same calibre as those of the preceding year.

At the beginning of the second decade of the century, seasons continued to be full, averaging about ninety performances. During the first season, when the Academy was under the management of Simeon A. Schloss, the hit attractions were coming in such rapid succession that the reviewer for the *Morning Star,* while commenting upon a performance of Clyde Fitch's *The City* on February 18, declared that "Without a doubt the present theatrical season in Wilmington has been the most glorious of all."[31] It was the next season with one hundred and fourteen performances, however, that proved to be the fullest until the outbreak of World War I. Before Germany's declaration of war against Russia on August 1, 1914, the opening of the new Victoria Theater on January 12, 1914, affected the season 1913-1914 at the Academy. The new theater had a seating capacity of 1,100 and offered daily bills of B. F. Keith Vaudeville, which became very popular. Almost immediately performances dropped off at the Academy, where there were ninety-five performances during the entire season, only seventeen of which occurred after the opening of the Victoria.

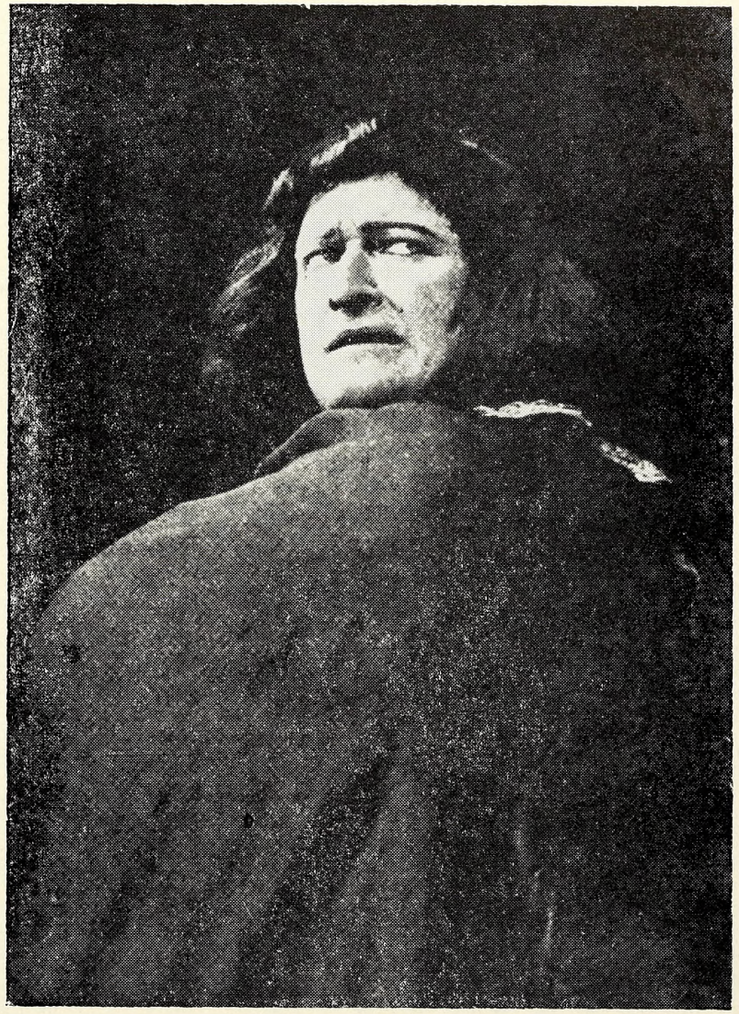
As a result of the general unrest caused by the beginning of the war and the nation-wide effort to economize, in addition to the competition of the Victoria, there were only forty-three performances at the Academy during 1914-1915. During the next season, the manager of the Victoria, Marx S. Nathan, opened on September 13, 1915, with a permanent stock company, the Harme Associate Players, and the performances at both theaters totaled eighty-nine for the season. The Academy at this time was under the management of George M. Bailey. During 1916-1917 there

[31] February 19, 1911.



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LILLIAN RUSSELL



Reproduction courtesy New York Public Library.

JOHN GRIFFITH as Macbeth

was a new low of thirty-six performances. At this time the United States was becoming more and more involved in the international situation, and war was finally declared against Germany on April 6, 1917. The season 1917-1918, however, brought an increase to seventy-six performances at the Academy and the Royal Theater, twenty of the offerings being by the United Southern Stock Company, which opened at the Royal on April 1, 1918. The next season, 1918-1919, was a full one at the Academy, and the plays of contemporaneous stock companies at the Victoria, beginning on February 3, brought the total number of performances to one hundred and sixty-eight, in spite of the fact that all theaters were closed from September 28 through October 19 because of the influenza epidemic. During the last season of the decade all performances were at the Academy, totaling sixty-eight.

All types of entertainment that were popular during the first decade continued during the years 1910-1920. Characteristically, the opening performance for the first season, on September 1, 1910, was an emotional play entitled *Ishmael,* an adaptation by Alice E. Ives of Mrs. E. D. Southworth's novel, with Virginia Howell in the leading role. The next significant offering of this type was Alexander Bisson's *Madame X* on the following November 21. This play, which was advertised as "The Supreme Drama of Mother Love," had run for two seasons in New York and for one year each in Chicago and Paris. It was declared to be "unquestionably the best production of the kind seen here this season."[32] On the following February 18 Clyde Fitch's *The City* appeared after a year's run in New York and was also well received. At the beginning of the next season, Charles Klein's *The Gamblers,* "a gripping play of Wall Street" with Charles Mackey and Lillian Kemble, was given on October 11, 1911, before a crowded house that gave "thunderous applause . . . at various intervals throughout the evening."[33] A very similar emotional and moral play came during the next month on November 30 in the form of Henri Bernstein's *The Thief,* starring Frank Harvey and Edythe Ketchum. Still another strong play by Klein, *The Third Degree,* appeared on January 29, 1912, with Grace Lord and Raymond Wells.

[32] *Morning Star,* November 22, 1910.
[33] *Morning Star,* October 12, 1911.

On February 5, 1913, David Belasco's production of William C. De Mille's *The Woman,* featuring Marjorie Wood, was said to be "faultlessly presented" and of "gripping interest."[34] During the next month A. G. Delamater's adaptation of Gene Stratton Porter's *Freckles* appeared on March 8 for matinee and evening performances, and within a week, on March 13, came A. H. Woods's *The Littlest Rebel,* starring Dustin Farnum. Both plays made great impressions, but of the latter it was stated that "Those who witnessed it will always remember it, and those who did not see it have missed the best show of its kind produced in Wilmington in many years."[35] Shortly after the opening of the next season, Marion de Forest's adaptation of Louisa M. Alcott's *Little Women* was presented on October 30, 1913, matinee and evening, and was acclaimed as being "all and more than one who knows the book could expect."[36] Within two weeks, on November 10, appeared the most popular of all the plays of this type in the form of Eugene Walter's adaptation of John Fox's *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine,* which returned on November 5, 1914, and February 14, 1920. Two similar hit plays at this time were Elsbery W. Reynolds's adaptation of Harold Bell Wright's *The Shepherd of the Hills* on November 22, 1913, and Rachel Crothers's *Young Wisdom* on the following December 5. Bayard Veiller's exciting drama *Within the Law,* featuring Clara Joel, was offered on April 28, 1914, and the following December 25. Another popular novel in dramatic form was Harold Bell Wright's *The Winning of Barbara Worth,* as adapted by Mark E. Swan, on September 25, 1915. Thereafter there were no more serious plays until after the war, when Lou Tellegen and Andor Gavay appeared in their own play *The Lust for Gold,* with a setting in western Canada, on January 7, 1920.

A new type of serious drama during the second decade was the problem play, the first two being by Thomas Dixon, whose concern with white supremacy in the South found expression in *The Sins of the Fathers,* on October 15, 1910, and September 30, 1914, and in *The Leopard's Spots,* on October 16, 1913. The latter play was of especial interest to a Wilmington audience because Dixon in a curtain speech stated that the Wilmington race riot of 1898

[34] *Morning Star,* February 6, 1913.
[35] *Morning Star,* March 14, 1913.
[36] *Morning Star,* October 31, 1913.

gave him "the idea upon which the whole structure of the book and play rests."[37] Other problem plays dealing with promiscuity and prostitution were Eugene Brieux's *Damaged Goods*, September 14, 1915; Michael Morton's *The Yellow Ticket*, September 22, 1915; and Whitney Collins's *The Girl Without a Chance*, December 13, 1918. Three plays having as their themes some aspect of the war were A. A. Powers and Elmer Walter's *The Soldier Who Came Back*, on September 25, 1918; Samuel Shipman and Aaron Hoffman's *Friendly Enemies*, dealing with German Americans during the war, on September 22, 1919; and Berte Thomas's *Under Orders*, on November 3, 1919.

The religious play continued during the second decade with *The White Sister*, Viola Allen's adaptation of F. Marion Crawford's novel, on October 21, 1911, matinee and evening. Within a month, on November 8, *The Rosary* by Edward Rose was well received, and later, on February 2, 1914, *The Tongues of Men* by Edward Carpenter and starring Henrietta Crossman was said to be "the best performance of its kind which has appeared here this season, and, in fact, in several seasons."[38] On December 18, 1915, appeared one of the most unusual plays ever to visit Wilmington. It was Walter Browne's *Everywoman*, an allegorical piece with music, on the theme of every woman's search for love. It had played for two years in New York and demanded a cast of one hundred and fifty, including local supernumeraries. The production returned on January 18, 1919. Another unusual offering was Maurice V. Samuels's *The Wanderer*, with music by Anselm Goetzl. This colossal biblical spectacle was presented on March 10 and 11, 1920, with one matinee, starring Florence Auer, whom David Belasco had rescued from the motion pictures.[39] The company of one hundred included a large ballet, and a flock of sheep was carried.

Among the hit comedies on tour, the first was Edgar Selwyn's *The Country Boy*, which reached Wilmington on November 1, 1911, and was well received. During the same season George M. Cohan's *Get Rich Quick Wallingford* was presented to a packed house on February 2, 1912, with Joseph Manning.[40] Within the same month, on February 29, Winchell Smith's *The Fortune*

[37] *Morning Star*, October 17, 1913.
[38] *Morning Star*, February, 3, 1914.
[39] *Morning Star*, February 29, 1920.
[40] *Morning Star*, February 3, 1912.

Hunter, which had run for two years in New York, featured William Rosell. Augustin MacHugh's *Officer 666* came next on February 22, 1913, and was followed on April 9 of the same year by George Broadhurst's *Bought and Paid For*, which had played for one year in New York. Perhaps the greatest favorite was J. Hartley Manners's *Peg O' My Heart*, which played for matinee and evening performances on December 8, 1913, with Blanche Ring. It returned on October 12, 1914, and September 18, 1915. The next hit was *Brewster's Millions*, adapted by Winchell Smith from George B. McCutcheon's novel, on March 18, 1914.

At the beginning of the first season of the second half of the decade appeared *Potash and Perlmutter*, adapted from the *Saturday Evening Post* stories by Marjorie Glass, on October 6, 1915. Another favorite was Avery Hopwood's *Fair and Warmer*, starring Dorothy Mackele, on April 17, 1917. It returned on November 6, 1918, and April 24, 1920. Yet another New York hit was A. E. Thomas's *Come Out of the Kitchen*, dramatized from the novel by Duer Miller, on April 21, 1919. During the last season of the decade, the first comedy was Cosmo Hamilton's *Scandal*, starring Emma Bunting, on December 12, 1919, followed in the same month on December 27, matinee and evening, by *Pollyana*, adapted by Catherine E. Cushing from the popular stories of Eleanor H. Porter. Finally, there appeared at the end of the last season, on April 3, 1920, one of the most popular of the boudoir comedies, *Up in Mabel's Room* by Wilson Collison and Otto Harbach.

During the second decade musical productions far outnumbered all other forms of entertainment. They became so numerous, in fact, that Wilmington theatergoers must have eventually tired of them. Only the most outstanding productions can be noticed in this survey. The first and perhaps the best of the operettas was Franz Lehar's Viennese hit *The Merry Widow*, on January 7, 1911, starring Gertrude Hutcheson and George Dameral, with a return engagement on January 13, 1913. The theatrical reviewer for the *Morning Star* stated that at one time the operetta was playing in fifty different European cities simultaneously.[41] Among other things, it created a vogue, and during the remainder of the decade five other productions with Viennese backgrounds

[41] January 7, 1911.

appeared in Wilmington. The first was *The Spring Maid* on February 27, 1912, and February 19, 1913, starring Gene Lemeska. The scenery was described as being "gorgeously beautiful."[42] Next was *The Prince of Pilsen* on December 30, 1912; November 27, 1915; and January 1, 1917. The third production was *The Kiss Waltz* on April 16, 1913, with Valeska Suratt, noted European beauty, and three years later another Lehar piece, *Gypsy Love*, appeared on December 6, 1916, starring Arthur Albro. The last of the Viennese group was *Pom Pom* with the Hungarian prima donna Mitzi Hajos on September 29, 1917, and January 15, 1919.

Outstanding musical comedies which cannot be classified according to any type were, first, *The Beauty Spot*, on October 3, 1910, with the famous comedian Jefferson De Angelis. Next, *Yankee Girl* with Blanche Ring on February 14, 1911, drew a "record breaking crowd," and it was stated that "The engagement tonight is one of the most important in theatrical annals for Wilmington."[43] Within a week, on February 20, appeared *The Cow and the Moon*, which was described as "a new musical extravaganza and a sort of continuation of *The Cat and the Fiddle.*"[44] Near the end of the same season, on May 6, matinee and evening, came Oscar Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* featuring Rena Vivienne and Charles Purcell. At the beginning of the season 1912-1913, the first of the George M. Cohan musicals to visit Wilmington, *Forty-five Minutes from Broadway*, appeared on September 25, with Burt Leigh, and a month later, on October 28, came *The Pink Lady* starring Teresa Kosta. Later in the same season *The Rose Maid* was offered on January 16, and *The Red Rose* followed on April 26. *Little Boy Blue*, a hit of the European capitals as well as New York, appeared at the beginning of the next season on September 20, 1913, with Otis Harlan.

During the last half of the decade, the first of the outstanding musicals was Victor Herbert's *Sweethearts* on October 13, 1916, with Julia Gifford and a company of sixty. Next, Arthur Hammerstein's *Katinka* appeared on October 26, 1917, with Howard Langford and Eve Lynn. This production was designated as being unusual in that "The humor was of a class not usually found in the ordinary musical comedy production, and the crowd

[42] *Morning Star*, February 28, 1912.
[43] *Morning Star*, February 14, 1911.
[44] *Morning Star*, February 19, 1911.

was quick to realize and appreciate this."[45] Later in the same season, on February 28, 1918, Victor Herbert and Henry Blossom's *Princess Pat* made a hit, and *The Riviera Girl,* with book by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse, was also well received on February 24, 1919. The first of the Lee and J. J. Shubert productions to visit Wilmington was *Maytime,* with music by Sigmund Romberg, on October 31, 1919. On March 13, 1920, there was another hit with book by Bolton and Wodehouse, *Oh Lady! Lady!,* for which Jerome Kern provided the music. The last outstanding musical comedy of the decade was *La, La, Lucille* on April 17, 1920, with book by Fred Jackson and George Gershwin. In conclusion, mention should be made of three productions which were inspired by the war: *Over There,* November 20, 1917; *Oh! Johnny Oh!,* January 24, 1918; and *My Soldier Girl,* March 14, 1918, and February 1, 1919.

The first of the star performers to visit Wilmington during the second decade was Alla Nazimova, who appeared in Ibsen's *Little Eyolf* on December 30, 1910, before a large audience. She received three curtain calls at the end of the first act as well as calls at the conclusion of each of the other two.[46] During the same season, on March 25, 1911, De Wolfe Hopper and Louise Dresser were well received in Silvio Hein's musical comedy *A Matinee Idol.* During the next season Edward H. Sothern scored a great success as Petruchio in *The Taming of the Shrew* on February 21, 1912. On September 24, 1913, Anna Held presented her All Star Variety Jubilee with a company of fifty, and during the same season Lillian Russell returned on January 10, 1914, with her Feature Festival, a very elaborate variety show. At the end of the same season, on May 1 and 2, Ruth St. Denis presented full length dance programs. The most noted performer during the decade, however, was Maude Adams, who appeared as Lady Babbie opposite Dallas Anderson in Barrie's *The Little Minister* on November 23, 1916. The reviewer for the *Morning Star* thought that it was "doubtful that if ever a larger audience greeted a theatrical production here," and he continued as follows: "Miss Adams radiated the spirit of youth and vivaciousness as the sun radiates heat. Not for an instant from the time the curtain rose on the scene in Caddam Wood, until she gave

[45] *Morning Star,* October 27, 1917.
[46] *Morning Star,* December 31, 1910.



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MAUDE ADAMS as Lady Babbie in *The Little Minister.*



Reproduction courtesy New York Public Library.

HARRY LAUDER

the minister her last joyful banter in the closing scene, did she lose her grip on the audience."[47]

On January 10 and 11, 1919, May Robson appeared in Anne Nichols's *A Little Bit Old Fashioned*, a comedy, and the reviewer found that ". . . she presents femininity in the 'sere and yellow' age with an understanding which makes it quite as attractive as the more youthful impersonations preferred by most stars."[48] A few weeks later, on March 7, matinee and evening, Harry Lauder presented a Repertoire of New and Old Songs, supported by a company of first-class variety artists, and his reception was said to have broken all records.[49]

In the field of concert music and opera, well-known artists continued to appear during the second decade. The first event was a production of *Il Trovatore* by the Aborn English Opera Company on October 25, 1910, followed a few weeks later by Sousa's Band on December 9. During the same season, on February 7, the Robinson English Grand Opera Company offered *Cavalleria Rusticana*, featuring Hertha Heyman, and the Aborn company returned the following November 15 with *The Bohemian Girl*, which was repeated a year later on November 20, 1912. In the meantime, Lillian Nordica returned on March 11, 1912, followed within a month, on April 9, by Mme. Mieler-Narodny, soprano. Within the same month, on April 20, the New York Symphony returned under the direction of Walter Damrosch. At the end of the next season, on May 2, 1913, Alessandro Bonci, tenor, and Martina Zatella, coloratura soprano, were presented under the auspices of the Wilmington chapter of the North Carolina Sorosis. The remaining events were all in the field of opera: *Faust* in English, starring Umberto Giordano, by the New York Grand Opera Company on February 28, 1914, matinee and evening; *Rigoletto* and *Don Pasquale*, matinee and evening, by the National Grand Opera Company on October 23, 1915; and *The Bohemian Girl* by the Boston English Opera Company on February 19, 1916.

The third decade of the century was marked by a gradual decline in all kinds of entertainment until the middle of the season 1927-1928 when professional entertainment of any kind ceased

[47] November 24, 1916.
[48] *Morning Star*, January 11, 1919.
[49] *Morning Star*, March 8, 1919.

altogether for the remainder of the decade except for one weak performance, as will be indicated below. During the first three seasons of the new decade performances of touring attractions averaged between forty and fifty per season, and it should be noted that during the second and third seasons all road productions played at the Victoria instead of the Academy and continued at the Victoria during the fourth season until March 8, 1924, when they again appeared at the Academy. During the fourth and fifth seasons, touring attractions numbered twenty-eight for each season, and, although there was an increase to forty-six during the sixth, there was a decline to nineteen during the seventh, and only eleven during the last, 1927-1928.

In contrast to performances of touring attractions, however, the decade was marked by a great increase in the offerings of permanent stock companies, which often made the total number of performances per season rather large. For instance, during the third season there were fifty-three performances of touring attractions at the Victoria, but the Pickert Stock Company opened at the Academy on December 25, 1922, and stayed for eleven weeks through March 10, 1923, with a total of eighty-eight performances of mediocre quality. This was greatly exceeded during the next season when the Marguerite Bryant Players opened at the Academy on November 12, 1923, and played through April 5, 1924, moving on February 4 to the Royal and on March 3 to the Victoria for a total of twenty-two weeks and 176 performances. The same occurred during the season 1926-1927 when three different companies offered seventy-two performances, and during 1927-1928 at the Victoria when two companies offered fifty-eight. In spite of these figures, however, it would be correct to say that the professional theater declined rapidly during the decade because the productions of the stock companies were in most cases mediocre, whereas the best offerings were those of the touring attractions, which became fewer and fewer.

According to the most competent students of the American theater, the main reasons for the decline were as follows: the increase in railroad rates and in general operating expenses after 1910; the monopolistic practices of the New York booking syndicates, which frequently sent on the road inferior companies instead of the original New York casts; and the increasing

quantity and quality of the motion pictures, which were being offered in Wilmington at the Victoria, Grand, Royal, and Bijou Theaters.

Most of the hit plays which appeared during the 1920's were comedies. The first was *The Girl in the Limousine,* by Wilson Collison and Avery Hopwood, starring Emma Bunting, on October 2, 1920. On the following December 29 came *Turn to the Right* by John E. Hazzard and Winchell Smith, and it was followed within a week by *Adam and Eva,* a play by Guy Bolton and George Middleton which had run for one year in New York. On November 15, 1921, Frederick and Fanny Hatton's *Lombardi, Ltd.,* with Leo Carillo, was well received, and we are told that "Mr. Carillo kept his audience absolutely under his spell all during the play—from laughter to tears and back again. . . ."[50] The next comedy hit was Aaron Hoffman's *Welcome Stranger* on October 11, 1922, with George Sidney, and this was followed during the next month, on November 24 and 25, by Winchell Smith and Frank Bacon's *Lightnin',* which had just completed the longest New York run on record to that date—1,291 consecutive performances at the Gaiety Theater. Milton Nobles appeared in the leading role of Lightnin' Bill Jones and received much praise: "The childishness of his imagination, the helplessness of realism and a tender appreciation of his age, the tolerance of his limited philosophy are drawn with skill."[51]

The season 1923-1924 opened at the Victoria on September 18 with *Kempy,* successful comedy by J. C. and Elliot Nugent, with Bert Baker. Several weeks later, on November 10, *Just Married,* by Adelaide Matthews and Anne Nichols, reached Wilmington after a two-year run in New York, and it returned on September 28, 1925, at the Academy. The next play was one of the most popular ever produced in the United States—Anne Nichols's *Abie's Irish Rose,* which played at the Academy on February 5, 6, and 7, 1925, featuring Phil White, Rene Brennan, and Wilbur Braun. This was a very capable road company touring while the original company was still playing in its third year in New York; it finally completed a run of 2,532 performances.

The first of the serious plays was *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come,* Eugene Walter's dramatization of John Fox's popu-

[50] *Morning Star,* November 16, 1921.
[51] *Morning Star,* November 25, 1922.

lar novel, on September 16, 1922, with John Clayton and Janet Cameron. Next appeared Channing Pollock's *The Fool* on September 29, 1923, with a company of fifty. The theme of the play was the application of the principles of Christianity to the labor-management problem. Next came *Rain*, the dramatization of Maugham's story by John Colton and Clemence Randolph, on March 5, 1925, with Hilda Vaughn as Sadie. It was received with "more than ordinary interest by an almost capacity audience," and the reviewer continues to the effect that "There are lines and situations that border closely on things that are not passé, and yet there was really nothing that was offensive."[52] Similar in some respects with its theme of love in the tropics was Leon Gordon's *White Cargo*, which appeared on January 9, 1925, after a run of three years in New York. The last serious production was George Abbott's *Broadway*, dealing with night clubs and the underworld traffic in bootlegging, on October 19, 1927.

One very popular type of play during the 1920's was the mystery or thriller, such as John Willard's *The Cat and the Canary* at the Victoria on October 23, 1922. During the next month, on November 20 and 21, came *The Bat*, by Mary Roberts Rhinehart and Avery Hopwood, with a return on November 15, 1924, at the Academy. Next, *The Monster* by Crane Wilbur was offered at the Victoria on October 27, 1923, and finally there appeared on November 26, 1925, at the Academy, Ralph Spence's *The Gorilla*, which, as a travesty of the thriller plays, laughed the type out of existence. It returned on January 1, 1927.

During the 1920's musical comedies and operettas continued to be the most popular type of attraction, and they became more and more elaborate. The first outstanding production was *Irene*, on October 30, 1920, which made famous the song "Alice Blue Gown." This was followed on December 9 of the same year by *Dardanella*, the theme song of which also became popular, and two days later appeared the Shubert production of *The Passing Show*, with a company of one hundred. Concerning this spectacle we are informed that " 'The Passing Show' is said to be as big as a three ring performance, the performance requiring three hours and fifteen minutes, and everything is new but the electric elevated runway."[53] Later in the same season, John Cort's hit

[52] *Morning Star*, March 6, 1925.
[53] *Morning Star*, December 6, 1920.

Listen Lester appeared on February 5 after a year's run in New York. The first of the annual *Greenwich Village Follies* played at the Victoria on December 10, 1921, and returned on November 9, 1922, and December 17, 1925. The only hit attraction that ever played in Wilmington before it opened in New York was *Rose of Washington Square,* which was presented at the Victoria on March 14, 1922, while it was in the process of being "groomed" for the New York opening.[54] Finally, *Mary,* on September 27, 1922; *Lady Be Good,* on October 17, 1925; *No, No, Nanette,* on March 20, 1926; and *Rose Marie,* on October 2, 1926, all had theme songs which became very popular.

In a class of their own were three operettas, one of which proved more popular than any of the musical comedies. The first was the *Red Widow,* apparently patterned after *The Merry Widow,* on March 24, 1923, featuring George Dameral and Myrtle Vail, both stars of the original *Merry Widow* company in this country. The most outstanding operetta of the decade, however, was *Blossom Time,* based on the life of Schubert, and originally written by A. M. Willner and H. Reichert. Its American adaptation was by Dorothy Donelly, and the music was by Schubert himself, H. Berte, and Sigmund Romberg. This production first appeared in Wilmington on October 20, 1923, starring Margaret Merle and Greek Evans; it returned on April 5, 1924; April 14, 1925; and April 14, 1926. In some ways similar was *The Student Prince of Heidelberg* with book and lyrics by Dorothy Donelly and music by Sigmund Romberg. It appeared on November 18, 1925, and November 6, 1926.

The first of the few star performers to play in Wilmington during the 1920's was Jane Cowl, who appeared at the Victoria on November 7, 1921, in Allen Langdon Martin's *Smilin' Through.* Miss Cowl performed the difficult dual roles of Kathleen Dungamnon and Moonyeen Clare, and we are told that "Handled by a less clever director than Miss Cowl, it could have proved an unfortunate type of play, but in her hands it was a silken scarf gently lifted from the lavender of time and lightly shaken in a summer breeze. . . ."[55] She was followed during the next month, on December 14, by Mme. Sara P. Adler, internationally known Jewish actress, supported by Nathan Ikofsky, in

[54] *Morning Star,* March 8, 1922.
[55] *Morning Star,* November 8, 1921.

Isadore Lillian's *The Stepchild of the World.* Within the same month, on December 26, Madge Kennedy, star of both stage and screen, made a great impression in *Cornered* by Dodson Mitchell. Ruth Gordon next appeared on January 19 and 20, 1923, with Gregory Kelly in Frank Craven's comedy *The First Year,* which had played for two years in New York. Wilmington's last great classic and Shakespearean productions were those of Robert Mantell and Genevieve Hamper in *Richelieu* and *The Merchant of Venice* on March 2 and 3, 1925. The latter performance was described as "a revelation and an inspiration" and "a refreshing mental draught."[56] The last star performer was Norman Hackett in Michael Arlen's dramatization of his own novel *The Green Hat* on October 23, 1926.

During the decade there were only two grand operas: *Faust* on February 11, 1921, by the New York English Opera Company, featuring Joseph Sheehan and Bianca Randall; and *The Bohemian Girl* on January 2, 1926, by the May Valentine Opera Company. The first concert artist was Marie Tiffany, soprano of the Metropolitan Opera, on September 29, 1921. She was followed by Evelyn Scotney with the Russian String Quartet, on January 18, 1922, and by the Russian Symphony itself on the following April 29 under the direction of Modest Altschuler.

The last regular season, 1927-1928, which witnessed only eleven performances at the Academy, ended on February 13, 1928, with an outstanding presentation—the George E. Wintz production of the *Ziegfeld Follies* with Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and Nyra Brown. It was acclaimed as "one of the best if not the best revue it has ever been Wilmington's good nature to witness" and as "about the best revue the city has seen in a blue moon."[57] Thereafter, only three professional attractions appeared: a *Mutt and Jeff* revue on December 7, 1929; the Freiburg Passion Play with Adolph Fassnacht on November 21-24, 1932; and Gene Austin's *Broadway Rhapsody,* a revue, on March 4, 1933. From April 2, 1934, through March 6, 1935, the theater was leased by Howard Theatres, Inc., for offerings of sound pictures and occasional vaudeville.

Contemporaneously, the theater was also used for productions of the Wilmington Thalian Association, which was revived in

[56] *Morning Star,* March 4, 1925.
[57] *Morning Star,* February 14, 1928.

1929 for the fifth time since its organization in about 1788,[58] and for programs of the Community Concert Association. With the reorganization of the Thalian Association, the name of the theater was changed from the Academy of Music to Thalian Hall, the original name of the building when it was first opened to the public with the first professional performance by the Marchant Company on the evening of October 12, 1858. In 1938 the theater was closed for repairs financed by WPA funds. At this time the stage walls were reinforced with steel beams, the stage floor was rebuilt, and the dressing rooms were remodeled. In addition, members of the Thalian Association under the direction of Henry MacMillan and Claude Howell redecorated the interior of the auditorium. The theater was reopened on April 25, 1941, with the Thalian production of John Morton's farce *Box and Cox* and Rostand's *The Romancers*. *Box and Cox* had served as the afterpiece of the first Thalian production in the theater on December 3, 1858, with the anonymous extravaganza *The Invisible Prince* as the main feature.[59] The last performance in the theater was the Thalian production of Joseph Fields's *The Dough Girls* on February 21-22, 1946. Shortly thereafter the balcony and gallery were condemned, and Thalian productions have since been offered in the auditorium of the New Hanover High School. At the present writing, however, the Wilmington City Council has approved funds for the complete repair and renovation of the historic theater, pending the awarding of contracts. Andrew H. Harriss, Jr., is the present chairman of the Thalian Hall Restoration Committee.

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[58] The first Thalian Association was organized about 1788 and existed for a decade or more. The second organization occurred in 1814 and survived until the late 1830's. The dates of the third revival are uncertain, but must have fallen in the late 1830's and early 1840's. The fourth Association was organized in 1846 and lasted until about 1860. Archibald Henderson, *North Carolina, the Old North State and the New* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1941) II, 654-657.

[59] Wilmington *Daily Journal*, December 3, 1858.

LETTERS FROM NORTH CAROLINA TO ANDREW JOHNSON

Edited by
ELIZABETH GREGORY MCPHERSON

[*Continued*]

From Albion W. Tourgee[74]

Greensboro N. C.
April 11th. 1867

Maj. Genl Daniel E. Sickles
Com'dg Military Dist No 2.
Sir:

I desire to call your attention, to the case of Wm Johnson, now confined in jail at Yanceyville Caswell Co N. C. Having been advising counsel, in the case from the time of his arrest, I am well acquainted with the facts. The following is a brief statement of them.

In the spring of 1863, Johnson being a deserter from the rebel army and engaged in getting up a company to cross the Federal lines, was closely pressed by the conscription hunters and without food or money, he, with two others went to the house of one Moore, and by represenations induced them to open the door and admit them. They then, took from the house, about twenty dollars worth of meat and bread and some five dollars in Confederate money. No one was injured and no violence offered. Being pressed, two of the parties were captured. Johnson escaped to our lines in Tennessee and was appointed a 1st Lieut in the 10 Tenn Vols. Afterwards he was placed in charge of the Govt. stock at Knoxville in which position he remained until the close of the war, except when on special duty as guide.

In whatever position he held, about or in our army, he secured the confidence and esteem of his superiors, as the recommendations &c. they have given him abundantly prove.

The other two were arrested and confined in Rockingham County jail. At the next session of the court, an indictment for Burglary was found against them. All three of the parties. The two who were arrested were tried and found guilty of Larceny, and were pardoned on condition that they enlist in the rebel army, which they did.

At the close of the war, Johnson returned to his home in Rockingham County and last May was arrested upon the old

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[74] Albion Winegar Tourgee (May 2, 1838-May 21, 1905), an outstanding carpetbagger, was born in Ohio; graduated from the University of Rochester in 1862; served in the federal army during the Civil War; was confined four months in a Confederate prison; began the practice of law in Greensboro, North Carolina, in the fall of 1865; took an active part in the North Carolina convention of 1868; served for six years as judge of the superior court; made money during reconstruction, but lost it in business ventures; dabbled with journalism; and later attempted more pretentious literary works. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 603-605.

indictment of 1863, for Burglary, Succeeded in havang his trial delayed six months, but was not allowed to give bail, though every man, on the same circuit, who was indicted for *murder*, was admitted to bail. He was therefore kept in prison subject to every sort of indignity and abuse. At the fall term, he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. At the earnest solicitation of three or four hundred citizens, Gov. Worth granted him a pardon, conditioned upon his paying the expense of the trial, jail fees &c. and immediately leaving the state, Being entirely penniless, and his family dependent upon charity, he is unable to do this, and is therefore still kept chained down in an iron cage, as he has been ever since his conviction, without fire during the entire winter,– On the trial everything was done to prejudice the jury against him. It was offered as evidence, *on charge of Burglary,* that he had acted as a guide for Stoneman in his raid in N. C. and had said that he wished every damed secessionist were killed, that he had done them all the harm he could &c.

The solicitor, was his former Confederate Capt. Thomas Settle, and he kept it prominently before the Court and jury, that Johnson had been a deserter and traitor to the confederate cause. One of the lawyers of the Prosecution said in his speech to the jury, that "he was a deserter from the confederate army and ought to be hung anyhow"

Johnson's papers showing his connection with our army, recommendations, appointments, orders, passes &c. were filed with Gen'l Ruger last June by myself, but he could do nothing for him as he could show no connection with our army previous to the commission of the act.

His treatment since his incarceration, has been *simply damnable. Union* men and Yankees could endure confederate prisons, but God deliver us from North Carolina jails! Johnson's accomplices were pardoned and are now at large– a reward for service in the confederate army. He has served nearly two years in our army and been imprisoned eleven months. And this is justice!–

In behalf of this man I respectfully ask that he may be released on bail and I will furnish $4,000 bonds for his appearance when called for, I also request that his case may be investigated by a Military Commission at the earliest possible moment. He only asks justice and a fair show before an impartial tribunal.

In conclusion let me say that I have no pecuniary interest in this case. I bring it to your notice from a sense of humanity, decency, and Justice and the interest I have in a fellow soldier,

I am General
Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servt
Late capt. 105 O. V. L. and
Judge Advocate 14th A. C.

A true copy, Nov. 11, 1867
L. V Carizac

From Robert Avery

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen & Abandon Lands
Headquarters Asst. Commr. State of North Carolina
Inspector's Office

Raleigh N. C. May 4th. 1867.

Bt. Lt. Col. J. H. Chur
AAAG B. R. F & at
Dist of N. C.
Colonel,

I have the honor to submit the following report of our investigation made by me of the circumstances attending the murder of Archibald Beebee alias Warden, a freedman, in the town of Fayetteville N. C. on the 11th day of February 1867 and the action taken by the Civil authorities in the Case.

It appears that on the morning of the 11th day of February last Archibald Beebee alias Warden was brought before four of the acting Justices of the County of Cumberland in the town of Fayetteville N. C by the Sheriff of the County, charged with having on Sunday the 10th of February 1867 made an assault with intent to commit rape upon the person of one Miss Elmira M. Massey a white woman–

A preliminary examination of the case was made the woman Elmira M. Massey upon whom the assault was alleged to have been made testified positively to the assault and the identity of the Defendant Beebee as the person who made it; a colored woman named Dilly Stewart testified that she heard the cries of Miss Massey and came to her rescue, that she heard the voice of the party making the assault but did not see him, and that the voice sounded like the voice of the defendant Beebee.

No testimony was offered on behalf of the Defendant at this preliminary examination and it was ordered that in default of one thousand dollars bail he be committed to the Custody of the Sheriff at Cumberland County until further orders.

In the pursuance of this order the Sheriff R. W. Hardie took Beebee into Custody and started to convey him from the office of the Justices over the Market house of the town to the County Jail, a hundred or more yards distant. Before leaving the steps of the Justices Office the Sheriff and Prisoner Beebee were met by an angry mob of white men clamoring for the blood of the Negro. D. G. McRae a Special Justice for the town of Fayetteville and one of the Justices before whom the preliminary examination of Beebee had been made hurried hatless with haste from the bench of the Justice to the balcony of the Market house and started the cry of shoot him, shoot, him, the Cry was eagerly taken up by the mob without, and the incitement to murder given by an Officer of the law was speedily obeyed by a mob of Rebels already thirsting for the blood of the Negro, and who regarded no law offering check to their unbridled passions. The mob tried to get hold of the Prisoner, the Sheriff & Posse tried to protect him and made such feeble resistance as they could against

the overwhelming numoers of the mob. At the foot of the steps a man called Monk Julip, made a pass at the Negro with a large Knife, attempting to cut his throat. Pushed and beaten by the mob through which the Sheriff was vainly trying to convey him to the Jail, the progress of the prisoner was slow, and while but a few feet away from the steps of the Market house, a man named Tolar, called Captain Tolar, from his Service in the Rebel Army, worked his way into the Crowd to within a few feet of the Negro and deliberately drew his pistol from under his shawl and shot the Negro, the ball entering the back part of his head and lodging in the brain, killing the Negro almost instantly.[75] After the Negro had been shot and while he was lying on the ground, the man called Monk Julip, tried to cut & mutilate his body, but was prevented by a policeman, he afterwards boasted that "although some one else had killed the Nigger, he had tried to cut the throat of the damned son of a bitch."

A minute after the murder had been committed, Mr. M. W. Weld late of the U. S. Navy, acting as Agent of the B. R. F. & A. L. arrived at the scene of the murder and demanded of the Mayor the immediate arrest of the guilty parties, to which demand the Mayor refused to accede, asserting that no arrests could be made until after the investigation had been made by a Corners Jury. On the following day (the 12th of February) a Coroners' jury was impannelled and an inquest held on the body of the murdered man, and although there was positive testimony taken & recorded before the Jury to the fact that the fatal shot was fired by the man called Captain Tolar, the Jury returned a verdict, "that the said Archibald Beebee came to his death by a pistol shot by the hand of some person unknown to the Jury." No arrests were made at the time, none have been made since and none will be made by the Civil authorities, and even should arrests be made, the trial before the Civil Courts would be but a mockery, in view of these facts and the moral turpitude exhibited by the Civil Officers of Fayetteville, I respectfully recommend that the Mayor & Justices & John Blake special Coroner be removed from Office and that a Provost Court be organized for the trial of minor offences and causes, the County Courts failing almost entirely to do justice to Union Citizens either white or black. I also recommend the immediate arrest of Captain Tolar, Monk Julip and D. G. McRea and that they be brought before a Military Commission and tried for the murder of Archibald Beebee, Tolar as the Principal and Julip & McRea as accessories and equally guilty of participation in this murder. Julip & McRae are not the only parties guilty of participation in this murder, there are others whose names cannot now be ascertained, but they will be discovered when the trial of those whose names are here given shall be commenced and when there appears to be some security

[75] This was one of the outstanding cases which was tried before a military court. William J. Tolar, Duncan G. McRae, Thomas Powers, Samuel Phillips, and David Watkins were represented by a strong array of counsel. Robert Avery served as judge advocate and Colonel J. V. Bomford was president of the military commission. As soon as the members were convicted an appeal was made for their pardon which was granted within a year. Hamilton, *Reconstruction*, 165-166.

for life and limb of those who may give testimony against those Rebel Murders. The murder of Archibald Beebee is by no means the only murder in Cumberland County which has gone unpunished. Outrages upon Negroes have become so common as to excite no comment. Captain Tolar should be arrested first, as he is constantly on his guard ready to fight or run, as may best serve his purpose, and is represented to be a desperate character, he left the place directly after the murder was committed, returning after two or three weeks he again left the place on learning of my arrival in it.

I am Col. with high respect
Your obt. Sevt.
Maj OBC Bvt Maj Gen &
Inspector

Headquarters 2 Mil Dist
Charleston S. C. Nov. 13, 1867
A True Copy
Louis V Caziarc
A. D. C. A. A. A. G.

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh May 15th 1867.

To His Excellency,
Andrew Johnson,
Washington D. C.
Dear Sir,

You will receive at an early day an invitation to be present in this City on the 4th proximo on the occasion of erecting a monument at the grave of your Father. At the request of the Executive Board of Trustees of the University of which Board the Governor in ex-officio Chairman—and also at the request of Gov. Swain, Pres.dt of the Faculty, I invite you to be present at Commencement at Chapel Hill on the 6th proximo. Your friends and the friends of the University will be Greatly Gratified if you will accept the invitation.[76]

I have the honor to be
Yours Very Respectfully
Governor of N. Ca.

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[76] In reply President Johnson wrote:
"Copy
EXECUTIVE MANSION
Washington, D. C. May 22d 1867.
Sir:
I have received your communication of the 15th inst. and accept, with pleasure the invitation of the Board of Trustees of the University of N. C. to be present at the commencement at Chapel Hill on the sixth proximo.
I am, very respy yrs.
A. J.
To His Excellency,
Jonathan Worth,
Governor of N. C.
Raleigh."

From William Dallas Haywood

Mayors Office
Raleigh N. C. May 15, 1867

To His Excellency, Andrew Johnson
President of the United States,
Sir

As Mayor of the City of Raleigh, I have the honor to communicate to your Excellency the desire of our City Council, and our Citizens generally, that you should be present, with them on the 4h day of June next at the erection of a monument to your father the late Jacob Johnson.[77]

Your native City invites you to be her guest, our old men desire to recal with you, their earlier and happier days, to look back beyond the last few years of Sadness and Sorrow, and live again in the memories of the youthful, athletic sports in which they and you even want to engage.

Our young men desire to see the face of one, who furnishes the brightest example, of what they may hope to accomplish, by the exercise of persevering industry, united with moral worth, and all desire to honor the man who has so nobly striven to restore the alienated States to their former place in the Grand Old Union–

Allow me, Honored Sir, to add to this Official request, my own individual Solicitation, that your native State and City may be permitted to give you a personal welcome,

I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most
humble & Obt Servt.
Mayor

From David L. Swain

Raleigh 15. May 1867.

Dear Sir,

The monument to your father is proposed to be erected on Tuesday the 4h of next month. The annual commencement of the University of your native State will be held on Thursday following. Allow me as the representative of the faculty to assure you of their very hearty concurrence in the solicitation of the

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[77] President Johnson accepted the invitation:
"Copy May 22d, 1867.
Dear Sir:
I have received your letter of the 15th. instant, and thank you for the cordial terms in which, as the Representative of the citizens of Raleigh, you ask me to visit that place.
I accept the invitation of my native city to be her guest, and, deeply grateful for the respect in which they hold my father's memory, will endeavor to be present with your citizens on the 4th. day of June next, the day set apart for the erection of a monument to commemorate his worth.

I am,
Very respectfully
& truly yours,
A. J.

To Honble William Dallas Haywood,
Mayor of
Raleigh, N. C."

Trustees, that you will be present on both occasions. If you can it will afford me pleasure to meet you here on Wednesday evening and accompany you to Chapel Hill, where you can spend Thursday, and return to Raleigh on Friday.

Your predecessor Mr. Polk was with us at the annual commencement in June 1847 & Mr. Buchanan in 1859. Can we hope of an early and favorable response,[78]

I remain
Very truly your friend

President Johnston

William H. Reeves and others

Univ. of N.° Carolina.
Chapel Hill
May 20th/67.

His Excellency
The President

Of the U. S. Dr Sir:– We have just heard that you expect to visit Raleigh, and probably this University at our Commencment in June. As we are from Tennesse, and our State but feebly represented here at present, we have taken the liberty of inviting you, and saying that none will welcome you with more pleasure than ourselves:– and that we would be proud to have you become an Honorary Member of the Philanthropic Society, if you should visit the Hill. The exercises will begin on the 3.rd and end on the night of the 6.th of June.

If, Sir, we would not trespass too much upon your valuable time, we would be happy to hear from you.

We have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Y'r. ob'dt. Servants.
Wm. H. Reeves
G. G. Latta
J. W. Jefferson.

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[78] In response to this invitation President Johnson wrote:
"Copy

EXECUTIVE MANSION

Washington, D. C. May 22d. 1867.

Dear Sir:
I thank you for your kind note of the 15th. inst.
I have today accepted to be present at Raleigh on the 4th proximo, and also the request of the Board of Trustees of the University of N. C. to attend the commencement at Chapel Hill on the 6h. June. I hope then to have the pleasure of seeing you

Truly yrs.
A. J.

Hon D. L. Swain
Chapel Hill,
N. C."

From John O'Connell

Greensboro N. C.
May 20th 1867

1st Lieut Joseph K. Wilson
8th U. S. Infty. Post Adjutant
Military Post of Greensboro N. C.
Sir:

In accordance with Special Order No. 3, Headquarters Military Post of Greensboro, dated May 11th 1867 I proceeded on the 12th inst. to Yanceyville, Caswell County N. C via Danville Va. On reaching Yanceyville I learned that the prisoner Mr Wm M. Johnson, had been released. not as I can learn from any sense of justice or humanity, but either to avoid expense or because the interference of Military power was anticipated.

I visited the prison when Mr Johnson was confined and measured the cage in which he was chained. It was nine feet square by six high. The chain by which he was bound was six feet long. My investigations in regard to the character of the trial, the prejudice excited and employed against him and the treatment he received corroborates in every respect the statment of Captain A. W. Tourgee as contained in the accompanying letter.[79] Everything goes to indicate that Mr Johnson was a worthy man and committed the act of Burglary through necessity, and was punished chiefly because of his staunch union sentiment and action participation in the operation of the Federal Army, Having returned to his home in Rockingham County I was unable to see him and could only ascertain these facts by inquiring of others.

I forwarded a copy of the records in the case, according to my order, but only in the payment of $5.00 (five dollars) to the clerk. Mr. Johnson having been released by the civil authorities and being now only liable for the payment of the costs of the prosecution which he is totally unable to liquidate, I have the honor to recommend that he be released from liability by Special Order. A transcript of the records is forwarded herewith.

All of which is respectfully submitted
Very Respectfully
Your Obt Servant
Lieut 8th U. S. Infantry

A true copy L. N. Caziarc
A. D. Certified
Hedqs 2nd Mily Dist
Nov. 11, 1867

[79] See Albion W. Tourgee's letter to Daniel E. Sickles, April 11, 1867, p. 486.

Copy

From Jonathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh N C [M]ay 21st 1867.

Maj. Genl D. E. Sickles
Charleston, S. C.
General.

The report of Col. Bomford, with certain copies of a part of the record of Granville Superior Court, Spring Term, 1865 touching on indictment and conviction of William and Henderson Cooper, with your request for my remarks thereon, is before me.[80] These

[80] A copy of the report is found in the Johnson Papers, as follows:

"Head Quarters Mility Command of N. C.
Raleigh N. C. April 22nd 1867.

Capt. J. M. Clous
A. A. A. Genl 2nd Mil Dist.
Charleston S. C.
Captain.

I have the honor to report that in obedience to Pa. 1 Q. O. No. 8. Hd Qrs 2nd Mility District, North and South Carolina S. C. 1867, received at this office on the 1st day of April, I have taken the freedman Henderson Cooper into Military custody and that he is now confined at this Post. On the 4th day of April I ordered a Board to convene at Oxford N. C. for the investigation of the allegations against the said Henderson Cooper. The Board examined under oath all the witnesses except the woman upon whom the outrage was alleged to have been committed, and her daughter, a child of ten or twelve years of age, who could not be found to testify to anything touching the case; several of the witnesses whose testimony was taken at the trial of the two freedmen, Henderson and William Cooper at the opening term of the Superior Court. of Granville County in 1865, could not be found; the negroes who knew anything of the case, or of the parties evidently feared that personal violence would be done them, should they testify to anything, displeasing to their former masters; the white men who were examined gave their testimony in a guarded and cautious manner, seeming to fear that they might in some way reflect upon the firmness of the action of their own courts. The evidence produced before this Board, and the information received by the members of the Board outside of the sworn testimony– does not materially disagree with the report heretofore made in this case: the report first made states, that at the time the outrage was alleged to have been committed, the woman's husband was engaged in overseeing slaves; he was at that time in fact in the Rebel Army. It appears that witnesses to prove the good character of the prosecutrix were called by the Solicitor for the State, although her character had been attacked by the defense and that this testimony was of a negative character, the witnesses testifying that so far as they knew, the character of the woman was good. The evidence adduced before the Board, justifies the opinion that the reputation of the woman is bad, and shows that she not only permitted but encouraged the negroes to be familiar with her and that she was and for some time time previous to the alleged rape, had been very familiar with William Cooper, the party who in the indictment stands charged with the Commission of rape. Mr. James Cooper, formerly the owner of the two men William and Henderson and on whose plantation the woman had been living prior to and for a short time after her husband joined the Rebel Army, sent her away from his plantation, not wishing her to remain among his negroes.

After carefully weighing all the facts, I have been able to obtain in this case, I am forced to conclude that a crime has been committed, which although not meriting so severe a penalty as that of death, should receive some punishment. William Cooper who was charged with the Commission of the rape, has been hung, whether justly or not, it is not necessary to inquire. Henderson Cooper who stands charged with having been present, aiding and assisting the said William Cooper, is now in confinement here awaiting orders of the Major Genl Commanding the District. I enclose herewith copies of the warrant indictment and record of trial before the Superior Court in 1865, and the record of the re-affirmation of sentence in March 1867.

I am with high respect,
Your Obt Servant
J. V. Bomford
Col 8th Inft. U. S. A. Comd.
Mil Comdt of N. Carolina
Hd Qrs 2nd Mil Dist.
Charleston S. C. May 16th 67.

Respectfully refered to His Excellency J. Worth Governor of N. C. for his consideration and remarks. These papers to be returned By Command of Maj Genl. D. E. Sickles
J. W. Clous
Capt. 38th Inf. A. A. A. Genl."

Henderson Cooper had been convicted of rape in March, 1865, by the court in Granville County and afterwards confessed his guilt. He escaped and was returned in the fall of 1866. General Sickles upon the representation of Colonel Bomford declared the sentence null and void. Colonel Bumford was then ordered to investigate the circumstances. Upon the receipt of his report a military commission was ordered, but the state of North Carolina was not

copies embrase no part of the evidence taken by the Military Commission. I am at a loss to know, whether the reference contemplates any inquiry on my part into the fairness of the trial: or simply such remarks as I may deem it proper to make, on the report itself, unaccompained by the evidence on which it is based. I have no Knowledge, by report or otherwise, as to the proofs made on the trial. Judge Saunders who tried the Case is dead. I have addressed a letter of inquiry to the Solicitor for the State, who prosecuted, and to a clergyman in Granville, who, as I am informed, at the instance of the prisoner, visited him in jail after conviction and heard his version of the transaction. When their answer shall be received I will communicate them to you, if you desire it.

Looking to your order of April 1st– touching this case, in the recital you say that "the prisoner was tried and convicted by a Court not recognized by the United States" and you order "that the sentence and all the proceedings in the Case, be, and they are truly revoked and declared null and void." If the action of our Courts, as to the administration of Civil and Criminal justice, during the continuance of the de-facto Government, are all to be treated as void, deplorable is our Condition. If they are only regarded by you as voidable, your order in this Case, at all events, totally annuls the action of the Court, and I must regard the Military Commission, as authorized to try the prisoner de –novo, or at least in the nature of an inquest to ascertain whether the facts constituted a prima-facie Case, warranting the putting of him on trial.

In either Case, the report, as a judicial proceeding, not in form but in substance, seems to me to be a carricature of justice.

The prosecutrix and her daughter and many other witnesses on the trial were not examined by the Commission. It is said they could not be found. It is not averred that *any effort was made to find them.* The report purports to be based on the evidence "produced before the Board and on the information of the sworn testimony." I may be warranted in saying that I am informed by a credible Gentleman (incredible as the facts may seem) that the prosecutrix and her daughter were at their usual place of residence, only a few miles from Oxford,– and that they were not commanded to attend before the Commission.

The issue before the Commission was whether the prisoner was guilty or whether there was probable cause to charge him with being guilty of rape on the person of Susan J Daniels. It is not pretended she was not a competent witness. The slightest semblance of fairness in the conduct of the investigation, would have induced the Commission to examine her if she was to be found, and to judge of her credibility– or if not to be found, that proper effort to find her had been made.

It is a significant fact that on this issue whether Henderson

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permitted to send a counsel. The Commission sentenced Cooper to be hanged. General Sickles then held that the action of the state and military court was void. The building in which the prisoner was confined caught fire and he was burned to death. Hamilton, *Reconstruction,* 229-230; Hamilton, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth,* II, 959-960, 961, 1089.

Cooper had been guilty of a rape on the body of Daniels, this Commission decries the facts pertinent *that her husband had been an overseer of negroes and a rebel soldier.*

Another fact stated, upon what evidence I Know not, that the negroes examined exhibited unwillingness to disclose what they Knew, from apprehension of their late Masters, is so totally at variance with all the information I have received, and in itself so improbable that I attach to it not the slightest credence, nor do I believe the other statement that white witnesses exhibited reluctance to give testimony reflecting on the fairness of our Courts.

The conclusion of the report, which seems to assume that upon the findings of this Commission, judgment of acquittal or punishment was to follow represents that the prisoner is guilty of something not defined, for which he deserves punishment but not the death penalty.

If the power of this Commission extended to a trial and verdict of acquittal or punishment, it failed to observe the essential rule in the administration of justice, that the accused and the accusor shall confront each other and both parties be allowed to introduce witnesses and to be heard by themselves and their Counsel. Upon this finding, I do not think that any punishment ought to be inflicted, because the offence of which the Commission found him guilty is not intelligibly defined.

I hope this commentary falls within the scope contemplated by the reference

I have the honor to be
Yours Very Respectfully
Governor of N. C.

J. R. Strayhorn and others

Chapel Hill N C
May 27th 1867

To His Excellency Gov Worth
Dear Sir

The undersigned, on the part of the Dialectic Society, address you for the purpose of requesting that your weighty influence be used for the end that President Johnson may be secured as an honorary Member of our time-honored body, which already possessed the name of his illustrious peer from Tennessee James K. Polk who was, as you know, a regular member of the Dialectic Society. Knowing the interest that you feel in our success, we are fully satisfied that you will comply with our request. With great respect we have the honor to be your obedient servants

J. R. Strayhorn
P. B. Means
W. S. Pearson

From P B. Means and others

University of N. C
May 27th 1867

To His Excellency Andrew Johnson
Honored Sir

It is with feelings of pride and pleasure, that we write you on a subject especially interesting to a large portion of the Students of the University as well as ourselves individually. Our anticipations in regard to the approaching commencement have been greatly enlivened by the assurance of your honored presence on the occasion.

In behalf of the Dialectic Society we tender you the greeting of that body and request that you do us the honor to enroll your name alongside of your illustrious peer from Tennessee Ja.s K. Polk as a member of our time-honored association.

Names such as Badger, Ruffin, Mangum, Graham, Swain, Vance, Barringer and Worth grace our catalogue and to such we take pleasure in referring you as a model member of our Society.

With the sentiments of the propoundest regard We remain your Excellency's most ob–t serv–ts

P. B. Means
W. S. Pearson } Com
J. R. Strayhorn

From Sam A. Harris

City of Charlotte May 28. 1867

His Excellency Andrew Johnson
President of the United States
Dear Sir

At a meeting of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Charlotte held on the 27inst, present Sam A Harris Mayor, John Wilkes, Allen Crum, R. M. Oates, A. A. N. M. Taylor M. D. L Moody, Jno L. Browne, Wm Harly Aldermen it was

Resolved unanimously, that his Excellency Andrew Johnson President of the United States be invited to become the guest of the City of Charlotte, as well as Raleigh, during his approaching visit to North Carolina, and that the hospitalities of our place are cordially tendered to him during his sojourn here.

Resolved that there would be a happy propriety in this visit; that as a Son paying the respect due to the memory of his father he visits the place of his birth, so as a son of the "Old North State" he visits the birth spot of American freedom where the first declaration of Indepencence was declared, and that here the Sons and descendants of the men of the early glorious days of our union, will write in Cardinal testimonial of respect and esteem to the President of our Country, our Sister States adopted son, and North Carolina's, own native born child.

I have the honour as Mayor of the City to forward to you above resolution, and trust you will find it brings pleasure and convenience to honour our City with a visit.[81]

I am yours with great respect

Counter Signed
Thos W. Denny
City Clerk

From Daniel M. Barringer

Brooklyn N. Y.
June 1, 1867.

President Johnson
My dear Sir

I deeply regret that my presence here, where I am detained by the *extreme* illness of Mrs. Barringer will prevent me from joining personally in your reception at Raleigh – & the attending ceremonies of the occasion which calls you there–

But you have my best wishes for your health & happiness, *now* & *always* & c.

Yr. friend & C.

From Johnathan Worth

State of North Carolina
Executive Department
Raleigh June 2 1867

K. P. Battle Esq
My dear Sir

The presence of Genl Sickles who is my guest, as well as continued indisposition forbid my going with you to meet the Prest at Weldon. I hope to be able to perform my part to-morrow.

I inclose a copy of what I propose to say which you will oblige me by handing to him.[82]

Yours very truly

---

[81] In declining the invitation, the President wrote:
"Copy
Executive Mansion
Washington D. C. May 31 1867

Sir.

I have read with feelings of sincere gratification, the resolutions of the City authorities of Charlotte, North Carolina, communicated in your letter of the 28th instant.

Deeply grateful for the invitation so gracefully rendered, I regret that my engagements will not permit me, during my brief sojourn in your State, to visit the place whence emanated the first declaration of American independence, and to assure its citizens, in person, of my appreciation of their cordial proffer of hospitality.

I am Sir
Very respectfully yrs
Signed Andrew Johnson,

To His Honor
S. A. Harris
Mayor
Charlotte N. C."

[82] The document, in the handwriting of Governor Worth, is found in the papers of Andrew Johnson, and is as follows:
"Gentlemen & Ladies

I have the honor to introduce to you his excellency Andrew Johnston, President of the United States.

He visits the city of his nativity, on the invitation of its citizens to be present at the

From F S De Wolfe

Charlotte N. C. June 3d 1867.

My Dear Friend

I have written to you twice since the war closed on business, and with the hope and purpose of hearing from you, I have still another request to ask of you, My Brother Stephen, who you saw in Washington a little more than a year ago, has applied for the appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for one of the Territories, He prefers Utah I believe though he will gladly accept the position in any of the Territories, You can secure him this appointment, and I ask you in the name of our old and intimate friendship to do so, No objection can be urged to his appointment– He was in Utah and California during the entire war, and gave no sympathy or assistance to the rebelion, He is and always has been attached to the party your Father built up in Tennessee,

If it is necessary to send you any evidence of his feeling or action during the war. I will do so, I would not of course ask this for myself – for I was a Rebel Soldier,– though more loyal to day than some who profess to have always been loyal,

I am just as loyal now, and as much devoted to the success of your Father's Administration, as I was, when we use[d] to room together in Nashville, interested in his success and promotion, and I honestly believe if he had been the nominee of the Charleston Convention, that he could have been elected, and war averted for the time at least,

Please write to me and tell me what is necessary to do, My Brother is so far off that he has very little chance to have his character and qualifications properly known,

I had hoped your Father would extend his visit here, and that you would be with him. I would like the best in the world to see you, You & Whitthern I have always esteemed my best Friends, Please write to me, and believe as ever

Your friend truly,

---

erection of a monument, to commemorate the worth of his father.

As the representative of North Carolina I offer him a cordial welcome from her whole people.

I deem it inappropriate to the occasion to allude to any of the political questions which now divide public opinion. We propose only a tender of respect to the President in which every true hearted North Carolinian ought to join.

We also desire the restoration of constitutional Union, as nearly as possible on its old foundations: and therefore we all honor our illustrious guest, as posterity will honor him, for his intelligent, constant and manly support of consitutional Liberty.

Welcome then ———— a hearty welcome To North Carolina's Son, — who has rendered himself illustrious by his honest,——— earnest,——— unflinching adherence to the Constitution & the Union."

A copy of the proposed remarks of the mayor of Raleigh was also sent to the President:

"On the arrival of the Cars in Raleigh Mayor, Wm D. Haywood Will address the President thus–

Mr. President–

Allow me Sir, in behalf of the City Council, and citizens generally, to tender to you, a cordial welcome, to the hospitalities of the City of Raleigh–

I trust Sir, the visit, you now make, to your native State and City, after an absence of many years, may be as agreeable to yourself, and friends who accompany you, as I know it will be pleasing to our people–

Many of the friends and associates, of your youthful days have passed away, but there are still some remaining, who will be delighted to honor, one, who has by his own exertions, ascended the ladder of fame, Step by Step, to its topmost round– The proud and honorable position of President of the United States of America–"

From Caesar Johnson and others

Warrenton, N C
June 4th 1867

To his Excellency
Andrew Johnson
and the Honorable Gentlemen of the Cabinet & Staff

We the members of the Baptist Association of Warrenton beg to present our petition for help in building a church–

We have none, and no building suitable for public worship and in our poverty are unable to raise sufficient money to accomplish this our earnest wish and desire:

In this extremity we most respectfully appeal to you, our benefactors for assistance,

You know our condition, as to pecuniary ability, to accomplish any end, where money is required: hence no reason is necessary.

We therefore beg that the Honorable gentlemen will do what they can to help us,

They have our deepest gratitude and love already for the inestimable gift of liberty to us and our posterity which no future gift could enhance, but by complying with this request it would seem to draw us nearer in the ties of religion and the furthering the cause of Him who died for all,

We would be pleased to know when you return as a great many are most anxious to pay their respects,

We are,

With deepest gratitude and esteem,
Your devoted and humble Servants

Caesar Johnson
Lem'l Thornton
J Wilcox
Willis Martin
George King
William McCram
} Committee

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
Commencement ball
THE GRADUATING CLASS,
Thursday Evening June 6.th 1867

MANAGERS	HONORARY MANAGERS	MANAGERS
J. Edwin Purcell	Col. J. D. Taylor	Ike R. Straghorn
Geo. M. Maverick	Gov. J. W. Throckmorton	A. W. Graham
W. Clarence Jones	Col. H. R. Gordon	Eug. Morehead

HONORARY MANAGERS
Walter Jones, Esq.
Col. J. C. Webb
A. A. McKoy, Esq.

Compliments of
J. S. Barlow
J. S. Battle
G. G. Latta
W. S. Parsons
Marshals

From Mrs. William H. Polk[83]

Warrenton June 22d. 1867

To His Excellency
President Johnson
Sir

Pardon my trespassing again on your valued time, but having written about two months ago, requesting you would give me a letter endorsing my faithful adherance to the Government of the United States throughout the Rebellion–this endorsement, I wish to reserve for future use or when the Government becomes honorable enough to pay its just debts. As to the right of property in slaves that has been so often, and so ably discussed, that I will not venture a remark, further than to assert as such, it was recognized by the Government. & now having forfeited my right to its protection I feel I am entitled to compensation My Negro property valued at $90,000 was almost my entire estate– the passing of the Military bill, rendering our lands entirely valueless– & without capital I can't have mine cultivated at all. This Mr President is a repetition of what I have told you before– & you will doubtless think why trouble you with such things when you can't relieve them perhaps not– but we can't divert our minds of the idea that the President is the Father of the Country & as such we must all pour into his ear our wants and cares

I regret much not seeing you as you passed the Warrenton Depot – had my bonnet on to go out to pay my respects– but was disappointed in getting a carriage there was quite a delegation from this town to Chapel Hill, who returned much please with the President's appearance but not the pleasure of an introduction

With my complements to the Ladies of the "White House"–

Very respectfully–

From Robert Avery

Rooms Military Commission
Raleigh N. C. June 29th 1867.

Capt J. W. Clous
AAA G 2nd Mil Dist
Charleston, S. C.
Captain,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from C. V. Kingsbury to the Major Gen. Commanding the Dist on behalf of D. G. McRae, and requesting our immediate investigation, which letter was referred to Col. Cogswell Commanding Post of Fayetteville, and by him returned with the recommendation that he be released from confinement and invites attention to affidavits of John W. Lett. All I can say in this matter is that there is positive testimony that D. G. McRae came out on the

[83] On July 27, President Johnson replied by telegraph. See Mrs. Polk's letter of August 3, p. 509, below.

balcony of the Market house and cried "Shoot him." If he is innocent he will be acquitted by the Commission, but while there in this positive testimony of his guilt it seems to me proper that he should be tried before he is released.

I am Captain Very Respy
Your obt. Sevt.
Lieut 44th Inf Bvt. Maj Gen
Judge Advocate Mil Com

Headquarters 2 Mil. Dist.
Charleston S. C. Nov. 13, 1867
A true copy
Louis V Caziare
A. D. C. A. A. A. G.

From John Mitcalf

Marshall N C
July 6 1867

Major Genl D E Sickles
Commandg 2d Mily Dist
North & South Carolina
Genl

I have the honor to send you a petition signed by (80) Eighty of the leading men of Yancey County requesting that the proceedings against me in the state courts be stoped,[84] the In-

[84] There are seventy-nine signers from Madison and Yancey counties and enlisted men, chiefly from the third North Carolina regiment of the federal army.

"Burnsville N C
June 27 1867

Major D Sickels
Connandg. 2nd Mility Dist
Genl

We the undersigned would respectfully make the following statement to you and ask that you stop the indictments against one John Mitcalf late a privae Co 'K' 3rd N. C Mt Inft. The said Private Mitcalf stands now indicted in six or seven case[s] in the state court at Burnsville Yancy County for offences done while he was a Federal soldier, and before he was discharged from the U S service. The indictments are for broken up and destroying some rebel citizens guns in the spring of 1865 before the surrender of Genl Johnson. The said Mitcalf has left to the adjoining county to keep the Sheriff from making the arrest, and desires that he be allowed to return to his own County again unmolested. Private Mitcalf Could get rid of the indictments by paying the Cost on them but he beaing [*sic*] a very poor man it would take every thing he has to pay the cost on all the suits. We would therefore most respectfully ask you to stop the proceedings against him, without cost to Private Mitcalf

Yancy County N. C

Names	Rank	Residences
Delaphuse Hensley	Privat	Co K 3d N. C Mt Inft
Iredille Tappar	Privat	Co M 4 Conn
John Tilar	Privat	Co E 2d N C
Isaiah Price	Privat	Co G 3 N C
Lewis Hensley	Privat	Co I 3rd N C
A. T. Austin	Privat	" K 3 "
James H. Ray	Private	Co A 3rd N C. Regt
M. D. Hensley	Private	Co K 3rd N C "
John H. Key	Pvr late	3 N C Mtinfitry, U. S.
K. W. McElry	citison	yancy co N C
H B Ray	citison	yancy co N C–
Thos J. Murphy	citison	yancy Co N C
U B Banks	Private	Co K 3rd N C us
Thomas S Ray	citison	yancy co N C
Thomas B Ray	citison	yancy co N C
E Rone	citison	yancy co N C
T H Gamberlin	citison	yancy co N C
A J Phipps	citison	yancy co N C
A. L Ray Jr	citison	yancy co N C
William B Banks		" Co B 3 N C

dictments are all for taking forage, horses by orders of my Commandg Officer while I was a soldier in the U S service I respectfully ask that these proceedings be discontinued and I permitted to return home again in Yancey Co. I could go on and submit but the cost on the suits would take everything I have in fact I am not able to pay the cost they would run against me

Late a Pv Co K 3d N C Mil Inf
Marshall Madison Co N C

Samuel Austan	citison	yancy co N C
John G. Gregory	Privat	Co K 3rd N C
W A Ray	Citison	Yancy co N C
N M Wilson	Citison	Yancy co N C
Thomas Higgins	Citison	Yancy co N C
Robert Mcintosh	Citison	Yancy co N C
L B Hensley	Citison	Yancy co N C
C. K Edwards	Citison	Yancy co N C
R. A. Mcmahan	Citison	Yancy co N C
A. B. Mcmahan	Citison	Yancy co N C
Wm M Moore	Late Capt Co G, 3th Regt N C. U. S. A.	Yancy County
John N. Goforth	Citison	Yancy Co. N C
N. A Mcintosh	Citison	Yancy Co N C–
James Talor	Citison	Yancy Co. N. C.
J. H. Higgins		co G 3rd N C us
R. B. Austin	Citison	Yancy Co N C–
C. C. Hampton		Co K 3d " "
Thomas Radford	Citison	Yancy Co. N C
Ervin Ray	Citison	Yancy Co. N C
John Higgins	Citison	Yancy Co, N. C–
John Higgins		Co H 3d N C u s
Tatheral Allen		Co I 3 N C us
Robert Mcmahan		Yancy Co. N C.
Levi Bruckner	Privit	Co K 3D N C
William H Hensley	Citison	Yancy Co. N. C–
Ralert Taylor		
Jackson Barrett		Co K 3d N C us
A. J. Hensley	Citison	Yancy Co N C–
William P Hensley	Citison	Yancy Co N C–
Henry C Metcalf	Citison	Madison Co N C–
J. C. Mitchell		co 11thBristals Care
Wm. B. Angel	Citison	Yancy Co N C–
Wm. R. Roan	Citison	Yancy Co N.C.
Thomas S Hensley		co G 3rd Us Mt Inft
Wilson Hensley		Co G 3d N C U. S–
Eli Waldrop	Citison	Yancy Co N C
David S Proffitt	Citison	Yancy Co N C
Gilbert Parker	Citison	Yancy Co N C
S. T. Parker	Citison	Yancy Co N C
J Taylor		Co E 2d N C us
G. W Many	Citison	Madison Co N C–
Absalom Metcalf	Citison	Madison Co N C–
J. L. Holcombe	Citison	Madison Co N C–
John Mitchell	Citison	Yancy Co N C
Robt. B. Crawford	Citison	of Madison Co, N. C–
Wm. H. Briggs	Citizen	of Madison Co, N. C
John Maurey	Citizen	Yancy County
Robt. M. Holcombe	Citizen	Yancey co N.C.
J. B. Blackenship	Citizen	Yancy Co N.C.
Silas Parke		Yancy Co N.C.
William Metcalf		Yancy Co N C
S. T. Proffitt		Yancy County N C
B. B. Whittington		" " " "
Wm. Ray		
J. C. Proffitt		
James B Buckner		Yancy County 3 N C
Burtis Roberds		Madison County N C
B. W. Cox Esq		Madison County N C–"

From J. J. Gudger and others

State of North Carolina
Madison County
2d Military District
July 20th 1867

Maj Gen Daniel E. Seckals

Sir

We the undersigned being Prosecuted in the Sum of Ten Thousand Dollars as being accessory to the Death of One Ransom T. Merrill which hapened under the following circumstances & with the following facts. At an Election held in this State for Delegates to the convention that ceceded from the union in May 1861 A Row occured (by he Merrill then Sheriff of this county) Husawing for Jeff Davis & the confederacy where uppon an Eliza Frisly Husawed for Washington & the union at which he Merrill Presented his Pistol At Frisly Frisly gave Back Merrill following pistol in hand Some 10 or 15 paces at which time Merrill Turned his aim at a man by the Name of Neely Tweed with whom he was verry unnfriendly having on a former Occasion had their weapons drawn on Each other Tweed dodged his aim by Jumping behind Some other men Merrill Then Turned his aim at Tweeds Son Elish Tweed whoo was near by and fired Striking young Tweed in the Arm the Ball passing through & Struck a Rib &c where uppon Merrill Imediately ran in to a House the Owner of the House in order to Stop the Row shut the Door and perhaps it would have Ended here but for the further fact that he Merrill after having Shot young Tweed went up the Sta[i]rs Hoisted a window & with Pistol in hand called out to the crowd that they were a Set of Damd Black republicans & Linconites which verey much Exasperated the crowd there being on that occasion (144) votes cast at that precinct for union against (28) for cecession & a good Deel of Liquor had been drank that day &c While Merrill was at the Window & vapering his Pistol & making use of the Denunciations Nely Tweed father to the Son Shot: Shot Merrill in the rist or hand &c and after a Short Space of time the Door was opend & the offi[c]er went in to Arrest Merrill Tweed again runn in & Shot him a Second Time which resulted in his Death first Shot had but Little Effect &c Tweed made no Effort to get a way but said that he was ready & willing to beTryd by the Laws of his Country untill a captains company of confed[e]rates came in Mar[s]hal array from an adjoining county to Arrest him & Fearing they would mob him he fled & finally went through the Lines to the Federal Army for protection he being a decided union man while Merrill was an open & avowed Cecessionist A prosectution was comen[c]ed against him Taking in Some 7 oth[er]s as being Acessory Putting some of the parties in Jail th[e]ir getting out onely by heavy Bonds &c finally Since the Surrender it was dismissed in consequence of deficiency in the records & proceedings A Second Suit is now commenced against the undersigned as

being Accessory claiming Ten thousand Dollars as damages again Horroping us & Su[b]ject us to heavy cost & Bonds &c We Hum-[b]ly But respectfully Petition you to interpose your Authority in our Behalf & quarsh the procedings Alledging that it occured by him Merrill first Shooting young Tweed without any Provocation & then Denouncing the crowd as DD Black repu[bl]i[c]an & Lincolnites That there is no Body Guil[t]y but Tweed whoo Died immediately after reaching the Federal Army in Kentucky at that time &c That the Suit is Brought against us as union men by Cecession Parties conducted by Cecession Laweye[rs] that the Laweye[r]s are promised half of what they can recover for the[i]r fees & that the Laweye[r]s were the most influential Speekers originaly for the cecession cause whil[e] the Sheriff was allso using his office for the Same purpose That the major part of the Witness her[e] tofor[e] Summ[one]d was allso Cecessionist &c That the onely thing or Evidence relyed on is Such Declorations as th[e]y that the present parties (Said If he had Shot my Son I would have killed him as Tweed did &c) That we are not Guilty that there was no overt act perpetrated onely by Tweed & that pro[c]eded from provi[ou]s grudge & Merrill Shooting his Son it is not Even alledged that the Son had Eith[e]r Said or done any thing But was Shot by Merrill without any provocation what ever – That it was the C[h]aracter of Merrill to have a Row at every geathering he was at that it was his common practice to draw his Pistol on persons &c That at the Same tim[e] & day he was Denouncing the crowd here his Son raised a row at a differe[n]t precinct by cursing the Flag of the (U S A) That we are union men & have been Prosecut[ed] & Persecuted as Such That one of the Partie[s] to the Defenc[e] (to wit) J. J. Gudger was the union candidate on that Occas[i]on as against cecession That the Ballanc[e] were his Suppourters & c That Some of the parti[e]s to the Defenc[e] have disscharges from the Federal Governm[en]t &c that those above conscript age that had Sons or Sons in Law all went to the Federal Army & have disscharges &c Showing our union proclivity &c while the Pla[i]ntiffs in the case (to wit) the Sons of Merrill were all Like him Self ceses-sionist & contin[u]ed So to the Last & there is no Evi[d]ence that they have Ever changed &c

We the undersigned Defendants thereby Petition that you order the Judge of the Superior court of Law to Desmiss the case against us for reasons & facts above S[e]tforth &c

Respectful[l]y your Obedient Se[r]vants &c

J. J. Gudger
William A. Henderson
H. A. Barnard
Thomas J. Rector
Thomas J Candler
William R. McNew
M. W. Roberts

P S We the above Petione[r]s desire If the above is not full &

satisfactory ask a Military. Investigation &c at as Early a day as possible &c

J J Gudger
Wm A Henderson
H A Barnard
Thos J Rector
Wm R McNue
M W Roberts

From Augustus S. Merrimon[85]

Copy

Asheville N. C.
July 22nd 1867.

His Excellency
Jonathan Worth,
Raleigh N. C.
Sir.

It seems to me manifest that the Judges of this State are obliged, while they continue in office, to uphold the existing State Government and to administer the Statute Law of the State, when the cause is not inconsistent with the Constitution of the State or United States. They have recognized in the most solemn manner the validity and legality of that Government; they have accepted office under and sworn to support it and its laws; and while it exists they cannot repudiate and disregard and it will not be demanded that it exists at it did from its creation. If this be true, then under the Constitution and laws of the State, no Judge can in the exercise of his office recognize or obey a Military order, for the laws forbid him to do so. Indeed, by the express terms of his oath of office, a Judge of the Superior Court is bound to disregard such order.

The Commanding General of this Military District, has been pleased to make certain Military orders, requiring the Judges of this State to disregard and reject certain Statutes of the State, and to proceed in the execution of their office according to the direction prescribed in such orders, and I infer that he claims to make and enforce such orders at pleasure.

Now, however ready I might be, in view of the prestent distressed condition of the people of the State, to sit in a Military Court or exercise the functions of the office of a *quasi* Military Judge I am constrained to say, that my settled conviction of official duty as one of the Judges of the State, will not allow me

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[85] Augustus Summerfield Merrimon (September 15, 1830-November 14, 1892) was born at "Cherryfield" in Buncombe County, North Carolina; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1852; was a member of the state house of commons in 1860 and 1861; joined the Confederate army in 1861 and was captain on the staff of Colonel William Johnston, but resigned in 1861 to become solicitor of the eighth judicial district of North Carolina and served until the end of the war; was judge of the superior court in 1866 and 1867; resigned in 1867 as judge and moved to Raleigh where he resumed the practice of law; was elected as a Democrat to the United States Senate and served from March 3, 1873 to 1879; served as associate justice of the supreme court of North Carolina from 1883 to 1889 and as chief justice from 1889 until his death. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927,* 1307.

to recognize much less obey any Military order whatever that may come to me while exercising my office in open Court or at Chambers. I have recognized in the most solemn and binding manner the Convention of the people which brought the present State Government into existence. I have accepted a high and important office in the Government put in operation by it, and have voluntarily taken upon myself oaths of office, obliging me to uphold that Government and administer its laws, and I cannot at all events while in office deny its validity or legality, nor can I repudiate my oaths of office at will and disregard the plain Statutes which I have sworn I would support and administer. No act of Congress can in my view operate to change or nulify my present official obligation to the State:– no power can change that obligation and relieve me from it, save that which created it.

I cannot therefore and will not while exercising my office as Judge recognize or obey any Military order that may come to me in contravention of the laws of the State. The conviction of my mind is clear, that if I were to do so, I would thereby violate my oath of office and prove false to the high trust conferred upon and accepted by me, and besides I should thereby detract from the dignity and independence of the judiciary of the State. The Courts cease to retain the dignity and power, and I may add, the glory of Civil Courts when they sit to obey the commands of Military Officers indeed, then they become mere Military tribunals. The condition of the State is such as to make it obvious that the Judges have not and cannot command any sufficient power, moral or physical, to enable them to hold the Courts according to laws of the State, and it is apparent, if I attempt to do so, Military power will be exercised to prevent any such action on my part and that power I cannot control. Such a conflict of authority would certainly ensue, if I should proceed to hold the Courts as I have heretofore done and the Courts would as certainly be suppressed to make such attempt on my part would be but a rediculous show, resulting in no good, but in the tendency to irritate and inflame the public mind.

Entertaining these views of my official duty and seeing the certain consequences of amy further attempt at the execution of the duties of my office, and being fully sensible that the Military power will establish a system of Courts under recent legislation of Congress, I have deemed it my duty to tender the resignation of the office of a Judge of the Superior Courts which I now hold; and I accordingly do now by these presents tender such resignation.

I beg to assure your Excellency, that the action on my part is prompted by a high sense of conscientious duty and not by any captious spirit or disposition to embarrass the public authorities, State of Federal, or to retard the reconstruction of the Union. Indeed, so far from this, I am anxious above all things politically for a happy and cordial restoration of the Government. I am painfully sensible that the people of the State and of the whole South can have no permanent or tolerable degree of prosperity

until this is done and as evidence of the most perfect sincerity of their assurances, I point you with confidence to my whole course of conduct, public and private, before, during and since the calamitous Civil war.

I will thank you to notify me of the acceptance of this paper.

I have the honor to be &c
Your Excellency's Obt Servt.

From R. S. F. Peete

Warren Plains P. O.
Warren Co. N. C.
July 29th 1867

Hon. Andrew Johnson
President U. S.
Dear Sir

If it were possible & practicable, I, with many whom I represent, would be very glad to know your views of the best plan for us to adopt, under existing circumstances, touching the calling of a Convention in this State. If the policy of reconstruction instituted by yourself could have been carried on to completion, not a southern man would have hesitated how to vote. One qualification should be made in this statement – there are a few politicians who opposed your views but all plain farmers like ourselves saw the reasonableness & justice especially to us (Southerners) of your policy. But your good efforts in behalf of the whole U. S. & of the South, have not been concurred in by Congress. The Military Bill wh. you vetoed, not only passed, but suppliments have been made in the Extra Session of Congress, to this bill (which the South was ready to ratify by its call for State Conventions) and the new features of Suppliment 2.nd and the enlargment of the powers of the District Commanders, exercised without control or power of removal by yourself, have made us hesitate whether we are not better off under military rule than we will be under a Constitution adopted by such members as must necessarily compose the Convention in N. C. The great question is, does Pres.t *Johnson* consider the reconstruction of the South so shorn of its valuable features by bad Legislation, as to require loyal men to oppose it? or does Pres.t Johnson advise that we heartily cooperate in reconstruction as mapped out by Congress?

You are seldom addressed by a plain farmer and in thoughts of so little merit. This may never come to your eye, and even if it do, you may not have time to reply or think it prudent to write under such circumstances. I am not asking these questions for publicity, but for our own quiet of mind & regard to duty.

Permit me in conclusion to send you the regards of my special friend Mrs. Thomas Carroll, with whom you met at Ridgeway Depot

Very respectfully

From Lucy E. Polk[86]

Warrenton Aug 3d 1867

To His Excellency
President Johnson
Sir

Your favor complying with my request has just been received, accept my acknowledgments & sincere thanks. Should such an endorsement prove of no avail I shall have the proud consciousness of having done my duty & in my leisure hours abuse the ingratitude of Republics–

Make my kind regards to the Ladies of the White House

Very truly

From W. W Rollins

Marshall N C
August 3rd. 1867.

Major McNue
Comdg Post
Major

I have the honor to state to you that I was Major of the 3rd N C vol inft and that I know that John Mitcalf was a Private of Co "K" 3rd N C vol Inft. and that his honorable discharge is now in my hands and that I believe that the indictments against the said John Mitcalf are malicious[87]

Many suits were brought against Federal officers and soldiers after they returned to their homes in this county, by the Rebel state courts Suits were brought against me because I was with Major Genl Stoneman in his raid in North Carolina and captured horses taken forage &c and I had to appeal for asst from the military

Yours truly

Marshall Madison Co N C

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[86] The above letter was a reply to a telegram from Andrew Johnson as follows:

"Executive Mansion
Washington D. C. July 27, 1867.

Mrs. Wm H Polk
Nashville Tenn

I am gratified that it is in my power to state, as well from personal knowledge acquired while acting as Military or Provisional Governor of the State of Tennessee, as from general repute, that Mrs. Wm H Polk widow of Wm H Polk late of that state, was loyal to the Government at the beginning of, and during the rebellion, and has uniformly and steadfastly adhered to the Federal Union; that during the war she rendered valuable service to the Government and executed an influence in favor of the Union, and the restoration of peace and harmony between the people of all the States, that was felt and acknowledged throughout the community in which she resided. As a lady of character and confidence, and for her devotion to the Government and unquestioned loyalty, should receive that protection which the Government, acting in good faith, is bound to extend to all loyal citizens

Andrew Johnson"

[87] See John Mitcalf's letter to Daniel E. Sickles, July 6, 1867, p. 502, above.

From John Mitcalf

Marshall N. C.
August 3rd 1867

Major McNue
Comdg Post
Major

Your communications of July 27th has been reced and in reply will say that the indictments against me are all for acts done while a soldier and acting under orders. It is for taking horses forage &c. The indictments are all got up because I was a Federal soldier and they are doing all they can to drive us from the County. They all malicious– Hoping you will take some action in the matter, that will release me from the controll of the Rebel State Courts I am anxious you make an investigation in the matter.

Yours Truly
John [his mark] Metcalf
Late Co "K" 3rd N C Mt Inf

From Augustus S. Merrimon

Copy

Asheville N. C.
Aug 9th 1867.

His Excellency
Jonathan Worth,
Raleigh N. C.
Sir.

At the last term of Buncombe Superior Court, Carney Spears, a man of color, was tried before me for an assault and battery upon one Cook. The defence insisted upon was, that the defendant in doing what he did was acting under *duress*, and that he was *forced* to act by Federal Soldiers or by robbers. The evidence was conflicting and I charged the Jury carefully upon the whole case, but especially I charged them that if the defendant was *forced* to make the assault (if the jury should believe that an assault was made and I explained the law touching assault) then he would not be guilty and they must so find no matter whether the constraint and fear came from soldiers or robbers; but if he acted freely and voluntarily and without constraint, then he would be guilty. The jury found a verdict of guilty. In two other cases against the same defendant, his counsel proposed to enter submission and he was allowed to do so. The Solicitor in view of the disordered condition of the country at the time the offenses were committed, the condition of the defendant at the time, his poverty &c, with the approval of the Court, did not pray judgement, but consented that the defendant might go, upon securing the cost, and further consented to extend the usual time for the

payment of the cost; The defendant procured Natt Atkinson Esq to confess judgement with him for cost and he was discharged

No human being ever had a fairer trial: I put the case to the jury as strongly for the defendant as duty would allow, and the jury were good men, every one of them know Unionists as I am informed by the Clerk of the Court, with two exceptions, and these two are now strong Union men. The Counsel for the defendant has since said to me that the trial was fair and impartial and no great complaint could be made of it. The accompanying statement of the Col Coleman, the Solicitor, so far as the facts come under my observation is substantially true. I learn the Military Officers have taken the action mentioned by him and that their action was wholly *ex parte*.

It is much to be regretted that such summary steps should be taken in so hasty and imprudent a manner. There is the solemn judgement of the Court acting in harmony with the Government of the United States virtually abrogated by a subordinate and inexperienced (as to such matter) Military Officer in such way as to produce the worst conceivable feeling. The examination on the part of these officers was not only ex parte, but done in an offensive and I may add, in the most insolent manner. The obvious effect of this action is to bring about the worst conceivable state of insubordination among the colored people, indeed, all evil disposed persons, and to bring about the most utter contempt for the Courts and disregard for judicial authority. It were far better to abolish the courts absolutely, than to tolerate such summary and unjustifiable conduct. I cannot believe that such action has been taken with the approval of Genl Sickles or Genl Miles. If the Courts are "Rebel Courts" they ought to be abolished, if they are not, but are Courts existing with the sanction of the Government of the United States, they ought to be sustained. I am gratified to learn that the Officers made no attack upon or imputation against me. I appeal with unshaken confidence to my whole judicial course as evidence of the impartial manner in which I have dispersed justice to all men of all races and color. But this action on the part of these Military Officers by implication and in effect, reflects the Judge, Jury and all concerned.

I deem it proper to make this statement to accompany that of Col. Coleman touching the same matter. You can take such further notice of the matter as its gravity requires. It seems to me, that Genl Sickles is quite as much interested as the Courts, in questioning their action, done and had in pursuance of the law of the land.

I have the honor to be &c.
Your Excellency's Obt. Servt.

From David Coleman[88]

Copy

Asheville N. C.
Aug 9th 1867.

His Excellency.
Jonathan Worth.
Governor of North Carolina
Sir.

I deem it my official duty to bring to your attention what I consider an unfortunate interference of the Military authority and the Agent of the Freedman's Bureau, with the administration of justice in this Circuit, to the end that proper steps may be taken to correct the evil resulting and to prevent is recurrence.

A the last term of Buncombe Superior Court. Carney Spears, a freedman, was convicted of an assualt on a man named Cook. The testimony of Cook, his wife and daughter showed the coming to his (C's) house of the defendant, another colored man, and three white men, soon after the occupation of this section by the United States Troops, an assault on Cook, and that the defendant was one of the group which pursued Cook, and which, or some of them fired a number of shots at him, (being the assault charged) and was actively participating in the pursuit, at the time of the firing, with a pistol in his hand, Cook being in close pistol shot. Their evidence went to negative the idea of the defendant's acting under the compulsion of his associates, to show that he had willingly and eagerly joined himself to their party, and was an active and forward participator in their proceedings on the occasion. For the defendant, two colored witnesses, a man the most important (who having) accompanied them, was only not included in the indictment because I had not then been able to learn his name and a boy swore to statements, which, if true evidenced that the defandant acted under the compulsion of the white men, negatived his participation in the assault, and showed direct falsehood in the testimony of the Cooks, in the points most material to the issue. Two of the white men were (the State's witnesses said) dressed nearly or altogether in blue clothes–whether in uniform did not appear I do not remember if any other witness was examined. These five were the material ones, on whose evidence the case depended. It was insisted for the State, that the evidence of the defendant's witness was inconsistent, contradicted by more reliable evidence and untrue. The defense was, denied of the alleged assault by the prisoner, and that he was acting under the direction and compulsion of Federal Soldiers. Whether they, the white men, were soldiers or not, did not appear, except from the testimony of the defendant's before

[88] David Coleman (February 5, 1824-March 5, 1883) was the son of William Coleman and Cynthia Swain Coleman, a sister of David L. Swain; studied at the University of North Carolina, but just prior to his graduation he entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis and served in the Navy until he resigned in 1850; practiced law in Asheville, was a member of the state senate in 1854 and 1856; was colonel in the 39th North Carolina regiment in the Confederate army; was solicitor of the western North Carolina district; and represented Buncombe County with General Clingman in the state convention of 1875. John Preston Arthur, *Western North Carolina, a History*, 403-404.

mentioned principal witness, who said he was them on duty with a detachment of U. S. soldiers and, perhaps some declarations, deposed to, of these white men.

The presiding Judge, Judge Merrimon, charged fully and fairly on the evidence and the points involved, and, among other things, that, if the defendant acted under the compulsion of the others, whether they were soldiers or robbers, he was not guilty. The conflict of testimony was left to the jury for their decision according to their belief, under all the circumstances. The jury found a verdict of guilty, the presumption being thereby implied, that they believe the State's witness and did not believe those for the defense. That the whole trial was fair and just to the defendant. I have heard of no one witnessed it doubting. I understand (from Judge Merrimon) that the defendant's counsel, Col Henry, Known here as a leading Republican in politics, admits it to have been so. There were two other indictments against the defendant, for larceny of horses, (or a horse and a mule) charged to have been committed by him with these men, one from Cook, one from a Mr Wells, after the verdict in the case above discribed, the deft. through his counsel submitted to verdicts of guilty, on them, the same and other similar evidence applying to them. In consideration of the unsettled condition of the County at the time of the offences, the liability of his class to be misled, and his insolvency, I did not pray judgement, and it was suspended in all cases, on condition of his securing the costs, one half payable at the Fall Term, and the other half at the Spring Term, 1867. Mr. Atkinson, of this place, became the security and by an arrangement with him, with which the Court had nothing to do, the defendant entered his employ to work out the amount of the costs.

On yesterday Mr Atkinson informs me, that the Agent of the Freedman's Bureau at this place, went to him, and demanded the release of the defendant, from his employ asserting the defendants innocence, based as he, the Agent, alleged, on the statements made to him, by the defendant and some other, I presume, the principal colored witness before mentioned, charging roundly injustice in the proceedings before the Court, and in the sentiments of the community towards colored people, complaining that no statement by the defendant had been taken by the Court; and declaring in substance, that things were not going on right here, as regarded the colored people and he was going to take charge for setting them right. Mr A. went with him to Capt Denny, Commanding the Post, (at the Agents request) and Capt Denny sustained the action of the latter and Spears left Mr A's employ). I have requested from Mr Atkinson, a statement, which if received in time I propose enclosing herewith. On the same day I am informed by the Clerk of the Superior Court, Capt Denny and the Agent went to the Clerk's Office, when Capt D. demanded the record of the Court, and made an entry on it (which I have not examined) directing, suspending further proceedings in these cases, until an order therein may be received from Genl Sickles. All this has been done without any notice or call for explanation

from Judge Merrimon or myself, both of us residing and being in the place.

What authority Capt Denny and the Agent may have in the premises, I do not know, but I think it is evident, on these facts, that its exercise has not been with reasonable discretion. It is deciding in effect, that, after a lawful and fair trial, the *ex parte* statements of a convict and his comrade raises the presumption that the Judge who presided and the jury who tried, have in violation of their duty and their oaths, done injustice and that the witness for the State, (impeached and so far as I know, unimpeachable) were perjured. I submit that the examination which these gentlemen have made of this case, is very insufficient to warrant such a conclusion.

I need not comment, on the deplorable results that such a proceeding as this and others that may follow it, are like to produce on the ignorant and bewildered minds of the freedmen. I cannot suppose that, if the General Commanding this Military District is fully possessed of the facts, he will sustain the proceeding and it is, that he may be so placed in possession of them, that I bring the matter to your Excellency's attention, respectfully requesting that it may be represented to Genl Sickles. I think also that a thorough investiagion would be made of the whole affair, embracing all the information that can be commanded

I am Very Respectfully
Your Excellency's Obt Servt.
Solicitor 8th District

From Natt Atkinson[89]

Copy

Asheville N. C.
Aug. 9th 1867.

Col Coleman.

At your request I subjoin a brief statement of what passed between the Agent of the Freedmens Bureau at this place and myself on yesterday. About ten oclock I was called upon by him and requested to go over to his office, that Capt Denny wished to see me and he wanted Carney Spears, a colored man living with me to go also. I asked him what he wanted with us and he said he wanted to release the boy from his obligation to work for me, and to release me also from my obligation to the Court which I was under, namely, to pay certain costs which had been incurred in some suits which had been improperly brought against the

[89] Natt Atkinson (November 15, 1832-August 25, 1894), the son of John and Rebecca Bonner Atkinson, was born in McMinn County, Tennessee, graduated from Hiawassee College, served in the Confederate army 1861-1865 as captain in General Vaughan's brigade and was one of the escorts of Jefferson Davis on his historic flight from Richmond in April, 1865; was editor of the *Asheville Citizen*, 1870-1873; moved in 1873 from Asheville to his fruit farm at Swannanoa where he remained until 1882, when he returned to Asheville to engage in the real estate business, which he continued until his death; served as president of the Atlanta, Asheville, and Baltimore Railroad; began the construction of the first street railway in Asheville; was a member of the state legislature in 1879; and was called the father of the grade school in Asheville. Arthur, *Western North Carolina*, 453.

negro, that it was a great outrage and he was going to set the matter right.

At the last term of the Superior Court of this place, this negro was convicted in two cases of larceny and one of assault and Battery. He was remanded to prison without any disposition of him as yet by the Judge. On the same or next day, pending the Court I at the request of the friend of the negro, went to see him in jail, and he was very anxious to have me take him out and let him work with me until I was satisfied and would do anything I would ask him; being in need of a hand I told him if he would behave himself in a becoming and proper manner and do good and faithful service for me that I would make an effort to have him released. To this he agreed. Through his attorney I promised to become his security for the payment of the cost, if he could be released. The proposition was accepted and he was released without further punishment. I told him I thought the boy had been very properly convicted, that he had had a very fair and impartial trial and if he could hear the evidence of the witness for the State and understand *who they were* that he would likely come to a very different conclusion; he said he had investigated the matter and these witnesses for the State had sworn falsely with a view to punish and oppress the boy, because he was a negro. We then called the negro and started for his office. On the way he spoke very insolently of our Courts and people of the State, that they had committed treason and were ready to commit treason again, that he had gotten some soldiers here now to help him out and he was going to set matters right. I told him that the opinion he had formed was erroneous and unjust and was no doubt the offspring of prejudice, that our people were loyal and would act in good faith with the Government, that he needed no soldiers to assist him in executing any orders from the authorities all this he denied and said he undertstood how the matter stood. By this time we had reached his office, and I was asked to be seated until Capt Denny would come in, which was but a short time, when the negro was called up to make a statement touching the offences with which he had been charged at Court. He went on to make a very full and explicit narration of his innocence and the injustice that had been done him, fully exculpating himself from all offence, both of thought and deed. When he was through the Bureau Agent remarked to Capt Denny that, that statement was word for word as had been told him by some one else, whose name I did not hear. After commenting upon and condemning the course and conduct of the Court and people (excepting Judge Merrimon) he said why a white man here is allowed to make his statement in Court when he is being tried and a negro is not, now don't you see if this boy had been allowed to make his statement when he was tried that he would have been cleared"

I told him that he had no evidence of but one side and if he would hear the witnesses for the State, he would think as the jury did which found him guilty So says he I've looked into it and

am satisfied that he is innocent. So the trial being through Capt Denny told me he would discharge the boy from his contract with me and would refer the matter to Genl Sickles and have an order issued releasing me from obligation to the Court and in the meantime he would make an order upon the books of the Court suspending all action in the matter. The boy being released, came back to my house got his clothes and in a very insolent manner left.

This Col. is about the substance and in many places the language of what was said.

Very Respectfully
Your Oby. Servant

[*To be continued*]

BOOK REVIEWS

Cherokee Dance and Drama. By Frank G. Speck and Leonard Bloom in collaboration with Will West Long. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 106.)

The senior author of "Cherokee Dance and Drama," Frank G. Speck, died on February 6, 1950, in the year preceding its publication. Dr. Speck will be long remembered as an inspiring teacher and renowned scholar in his field—the study of man. His timely study of the Catawba Indians in the Carolinas resulted in the publication of "Catawba Texts," in which he preserved for posterity the best linguistic evidences of a culture rapidly disappearing. His junior partner in the study of the Cherokee, Leonard Bloom, states that "working with him was a happy and rewarding experience. There have been few American anthropologists so patient and thorough in the field."

Speck and Bloom, with the assistance of other scholars, followed the trail of the Eastern Band of Cherokee in their reservation in North Carolina and obtained directly, over years of study, an intimate knowledge of their surviving customs, particularly in festive celebrations.

Intensive study was made of a remote group, the Big Cove settlement sequestered in a valley of the Great Smokies. The chief native informant was Will West Long, a dominant character of the Big Cove settlement.

The book gives an intimate description of the Indians in their surviving dance and drama, with details of performance and paraphernalia.

As the description is given, faithfully recorded, the impression remains that there has been a dilution of ancestral Indian custom and procedure, that contact with the outside world has affected the ancient rites even in the isolation of the Great Smokies. It seems that the Indians are not keeping so true to form as when James Mooney described their ceremonials.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Junaluska. By H. C. Wilburn. (Asheville: The Stephens Press. 1951. Pp. 20.)

A famous Cherokee Indian, Junaluska, has been the subject of intensive study by H. C. Wilburn, of Waynesville, N. C.

Mr. Wilburn has been active for many years in the development of Western North Carolina and in making the resources of the area available for the people of the state and for visitors from beyond. This biographical research began when he was historian for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

In his brief but thorough study the author has drawn attention to Junaluska in three directions: The Man Junaluska, the Name Junaluska, and Places that Bear the Name Junaluska.

The booklet is beautifully illustrated and attractively prepared, and the material presented bears the mark of authenticity.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Biography of a Country Church. By Garland A. Hendricks. (Nashville: Broadman Press. 1950. Pp. 137. Illustrations. $2.00.)

At the date of publication the author of this work was pastor of Olive Chapel Baptist Church, located near the western edge of Wake County. According to the account here presented, this church was organized with eleven members in 1850. In the century of its life it has been the source of spiritual guidance and a social center for three generations of descendants from the "Po' White Trash" that settled the ridge land passed over by the more discriminating land seekers of the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. It has had its full share of difficulties and vicissitudes which will stir nostalgic memories in the minds of readers who have been associated with such a church. That it has had more than its proportionate share of material blessings was attested in 1950 by a membership of 560, a church building conservatively valued at $45,000, together with a parsonage, several acres of land, a community house, and recreational facilities bringing the total value of church property to some $100,000.

Surprisingly enough in a book by a minister of a highly evangelical faith, very little of inner triumph or exaltation of the spirit is here delineated. An outdoor baptism in November

and some prayings through to conversion in the early days stand in distinct contrast to the general tone of the book. This again is exactly what the initiated would expect in the pastor's annual report to the governing board of his congregation in any one of several thousand Protestant churches in this country. Accessions to membership, troubles with the sexton, efforts to reach the standards set by the denominational hierarchy, improvement of the physical plant and the fiscal plan, and the keeping of the Lord's work in the hands of competent and dependable deacons are constantly recurring themes. Together they virtually form a screen between the reader and the services of the church to the community, since it is to be assumed that readers will come from those who sincerely believe that a church does render services other than the formal worship program.

The bibliographical paraphernalia so dear to the heart of the historian is entirely absent. In the preface the author declares his intention "to present the truth without casting any reflection of an unwholesome nature upon the good name of any person or family" (p. xiv); two other statements (pp. 80-81, 101) indicate that the clerk's records of the congregation's activities since 1850 are intact and deposited in a vault at Wake Forest College. The present work seems to be the reduction of these records to narrative form, with the added embellishment of human interest stories and an eleven-page sermon as a fitting conclusion.

The reflection of the historian on the work is mainly regret that a larger cross section of community life was not presented. A report on the internal workings of a church is an interesting story. It is merely a beginning of what a pastor might do to contribute a better understanding of the place his church fills in the community. Two examples, somewhat trifling in comparison to the whole work, will indicate the degree to which it is lacking in historical perspective. A few hours of study in census reports would have given a factual base for interpreting the unusual increase in membership of this church as compared to that of the general run of country churches. Comparative figures from Wake County tax digests would have been infinitely preferred to an unsupported statement that poor soil and a high percentage of landowning farmers made for greater pride in church and community buildings. This reader also searched in vain for some

estimate of the influence of the country church on its members who have moved everything they can to the city except their church letters. The author's evident tenderness in handling this subject suggests the possibility that such an estimate might have violated the prefatory pledge quoted above.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville, N. C.

Centennial History of Alamance County. By Walter Whitaker in collaboration with Staley A. Cook and A. Howard White. (Burlington, N. C.: Burlington Chamber of Commerce. 1949. Pp. xvii, 270. Map.)

Alamance County, North Carolina, was fortunate in the selection of Walter Whitaker, a native son, to write the county history for its centennial celebration. Mr. Whitaker has combined sympathetic understanding with scholarship and has given an authentic and readable chronicle of the first century of his county.

The story of Alamance, as presented, includes the Indians, the early settlers, the conflicts of the Regulators and the Revolution, the origin of the textile industry, the coming of the railroad, ante-bellum Alamance, the War Between the States, hard times of Reconstruction, and later developments with survey of progress in business, education, religion, agriculture, and other vital interests of the county.

Deserved emphasis has been given to two subjects: First, the uprising of the Regulators, culminating in the Battle of Alamance, is clearly and comprehensively narrated and is worthy of study in the other counties of the state. Second, the textile industry, beginning with pioneer Edwin M. Holt in 1837, is described amply in its remarkable development.

There are a few minor errors, such as listing the "Sinnagar Indians" as a Canadian tribe instead of the Iroquois of New York State.

Numerous illustrations add to the attractiveness of the book and a liberal selection of "old time" scenes serves for better understanding of the past. A likeness of President Harry S. Truman, facing his message of congratulation, greets the reader at the opening of the book, followed by that of Governor W. Kerr

Scott, the second citizen of Alamance to serve as chief executive of the state of North Carolina.

The volume is appropriately and beautifully bound in cloth, Alamance plaid, furnished by Burlington Mills Corporation.

Douglas L. Rights.

Wachovia Historical Society,
Winston-Salem, N. C.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina—The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, November 10, 1736-June 7, 1739. Edited by J. H. Easterby (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina. 1951. Pp. xii, 764.)

It is good news indeed that South Carolina has begun the systematic publication of its colonial records. The series here inaugurated will be of the utmost value not only to persons directly concerned with the history of that colony itself, but to all those interested in the formative period of this country. The plan is first to publish in chronological order the journals of the Commons House from 1737 to the Revolution, next to print or reprint uniformly and completely the earlier journals, some of which have been separately published before, and then to move on to the council journals and other categories of documents. The program is as praiseworthy as it is ambitious.

The period covered in this initial volume spans the life of a single assembly. Threatened war with Spain and friction with the new colony of Georgia over control of Indian trade caused trouble to the south and west, but with the province's other neighbor, North Carolina, relations seemed unruffled. The assembly unanimously supported development of the postal service between Charles Town and the Cape Fear. At home the familiar problem of the currency led to a long and valuable committee report (printed in full) recounting the history of paper money in the colony since 1703. The most significant political episode during these years was a prolonged controversy over the council's right to amend money bills, an issue which remained unsettled when the lower house was finally dissolved.

Because parliamentary procedure in South Carolina was extraordinarily complicated and the clerk was meticulous in entering

every detail of action, this record ranks close to the top among colonial legislative journals in prolixity. The editor, by contrast, is perhaps unduly laconic; readers would welcome somewhat more ample footnoting in future volumes. The index, except for a few carefully worked-over topics, is almost useless: When the heading "Indians," for example is followed by 97 page numbers organized under only two subheads, or "Pinckney, Charles" is followed by an array of no less than 237 page numbers unbroken by any subheads at all, the reader is not given much help. Such inadequate indexing is quite unworthy of a text so important historically and a volume so handsomely printed and bound.

Leonard W. Labaree.

Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.

James Harrod of Kentucky. By Catherine Harrod Mason (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. introduction xxii, 242. Appendix and Index. $4.00.)

James Harrod of Kentucky by Catherine Harrod Mason is the latest addition to the Southern Biography Series edited by T. Harry Williams and published by the Louisiana State University Press. Like all of the products of this press the volume is attractively bound, has a handsome jacket, and reflects high technical skill on the part of both the press director and the series editor.

James Harrod was the Pennsylvanian who led a party of men to the region in Kentucky where Harrodsburg (the first settlement in Kentucky) ultimately was developed. An excellent woodsman and frontiersman, he served with distinction in several campaigns during the French and Indian War and in expeditions against the Indians during and after the Revolution. He was also one of the handful of leaders who weathered those bitter years of strife to occupy a position of honor in the growing territory. He participated in the first assembly at Transylvania and served one term in the Virginia legislature. That he made a lasting and important contribution to pioneer Kentucky has never been doubted.

Anyone familiar with the present-day Kentuckians' love of finite objects and their lack of interest in things historical will

credit Mrs. Mason with persistence and energy, for Kentucky history must be written in far scattered libraries and in places where historical materials are valued more than in the Bluegrass State. She has made a valuable contribution in directing public attention to the confused and legend-beclouded frontier period of Kentucky history. Her volume is the product of patient research and (from the standpoint of material located) many hours of unrewarded effort. Generally it is a smoothly written study. However, it is regrettable that she did not foreswear footnotes and leave her volume in the proper realm of popular biography.

There are far too many careless errors in this volume. From the reviewer's viewpoint it is analytically immature, not balanced in interpretation, and not sufficiently critical of the materials used. Far-reaching claims are made to enhance Harrod's stature. Too little care has been taken in checking footnotes and sources cited. Ignorance of the geography of Kentucky and its terrain is readily apparent. Some documents cited do not support statements made in the text. Imagined conversations and efforts at reading the minds of men long deceased do not enhance its value. Since so much space is devoted to Will and other Harrods, a more exact title would have been "The Harrods of Kentucky."

Lack of adequate materials and time prevented a thorough check to determine the extent and number of errors, but this reviewer found enough to establish to his satisfaction that *James Harrod of Kentucky* is not an example of sound historical scholarship. A few examples will suffice. The source cited (page 31) as authority for Sam and James Harrod's fur trade with New Orleans does not even refer to them. It was indeed a jolly time if Daniel Boone and the Harrods met on the *Tennessee River* "at the site of the present city of Nashville" (page 31). The Englishman who encouraged General John Forbes to march on Fort Duquesne (page 23) was a prisoner of the Indians and was captured by an English-Colonial scouting party. Hence, the source cited does not support the statement that he escaped from the French. The dreamer Poague feared that the "breeches" of the guns were burning and not his "britches" (page 52). The statement regarding the West's "feeling" its own strength (page 94) may be true, but realistic pioneers must have feared for their lives unless they numbered more than the eighty-one fight-

ing men the census listed for the largest settlement, Harrodsburg (page 129). Clark did not send William Linn to scout the Illinois forts with Samuel Moore—it was his brother, Ben Linn (page 125). Harrod Wilson was actually at least a year old at the time he was born according to the author's chronology (page 127). The expedition of Harrod and Logan for powder occurred in October 1776, not 1777, according to Colonel William Christian who gave them the powder (page 128). Throughout the volume the location of "Chillicothe" is confused and many errors are made because of this uncertainty. For example, the Chillicothe attacked in the Campaign of 1779 was on the Little Miami River, not the Scioto. Thus the pioneers did not march approximately one hundred miles in two days to reach the village (page 163).

The *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (volume III, not II as cited) indicates that Harrod was recommended for a colonelcy in 1782, not 1779, and there is little evidence that he was ever sworn in as colonel (page 170); yet the statement is made, "During the winter of 1779 Jim Harrod received a permanent commission as colonel." The paragraph concerning the Indian attack on Logan's fort (page 198) contains three errors of fact. George Rogers Clark did not list Harrod as accompanying the expedition of 1782 (page 200) and there is no evidence known to the reviewer that he participated in the expedition of 1786 (page 227). The map opposite page 140 is not carefully drawn. The author confused the dates of the Danville conventions in her analysis of the fight for statehood. There are other errors that could be noted.

The volume has merit as popular biography. It calls attention to a little-known and even less studied period of Kentucky history. However, James Harrod is worthy of serious biographical consideration, for he had many qualities of leadership and achieved much while living in a period of heroic deeds and able men. But his own accomplishments will stand unpropped by far-reaching claims and imagined episodes. *James Harrod of Kentucky* serves to obscure the man.

Bennett H. Wall.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Ky.

The People of Atlanta: A Demographic Study of Georgia's Capital City. By C. A. McMahan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1950. Pp. xxiii, 257. Maps, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. $4.00.)

For many years population analysts have endeavored to examine and describe the complex nature of modern society, and they have now adopted the term "demography" to designate their field of work. Dr. McMahan's book is not only a detailed treatment of specific characteristics of Atlanta's population but also an introduction to the subject of demography. He explains the methods used in analysis and gives a survey of earlier works in the field.

While the author attempts to show certain trends since 1850, the bulk of his study centers around the census data for 1930 and 1940. The value of many of his findings is increased by contrasts with data for Dallas, Nashville, and New Orleans and for the urban population of the entire United States.

Dr. McMahan finds that an extensive migration to Atlanta was essential for the city to maintain its steady growth in population. Most of the new inhabitants came from other parts of Georgia or from adjacent southern states. These additions more than compensated for the low birth rate, which was declining during the period from 1890 to 1940. Particularly was this true for Negroes, because they failed to reproduce themselves to the same extent as the white people and because their race suffered from an exceptionally high death rate. Under these conditions the whites outnumber the Negroes two to one, but because of the large-scale employment of Negro women in domestic and personal service, the total number of men in proportion to the number of women is fewer in Atlanta than in any other large city in the nation.

The reviewer believes that the reader would prefer that the same legends be used in figures comparing a factor in two different years (figs. 1-3, 5, 17-20) and that percentages total 100 where intended (pp. 129, 214). The author could have chosen more illustrations of the "people" themselves in place of those of Atlanta's landmarks. Despite these points this book should prove to be a worth-while addition to the field of population analysis.

Paul M. McCain.

Brenau College,
Gainesville, Ga.

The Gallant Hood. By John P. Dyer. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1950. Pp. 368. $3.50.)

Mr. Dyer's biography of John Bell Hood is one of a long list of recent works on the Civil War (for a partial list consult pages 368-370 of this biography). The public hunger for such writings may be accredited in part to the war spirit of the time and to the long-existing appeal of the Old South.

John Bell Hood went from Kentucky by way of West Point, where he had "a terrific struggle with his studies," to service in the United States Army. In spite of the habits of carelessness and thoughtlessness, which even West Point failed to correct, he was advanced in rank and made two important associations: one with the state of Texas, the other with Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee.

It was as leader of the Texans that Hood made a name for himself when he left the United States Army to serve in the Confederate Army. From the beginning of his service with the Confederates until he followed Joseph E. Johnston as the commander of the Army of Tennessee, Hood was phenomenally successful. He was a "superb combat-officer" and was idolized by his Texans. Stonewall Jackson thought him "one of the most promising officers of the army," Lee valued him highly, and he became the confidant of President Davis. But even amidst the remarkable successes misfortunes occurred. Hood was badly wounded at Gettysburg and lost his right leg in the battle at Chickamauga. Even his love affairs took a bad turn and he lost the affections of Sara ("Sally" or "Buck") Preston.

The ill luck in the first part of Hood's military career carried over in the second part and bad fortune was continually at his heels.

When public anxiety and distrust of the Fabian methods of Joseph E. Johnston led President Davis to remove him, Hood was appointed to the command of the Army of Tennessee. The battle of Atlanta was lost. Hood's physical handicaps, dissensions within his army, and the superior strength of the enemy combined with Hood's own ineptitude to bring defeat. Following this, his move to cut off the supplies of the enemy was largely futile and his invasion of Tennessee ended with the rout of his army at Frankfort and Nashville. A few years of domestic happiness and

business success followed Hood's return to private life in New Orleans, but misfortune struck again, bringing financial reverses and a scourge of yellow fever which robbed him of his fortune and a large part of his family and brought about his own death while he was still in his forties.

Mr. Dyer's work must be regarded as a valuable contribution to the biographical studies of the Civil War. His style is easy and his zest in the writing evident. He keeps step with the armies and handles combats much as a sports writer might recount a hard-fought game. At times his zeal almost becomes a defect, when he writes page after page of the military story without a mention of Hood. The second part of Hood's career is by far the weaker part of the biography.

The evaluation of Hood is done especially well. The author's attitude is thoroughly objective without becoming colorless. He deals out both praise and criticism without apology.

An extensive use of military maps enhances the format of the book. Good pictures are used, but they lose value by poor distribution. It is disconcerting to the reader to come upon a picture of Hood's wife before any mention has been made of her and long before the account of his marriage is given. Some confusion in geographical descriptions covering such an expanse of terrain might be expected. The reader might well inquire how Johnston could "fall back behind the Etowah River at Allatoona Pass" when he was located at Cassville. As a whole the work is carefully done and the author may be congratulated on the completion of two good biographies of the Civil War heroes—*The Gallant Hood,* and *Fightin' Joe Wheeler.*

Alice B. Keith.

Meredith College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward. By Samuel Proctor (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1950. Pp. x, 400. $5.00.)

The subject of this study, a famous Florida character who lived from 1857 to 1910, was a river boat captain, a filibuster, and a politician. He was in turn sheriff, member of the legislature, and governor and had just won the Democratic nomination for United

States Senator when a sudden illness and death brought his career to a close at the comparatively youthful age of fifty-three.

Samuel Proctor has given a full length picture of this colorful figure whose influence and significance were of such a nature as to give his name to the "Broward Era." The author pictures Broward as a man of little formal education, boundless energy, and remarkable popular appeal. He was at his best in the rough and tumble of a strenuous primary campaign. In politics Broward belonged to the liberal wing of the Democratic party. Among other progressive measures, he advocated increased support for public education, a law to require registration of lobbyists, a corrupt practices act, and the establishment of a compulsory state insurance system. In his hostility to corporations he showed the influence of the Populist movement. His solution for the race problem as presented in a message to the legislature in 1907 was simple:

> . . . the United States to purchase territory, either domestic or foreign, and provide means to purchase the property of the Negroes, at reasonable prices, and to transport them to the territory purchased by the United States. The United States to organize a government for them of the Negro race; to protect them from foreign invasion; to prevent white people from living among them on the territory; and to prevent Negroes from migrating back to the United States.

Yet Broward never became violently anti-Negro and was not associated with such exploiters of the race issue as his contemporary, James K. Vardaman of Mississippi. His principal political stock in trade was the drainage of the Everglades. He was sincerely interested in this project and emphasized it with telling effect.

An interesting aspect of Broward's life was his filibustering activity in the period just prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. The two chapters which Mr. Proctor devotes to these adventures reveal the negligence and inefficiency of the United States Government in preventing or breaking up these unlawful expeditions which were calculated to aid the rebels in Cuba against Spain, a power with which the United States was at peace. Broward's political popularity in later years stemmed in no small way from the interest of the public in these filibustering exploits.

This volume is an interesting contribution to the history of Florida. In some respects, however, it seems to lack a character of completeness and one feels that the author did not quite finish the job. Two examples will suffice: much is said about Broward's interest and activities in draining the Everglades; yet no effort is made to show how successful he was in this stupendous undertaking. Similarly, there is little effort to evaluate critically Broward's character and work; the last few pages are devoted to fulsome eulogy, better fitted to be a funeral oration than an objective estimate.

The book is well documented, with the footnotes relegated to a section at the end. There is a good bibliography and the index is adequate. This work will be welcomed by those interested in Florida history.

Cecil Johnson.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Yours Till Death: Civil War Letters of John W. Cotton. Edited by Lucille Griffith. (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 128. $3.00.)

Yours Till Death is a short volume containing letters written by a Confederate soldier to his wife. John W. Cotton, a yeoman farmer in civilian life, was a private in the cavalry during his entire three years in the Army. His wife, Mariah, remained in Alabama, making a crop each year with the help of a hired slave, one Manuel, and looking after the seven Cotton children. Only a few letters from Mariah to John are included in the book. Those indicate dependence on her husband for advice, as she frequently asked specifically for his suggestions. Letters from Mrs. Cotton were evidently irregular and infrequent, for Cotton often asked the same questions over and over when writing home.

Cotton showed his affection for his family in all letters; he more than once spoke of the time he spent "studying" about his family and longing to see them. During the time he was away, one of Cotton's children died. This tragedy made the soldier more homesick than ever; his letters about the death of this child and

about other members of the family who were sick from time to time are evidence of the strong home ties he felt.

The soldier's love for his family is illustrated by a portion of a letter written in April, 1863. Cotton told his wife to tell the children "that I want to see them tell them they must bee smart children it ant worth while for me to try to say any thing about how bad I want to see you all I would like to see babe with his breeches on and see his capers and see little giney runabout and play but I have no idea she would no me if she were to see me tell sweet he must lern to talk before I come home tell bud and bunk they must help manuel cut bushes and weeds and make a heap of corn tell ann she must bee a good girl and lern a heap and bee kind to her teacher and lern to rite billy brown is sick he is at the horsepitol he look tolerable bad"—and on he wrote about many unrelated topics of news.

Yours Till Death throws much insight on the thoughts and activities of an "unknown" in the Civil War. Cotton found many things wrong with the Army, complaining about drunken officers, the food which was plentiful but "badly Cooked," and the fact that he did not get a furlough. Complaining about the furlough matter, he wrote in July, 1862, that "there is no chance to get a furlow sick or well unless they think we are going to dye. . . ." Guard duty and "fites" with the "yankeys" are described. On one occasion Cotton wrote that "the fite commenced soon in the morning the yankeys came across the river in the nite and had like to have got on us before we new it," showing that the Confederates were not always on guard.

Though the letters are difficult to read because Cotton was almost illiterate, they are full of vivid details which make them fascinating. The editor has done an excellent job of footnoting, thereby explaining obscure and unfamiliar references in the letters. The first letter included in the collection was written from Montgomery, Alabama, in April, 1862. The last was from "Southcarolina Camps near Cartonville," written February 1, 1865. Though the letters ended in February, Cotton was in the Army until May 25, 1865, when he was paroled as a prisoner of war at Talladega, Alabama.

The book gets its title from the complimentary closes used by Cotton. Nearly every letter ends with some such phrase as "your

devoted husband til death" or "your true devoted husband and friend til death." For a fascinating, first hand account of activities of a private in the Confederate Army, *Yours Till Death* is an excellent source.

Fannie Memory Farmer.

Raleigh, N. C.

The Know-Nothing Party in the South. By W. Darrell Overdyke. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 322. $4.00.)

Large-scale immigration of non-English Europeans to the United States in the 1840's caused the latent nativist sentiment to crystallize and led to the organization of the Native American or Know-Nothing party. The Native Americans were united by fear of alien domination in politics and hostility to foreign social and economic ideas. This was particularly true with the great influx of liberals and radicals from Germany after the failure of the revolution of 1848. Furthermore the nativists feared the influence of popery and foreign Catholicism.

The Know-Nothing party had its origin in the large cities of the North. The Order of United Americans, The United American Mechanics, The Order of the Star Spangled Banner, and the Order of the Stars and Stripes were names adopted by some of the many local organizations. An effort was made to unite these groups into a national party in Philadelphia in 1845. A national convention was held in the same city in 1847 that nominated candidates for president and vice president but the party did not have sufficient strength to conduct an active campaign. Charles B. Allen of New York and James W. Barker were able to unite all these groups in 1850-1852 and transform the moribund American party into a vigorous political machine that played a significant role in United States politics in the decade of the 1850's. It was this party with its secret ritual, handclasps, and degrees which, because its members professed complete ignorance of its existence, was called Know-Nothing and cast nearly 900,000 votes for its candidate, Millard Fillmore, in 1856. The fourteen southern states cast about half of the total vote. Only Maryland gave Fillmore its electoral vote, but Kentucky as well as Maryland fell under local control of Know-Nothings.

The southern states had relatively few foreign immigrants, a small Catholic population and little religious tension, and few urban industrial laborers to compete with foreign labor; hence one must seek beneath the surface for the explanations of the strong appeal the Know-Nothing party had for the South. Professor Overdyke points out that southern Americans differed from their northern brothers in that they insisted on a more temperate anti-Catholicism (in fact several southern states ignored the anti-Catholic clause in the Know-Nothing oath); were less inclined to active aggression toward foreigners and committed less destruction and bloodshed, and engaged in fewer anti-Catholic riots than did the North; and that they were much stronger in advocating national Unionism than the northern wing of the party. One explanation back of this latter attitude was the desire of southerners to escape the growing slavery issue. Kenneth Rayner of North Carolina was the author of the Third, or Union, Degree and it was adopted by the national party as a concession to southern slaveholders. The author declares that southern Unionists, while a minority, were a most militant one. He is in error, however, when he says the southerners attempted to avoid discussion of slavery and state rights.

Some few errors in local names appear in the book, Kingston for Kinston, North Carolina, and Camela for Coweta County, Georgia, for example. And the author lists Gilchrist Porter as a Know-Nothing congressman on one page but on the following classifies him as a Democrat. These are minor errors, however. The author has synthesized the findings of many special monographs and for the first time has treated the Know-Nothings for the entire South. The weakness of nearly all *southern* studies shows up in this one; namely, that since the southern states were not a political entity there must be much repetition in covering the Know-Nothing party in fourteen states. And while not necessary, there is considerable unbalance in treating the different states. The study is weakest, however, in general interpretation and evaluation of the party.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Songs of the Confederacy. Authentic Facsimiles of the Songs that Stirred the South, with Historical Text and Illustrations. Edited by Richard Barksdale Harwell. (New York: Broadcast Music, Inc. 1951. Pp. 112. $3.95.)

The significance and scope of this compilation of "Songs that Stirred the South" are succinctly stated in the opening paragraph of the editor's introduction: "To know the songs a people sang is to have a piercing insight into the spirit of the people. Here are the songs of the Southern Confederacy—songs of gaiety and optimism, songs of parting, sentimental songs of soldiers and sweethearts separated, rollicking songs of the camp, humorous songs, songs of defeat, and songs of defiance."

The introductory pages further contain interesting historical data and actual quotations relative to the part music played in the Civil War, in the camps, during battles, and on the "home front." Each of the thirty-eight songs in the book has concise, enlightening annotations concerning its history. While a few, such as "Dixie" and "Lorena," are not of southern origin, most of them were written, or composed, or both, by true Confederates, and each has a special Confederate flavor. Included are piano scores of three marches—"Our First President's Quickstep" (dedicated to and named for President Jefferson Davis), "General Lee's Grand March," and "The Beauregard Manassas Quickstep" (written in celebration of the famous victory of Bull Run). The songs are reproduced in their original form as published in the Confederacy, several of them ornately illustrated with original lithographs.

Mr. Harwell's wide research and deep study of Civil War and Confederate lore and his exhaustive study of the songs which were popular in the South (his previously published works include "Confederate Belles-Lettres" and "Confederate Music") render his latest volume an authoritative and convenient vehicle for reference and enjoyment, and a notable contribution to the mounting fund of musical Americana illuminating a colorful period of American history.

Christian D. Kutschinski.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh, N. C.

Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution. By Willard M. Wallace. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1951. Pp. viii, 308. $4.50.)

The campaigns and battles of the American Revolution constitute a significant, somewhat spectacular, and relatively neglected chapter in our history. This highly readable book, apparently written for the general reader, is soundly organized, adequately documented, and interestingly written. The author, both a soldier and an historian of the Revolutionary era, has presented a moving story of the strategy and tactics, the tragedy and glory, the heroism and villainy of these momentous years. The first seven chapters of the volume relate largely to the war in New England and Canada, with one chapter devoted largely to the trials and tribulations of organizing an army. Chapter eight discusses "The Awakening of the South," followed by some ten chapters on the war in the New York-New Jersey-Pennsylvania area. The last five chapters deal primarily with the war in the South, climaxed by the final American victory at Yorktown.

"With all due credit to the Americans and their French allies," Mr. Wallace says, "it is not too much to say that the British government and the British generals lost the Revolution for England." Some readers may disagree with this generalization, but the author points out one disastrous blunder after another made by the British high command and there can be no doubt that these blunders aided materially in the final victory at Yorktown in 1781. The relatively well-disciplined and well-equipped British troops were commanded by officers as varied in ability and temperament as those under Washington and upon such leaders, and upon their strokes of genius or folly, the outcome of the war depended in great degree.

The author, in a book as brief as this one, could not possibly cover all aspects of the war. More details about naval operations, military logistics, Whig-Tory warfare, desertion, prisoners of war, and intelligence service might have added materially to the value and interest of the volume—but would have resulted in a much larger book.

The reviewer wishes that the author had given more attention to "partisan warfare," which at times was partially responsible

for the outcome of some of the significant campaigns. The whittling down of Cornwallis' forces in the South is a case in point. A fuller discussion of the organization and administration of the American army, the supply problem, and the roles of state militia might have thrown light on the outcome of some battles and campaigns.

The author's appraisal of various American and British military leaders—with a few exceptions—seems to be in line with the best scholarship of this period. He does not attempt to deify, vilify, or whitewash certain officers as some writers have done. In the opinion of the reviewer, he gives too little attention to the role of Daniel Morgan—one of the heroes of Saratoga and a somewhat neglected figure in our histories. Neither does the author mention Lt. Col. John Eager Howard at the battle of Cowpens, who was responsible, in a large way, for the ultimate American victory. Mr. Wallace criticizes Greene for the distance between his lines in the disposition of troops at Guilford Court House. As a matter of fact, Greene was forced to place his first line where he did in order to take advantage of an open field and the excellent field of fire which it offered. Even modern militarists would likely have placed the third line on the crest of the hill. Mr. Wallace says that "A glimpse at the scarlet forms lying still and writhing on the field told him (Greene) he had ruined Cornwallis's little army." When Greene left the battlefield, he had no idea that he had ruined the opposing army. In fact, he thought that Cornwallis was going to follow up the battle with another blow at him and, with this in mind, he began throwing up breastworks when he first reached Troublesome Ironworks.

In spite of the above minor criticisms, the reviewer liked the book and found it interesting reading. After all, it is much easier to criticize a book than it is to write one. The author is to be congratulated on writing a book that the average undergraduate student or literate layman can read and understand.

Hugh T. Lefler.

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Envoy to Caracas. The Story of John G. A. Williamson, Nineteenth-Century Diplomat. By Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xx, 228. $3.75.)

Interest in this story of a consul and minor diplomat in a comparatively unimportant post is somewhat intensified by two features. Williamson was a pioneer and he died at his post, a victim of the climate and the extreme dullness of his situation and work. As consul in La Guaira (1826-1834) and as chargé in Caracas (1835-1840) he reported on the local revolutions and Venezuela's secession from *La Gran Colombia,* negotiated the first treaty between the United States and Venezuela (a treaty of amity and commerce), and described, mostly in unflattering terms, the foreigners whom he met, Venezuelan officials, and life in Caracas.

During the last three years of his mission Williamson was in bad health, and perhaps it was his ailments and his Philadelphia wife's extreme discontent that caused his pessimism and his severe judgment of his associates and the people and leaders of the new republic. General Páez was among the few Venezuelans for whom this North Carolina diplomat ever had any words of praise.

Mrs. de Grummond's book is based mainly upon Williamson's diary (some of which has been lost) and his correspondence with the State Department. But she also consulted Páez's autobiography and a number of travelogues and histories, most of which she has evaluated in a short bibliographical essay, and made a research tour to Caracas. She fails, however, to mention two important documentary compilations by William R. Manning, in which may be found seventeen of Williamson's letters from Venezuela. Although presented in good style and well illustrated, this volume is not an important contribution to the relations of the United States and Venezuela.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

In July the Council of State appropriated $14,333 to the State Department of Archives and History to cover the cost of a State Records Microfilm Project through June 30, 1952. The program involves microfilming the modern records of various state agencies. For this purpose Mr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., Mrs. Bettie Y. Holland, and Mrs. Julia B. Jordan have been employed, under the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, of which Mr. W. Frank Burton is head. The first records to be microfilmed are those of the State Auditor.

The house in Statesville in which Governor Zebulon B. Vance lived for several months in 1865, after the capture of Raleigh by Sherman's army, has been moved from near the center of town to a public park, where it is maintained by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The house, which will be used in part for an Iredell County historical museum, was opened to the public on Saturday, September 1. Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan attended the opening.

The North Carolina Council of State has just published the *Public Addresses and Papers of Robert Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, 1945-1949*, edited by David Leroy Corbitt, pp. lxiv, 1058, illustrated. This book is available upon application to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Dr. Albert Ray Newsome, former head of the department of history of the University of North Carolina, died at his home in Chapel Hill, August 5, 1951. Dr. Newsome, the son of Richard Clyde and Julia Ross Newsome, was born in Marshville, North Carolina, on June 4, 1894. He attended the University of North Carolina, receiving his A.B. there in 1915. During the following years he taught school at Elizabeth City and Wilmington, North Carolina, and at the Bessie Tift College in Forsyth, Georgia. In 1919-1921 Dr. Newsome taught at the University of Michigan, where he received his M.A. degree in 1922 and his Ph.D. in 1929. From 1921 to 1926 he was an assistant professor of history at

the University of North Carolina, leaving the University during the latter year to become head of the North Carolina Historical Commission. He remained in this position, serving also as managing editor of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* until his return in 1935 to the University as head of the history department. He resigned as head of the department early in 1951.

Among the professional societies of which Dr. Newsome was a member were: the American Historical Association, of whose Public Archives Committee he was chairman in 1932-1934; the Society of American Archivists, of which he was a charter member and first president, 1936-1939; the State Literary and Historical Association, serving as secretary, 1926-1935, and as president, 1938-1939; and the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Newsome served as president of the National Conference of Historical Societies in 1928-1929. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa and was historian for the North Carolina department of the American Legion.

Dr. Newsome compiled the *North Carolina Manual,* 1927-1929. He wrote *Preservation of Local Archives: A Guide for Public Officials* (1932); *The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina* (1939); and (with Dr. Hugh T. Lefler) *The Growth of North Carolina* (1940). He was editor of a set of North Carolina Social Science Maps, and also, since 1939, of the *James Sprunt Studies in History and Poiltical Science.* He was a contributor to the *American Archivist.*

Mr. Daniel M. McFarland has been appointed head of the department of social science at Blue Mountain College, Blue Mountain, Mississippi.

Mr. Elisha P. Douglass, Elon College, has been given a grant-in-aid for the year 1951-1952 by the Institute of Early American History and Culture for his study of democracy in the American Revolution.

Mr. David L. Smiley, instructor in history at Wake Forest College, read a paper, "Cassius M. Clay and Southern Abolitionism," before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at its final meeting on April 21, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Mr. Elmer Puryear, also an instructor in history, has received a grant from the Ford

Foundation and will study at the University of North Carolina for the coming year on leave of absence. Instructor Wayland Jones of the same institution will do part-time work at Duke University next year, and Mr. Thomas Clark will do graduate work at Princeton University under a fellowship granted by the American Council of Learned Societies.

Professor E. Cleveland Hollar of the history department of East Carolina College has retired from active teaching after twenty-five years of service. He is succeeded as supervisor of student teaching by Professor Howard B. Clay.

During the second term of summer school, Professor Paul Murray of East Carolina College was visiting teacher of North Carolina history at Western Carolina Teachers' College in Cullowhee.

Professor Louise Alexander is serving as acting head of the history department of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro, for 1951-1952.

Dr. John Cairns has been appointed instructor and Dr. Franklin D. Parker, assistant professor, in the history department of the Woman's College. They replace Dr. John Beeler and Mr. Lawrence Graves, who are on military leave for the academic year 1951-1952.

Dr. Richard Bardolph and Dr. Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., of the Woman's College have been awarded grants by the Social Science Research Council for the year 1951-1952. Dr. Grantham was awarded a grant in support of a study of the Progressive Movement in the South. He spent the past summer working in the library at the University of Georgia in connection with this piece of work. Dr. Bardolph's grant was made in support of research on organization and administration of the Confederate States Army with special reference to North Carolina. He spent the past summer working at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, making use of the Southern Historical Collection.

During the past year Dr. Lenore O'Boyle of the same institution has published "Theories of Socialist Imperialism," *Foreign Affairs*, volume 28 (January, 1950), 290-298, and "The German Independent Socialists during the First World War," *The American Historical Review*, volume 56 (July, 1951), 824-831; Dr.

Richard Bardolph has published "Liberal Learning and the Spirit of '76," *Social Education*, April, 1951, and "The Required Freshman History Course," *Journal of Higher Education*, December, 1950; and Chancellor Edward K. Graham's address, "North Carolina and the Southern Tradition in 1951," before the state Parent Teacher Association Congress in April was reprinted as an article by *Vital Speeches of the Day*, *Greensboro Daily News*, and elsewhere.

The North Carolina Society of County Historians made a tour of historic and scenic spots in upper Rutherford County on July 15. Sites visited include: Bechtler's Mint and Jewelry Store in Rutherfordton, the original mining site operated by Christopher Bechtler and his son Augustus and nephew Christopher from 1831 until 1849, Chimney Rock, and Harris's Tavern. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, a member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History, served as tour director.

At a meeting of the Tryon Palace Commission in Greensboro on June 14, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro was elected chairman, Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, first vice-chairman, Miss Virginia Horne of Wadesboro, second vice-chairman, Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern, secretary, and Mr. John Kellenberger, finance member. New members sworn in at this meeting were: Mrs. A. B. Stoney of Morganton, Mrs. J. Melville Broughton of Raleigh, Mrs. W. H. Belk of Charlotte, and Mr. Kellenberger.

"The Lost Colony" and "Unto These Hills," North Carolina's two symphonic dramas, had successful seasons during the summer of 1951. The first had a paid attendance of more than 50,000, the second of more than 150,000. It was the eleventh season for "The Lost Colony" and the second for "Unto These Hills."

High Point, North Carolina, celebrated its one hundredth birthday during the week of July 8-14 with a full week of events highlighted by a nightly presentation of a pageant of history, "Then and Now," depicting the growth of the city from its beginning in July, 1851, to the present day. Townspeople entered

wholeheartedly into the celebration and downtown merchants turned their display windows into museum cases for heirlooms and merchandise of a former day.

"Then Conquer We Must!" a historical drama based on the Battle of Kings Mountain, was presented in an outdoor theater located in Kings Mountain National Military Park, September 21, 22, 28, and 29, and October 5 and 6, with the final performance on Sunday, October 7, the 171st anniversary of the battle. Written by Robert B. Osborne, the drama was presented by the Kings Mountain Little Theater in conjunction with little theater groups in Gastonia and Shelby.

The Department of Archives and History has received *A History of First Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, North Carolina,* by the Reverend Andrew J. Howell, pp. 16, published by the History Committee in March, 1951.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator, of the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums in Philadelphia, May 31-June 2. Mrs. Jordan was elected co-chairman of the history section for 1952.

The recently established Advisory Committee on Disposal of Noncurrent Records held its first meeting on July 19 in the office of the director of the State Department of Archives and History. Members of the committee are Mr. Ben Eaton, Assistant Commissioner of Revenue, chairman; Mr. G. H. Brooks, Principal Administrative Assistant, State Budget Bureau; Dr. Preston W. Edsall, head of the Department of History and Political Science, North Carolina State College; Mr. Harry McGalliard, Revisor of Statutes, Department of Justice; Dr. James W. Patton, director of the Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill; Mrs. Davetta L. Steed, executive head of the North Carolina League of Municipalities; Mr. H. Plummer Edwards, clerk of the City of Raleigh; Mr. W. G. Massey, Johnston County Register of Deeds; and Mr. D. J. Walker, Jr., Alamance County Clerk of Superior Court. Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. W. Frank Burton met with the committee. At the meeting a beginning was made in attempting

to solve the various problems involved in the disposal of non-current records.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. William S. Powell, researcher for the State Department of Archives and History, attended the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Newark, Wilmington, Dover, and Newcastle, Delaware, June 14-16. They were present at the celebration of Newcastle's tercentenary on June 16.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden and Mr. Stanly Wohl, the latter of Washington, D. C., represented the state of North Carolina at the celebration of the 175th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, July 1-4.

Mr. W. Frank Burton, state archivist, attended the thirty-third annual conference of the Association of Superior Court Clerks of North Carolina meeting at Wrightsville Beach, July 5-7. He addressed the conference on the microfilming and disposition of old records.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications of the State Department of Archives and History, addressed the summer meeting of the Daughters of Colonial Wars in North Carolina which was held at the Raleigh Woman's Club on July 6. His subject was "The Formation of Counties in North Carolina."

Dr. Christopher Crittenden addressed the Raleigh Lions Club, July 30, on the situation in Korea, and the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, meeting at Guilford College, August 8, on "Preserving North Carolina's Historical Records." Dr. Crittenden also attended the annual meeting of the Roanoke Island Historical Association on Roanoke Island on Virginia Dare's birthday, August 18, and was present and brought greetings from the state of North Carolina at the dedication of a monument to Captain Robert Sevier, 1750-1780, by the Crossnore Chapter (Avery County, North Carolina) and the John Sevier Chapter (Johnson City, Tennessee) of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The dedication took place at Bright's Cemetery, Avery County, September 9.

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